ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

BY

JACK CARGILL

E.J. BRILL
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For the Cargills of the American Southwest,
especially Polly, Jerry, Judy, and Debbie
— always there, always loyal, always helpful

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The production of this study has taken far longer than I anticipated. The project seemed much smaller when I began concentrating on it during some months as a Senior Associate Member at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in the spring of 1985, a stay made possible by a semester of Faculty Academic Study Program (FASP) leave from Rutgers University. Another such FASP leave, although without the overseas travel opportunity, came in spring of 1989, and yet another in fall of 1993. Several small grants to help with my research expenses have been given to me by the Rutgers Research Council and by my own History Department. Teaching most semesters (spring 1994 was a helpful exception) has otherwise restricted my involvement with this project largely to the summers, although serving as Acting Chair of the Rutgers Classics Department in spring of 1986 gained me the ongoing use of a University-owned computer and printer, with appropriate software provided.

Continuously since the very inception of the project (we were both in Athens in spring of 1985), I have benefitted from the knowledge and unstinting helpfulness of Malcolm B. Wallace of the University of Toronto, former editor of *Phoenix*, whose many contributions include his careful reading of hundreds of pages of typescript in 1991 and again in 1993. I have adopted many of his suggestions. Wallace's involvement in a similar manner with Thomas J. Figueira's complementary 1991 study has made his comments on my own work doubly valuable. Although I have disagreed with Wallace at various points, sometimes so indicating in my text or notes, my debt to him is by far the largest owed to anyone in connection with this study, and it is acknowledged with utmost gratitude. Second only to Wallace in the thanks I owe him is a onetime member of my dissertation committee, Ronald S. Stroud of the University of California at Berkeley, co-editor for Attic inscriptions of the indispensable *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Stroud took on the burden of reading the 1991 typescript, and his numerous comments and corrections were similarly helpful and just as greatly appreciated — although again I have differed on points here and there. At a late stage in my work, I was very materially assisted by John S. Traill, Wallace's colleague at the University of Toronto and director of the *ATHENIANS* prosopography project, Toronto's designedly complete database of all attested "Persons of

Ancient Athens" (*PAA*), which remains unfinished at this writing. Traill, with the help of his computer expert, Philippa M. Wallace Matheson (Mac Wallace's sister), has generously and at the cost of much personal trouble supplied me with *PAA* numbers for many persons listed in my prosopographical Appendix B. A third Toronto connection is with Cameron Paquette, who drew the maps exactly to my specifications. Rodney Troch, my department's computer consultant during a critical period of this work, endured much frustration in converting my prosopographical database of possible settlers' names into word-processable form, to make my typing of Appendix B somewhat less arduous.

Numerous academic friends and colleagues have helped in numerous ways at various stages of the project, and their assistance is acknowledged at appropriate points in my text and notes. Most significant in connection with my epigraphical Appendix A was Diane Harris, who undertook to visit the Myrina Museum on Lemnos for me in 1989, when I was unable to get there myself. Colleagues who have provided me with pre-publication typescripts of works in progress (some of which have reached print by now) include Glenn R. Bugh, John H. (Jack) Kroll, Michael Wörrle, and Sara Aleshire. My department's chair during six of the years of this project, Rudolph Bell, was instrumental in helping me find some of the above-mentioned small research grants, and was generally encouraging to me while I was doing this work. Other Rutgers colleagues, notably Traian Stoianovich and Stephen Reinert, have helped me with specific details and more general encouragement, as have colleagues at other institutions, foremost among them Diana Delia.

Julian Deahl, senior editor at E.J. Brill, is especially to be thanked for seeing merit in a study of such size and complexity. Production editor Pim Rietbroek has shown outstanding patience and promptness in working with me at the proof stage. Anonymous readers of my 1993 typescript, both for Brill and for a departmental promotion packet, have corrected errors and provided useful suggestions, many of which I have adopted. I regret that I misled one such reader by my habit of showing the "history" of scholarly conjectures: When I say something like "A, citing B, suggests...", it is *not* to be assumed that I have not consulted B; I am merely telling the reader where A apparently got the idea or the information. Every work listed in my Bibliography has been consulted directly, unless (as in the case of a few passages of Greek from authors whose works are preserved only in fragments) I explicitly say that I rely on someone else's quotation of it.

Non-academic friends, most especially Michael McGrorty, have helped me stay with this project when exhaustion threatened to become burnout. My debt, and my gratitude, to my family are clear enough from the dedication. Unfortunately, this project both preceded and outlasted my second marriage. Nevertheless, I rejoice in its issue, my radiant Elena, her middle-aged father's belated and beloved firstborn.

Jack Cargill
Rutgers University
August 1994

EPIGRAPHICAL SYMBOLS AND OTHER CONVENTIONS

The following epigraphical symbols are employed in my notes and appendixes:

[ ]	Surface area completely lost; letters within are editorial restorations
[...]	Definite number of lost letters (one per dot); no restoration suggested
[– – –]	Uncertain number of lost letters (number of hyphens irrelevant)
( )	Letters within complete abbreviated words (demotics, technical terms, e.g., are often abbreviated)
< >	Letters within supply unintended omissions or correct erroneously cut letters of mason
{ }	Letters within exist on the stone, but should be deleted
⟦ ⟧	Surface area has been erased; letters within are editorial restorations
α, β	Enough of this letter is visible to make it the *only* possible reading
α̣, β̣	Extant traces are compatible with this letter (which is the most likely one), but also with other(s)
α̲, β̲	Letter seen by earlier editor(s); surface now lost
v	Letter space left blank by mason (one v per blank space)
vacat	Remainder (or all) of line left blank by mason
|	End/beginning of inscribed line (if quote is long enough to warrant showing line breaks, and not copied line-by-line)
||	Beginning of line whose number is divisible by five

TRANSLITERATION AND RELATED MATTERS

The Latinizing of Greek terms and names, it seems to me, has outlived its usefulness. It is sustained at the present time only through scholarly conventionality and inertia. Since it is also to some extent under attack (at last!), the consequence, for many students and many readers, is confusion. It would be better to get on with the necessary change, eliminate the Latinate spelling entirely, and consistently represent Greek letters by their current English equivalents. That is not to say that one should never *Anglicize* the

Greek. Writing "Athens" with the English plural ending "-s" instead of the Greek plural *alpha-iota* transliterated into "-ai" seems entirely defensible, as does the simple English shortening of a name such as *Philippos* to "Philip". But why *Latinize*? Why "Macedonia" with a "c" that tends to be pronounced like an "s", rather than "Makedon(ia)" with a "k" that must necessarily look and sound more like the original with its *kappa*?

Transitional periods are always awkward, and productive of inconsistencies. Nowadays, every book about the ancient Greeks includes the author's statement about whether and to what extent Greek terms and names within it will be directly transliterated and/or Latinized. I too have to some extent yielded to tradition on source citations (thus "Thuc." and "Plut." still appear, not "Thouk." and "Plout.", etc.). But this is mere conventionality, nothing more admirable than that. In most cases, I directly transliterate Greek names, toponyms, and technical terms (sometimes Anglicizing endings), rather than Latinizing them. I make exceptions from the general pattern when I am pretty sure the reader would not otherwise understand (retaining "Aegean", for example, rather than Aigaion, for the name of the sea long dominated by the Athenian navy), and others when I believe clarity is increased (as in reserving "deme" with its Anglicized ending for the small geographical unit, as distinct from the other meanings of *demos*, although in Greek the word is the same).

I retain the old-fashioned "ch" for Greek *chi*, although the scholarly trend seems to be toward "kh". I do not see that "kh" corresponds to the Greek any more than "ch" does, and the "softer" implication of the latter seems to me preferable; in modern Greek the letter has, after all, become virtually an "h" sound, having lost almost all of its hard "k" element. I represent *upsilon* by "u" in diphthongs but by "y" when alone, even though the second of these conventions may be breaking down; here again I invoke modern Greek, whose *upsilon* when alone is pronounced much more like English "y" than like English "u". I allow "e" and "o" to do double duty for both long and short Greek vowels.

In relation to Greek words other than personal names, the main issue is deciding *when* to transliterate, i.e., when to employ an Anglicized Greek word rather than translating the Greek word into English. My tendency is "when in doubt, transliterate", a practice which may be annoying to non-specialist readers, but which is in fact adopted with them in mind. The specialist, for example, knows that *demos* (apart from its quite specialized meaning of "deme") might be translated as "people" or "assembly" or "lower classes",

but that all of these translations themselves have other Greek equivalents as well. "Assembly" for example, can also be a translation of *ekklesia*, a word which has different ambiguities from those possessed by *demos* — it can mean "meeting", for instance. When a Greek word is ambiguous, choosing one English translation over another can be an indulgence in false precision; transliterating can be more honest, in that it retains the original ambiguity. On the other hand, many Greek terms have no genuine English equivalents. What political committee known to English-speakers, for example, corresponds to the Athenian *prytaneis*? A seemingly neutral translation such as "presiding committee" might be acceptable, but would not the same translation be applicable to a board of *proedroi*? It is clearer simply to transliterate both words. Ironically, then, transliteration can serve both to preserve the ambiguity of the Greek and to preserve its precision, whereas translation can tend to conceal both.

A separate, and less important, issue is deciding when a transliterated word is to be *italicized*. Obviously, transliterated personal names and toponyms should not be, or else italics would show up in every other line. Transliterated terms used for the first time and those used rarely are good candidates for italicization, as are those that are used, for reasons of emphasis on the Greek, in both transliterated and translated forms ("Salaminians" and *Salaminioi*, for example). Exoticism itself may warrant italicization even of terms used repeatedly, e.g., *proedros* has no real English equivalent, no matter how often it is employed, so italicizing it stresses the fact that it is really an untranslated Greek term. But I am aware that I have not achieved consistency. Both rarity and exoticism are vague concepts, impossible to define specifically, and therefore ultimately impossible to follow consistently as guidelines.

TRANSLATION, CITATION, AND ABBREVIATION

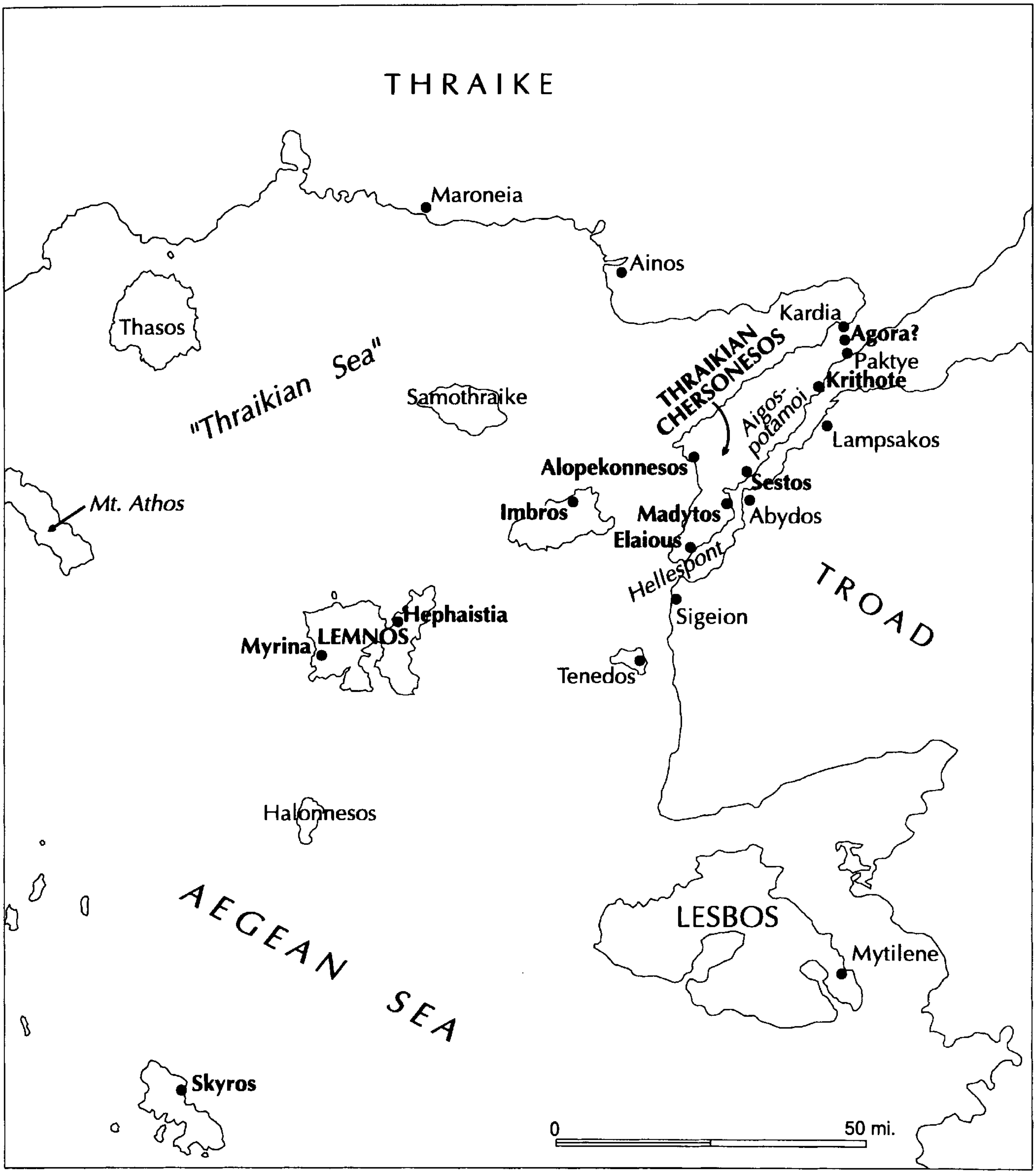
As might be reasonably inferred from the foregoing discussion of transliteration and my practice thus far, I refrain from putting Greek in my text proper. Greek appears *only* in the notes and Appendixes (and in Greek titles in the Bibliography). In my text, wherever I do not transliterate, I translate. All translations (in both text and notes) are my own, unless another translator is cited. When translating restored epigraphical texts, I place within brackets (in so far as I am able to do so) those elements of the English that correspond to the bracketed parts of the Greek — even when

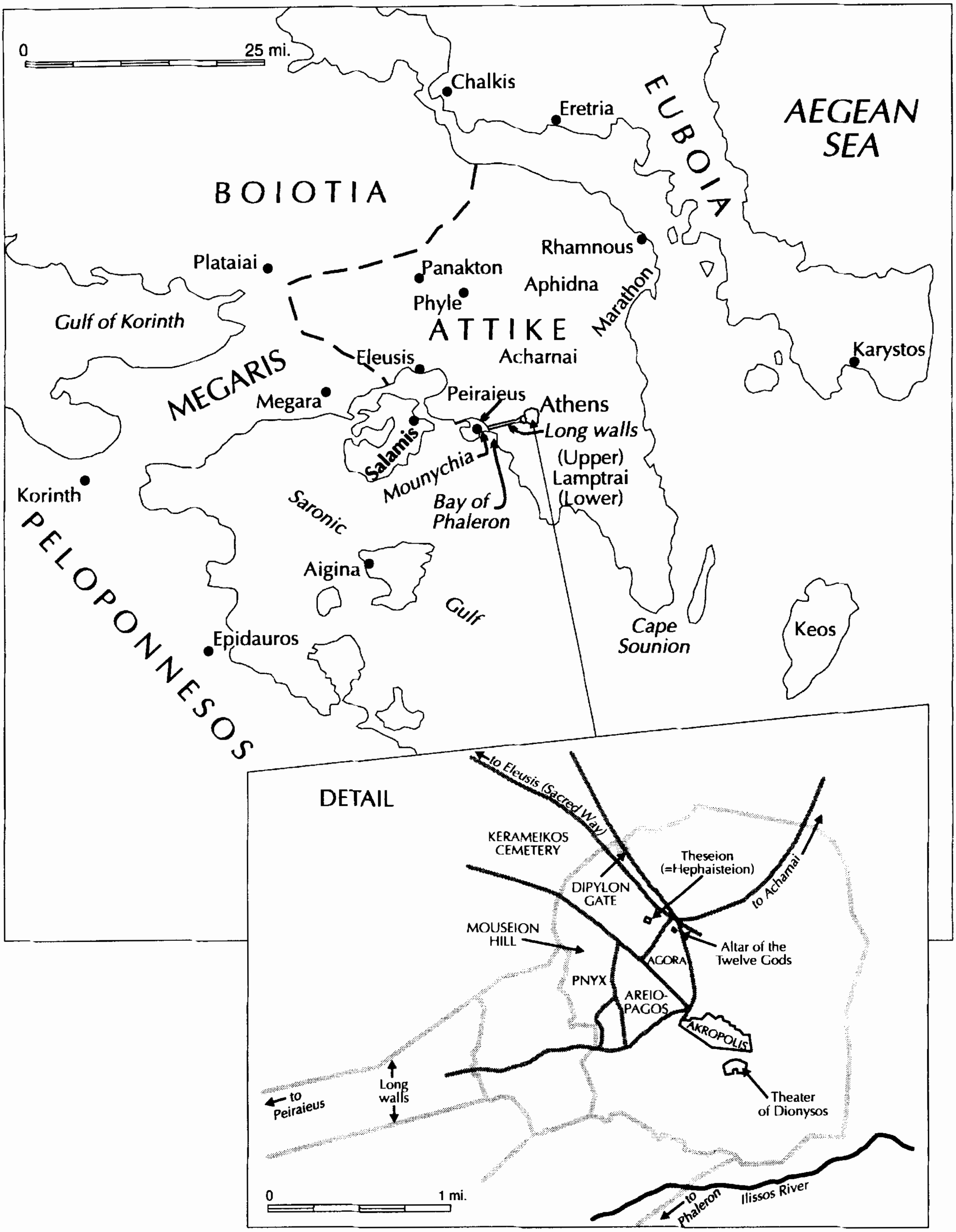
the restoration is certain. Underdotted letters are, however, treated as if extant.

Since this study includes a formal "Bibliography and Abbreviations" section, books and articles are referenced in quite brief ways, usually even in their first citations. In epigraphic citations, I employ neither the lengthy "line(s)" nor the confusing "l(l).", instead simply separating the inscription number and the line number(s) by a period. A single "f" after a number indicates the single following page (or chapter, section, line number, etc., whatever is applicable); the ambiguous "ff" is avoided, except when it appears in a cited original.

Appendix B, with its necessarily highly compressed (and repetitive) entries, employs forms much more abbreviated than those used in the notes. These forms are explained in the introduction to the Appendix.

THRAIKE
Maroneia
Amphipolis
(Brea)
Eion
Thasos
MAKEDON
Samothraike
THRAIKIAN CHERSONESOS
Kardia
Aigospotamoi
Propontis
Kyzikos
Lampsakos
Sestos
Abydos
Hellespont
Sigeion
Imbros
LEMNOS
Hephaistia
Myrina
Tenedos
CHALKIDIKE
Olynthos
Methone
Pydna
Poteidaia
Mt. Athos
Torone
Skione
Halonnesos
ASIA
MINOR
Krannon
THESSALY
AEGEAN
LESBOS
Mytilene
Malian Gulf
Lamia
Herakleia
Artemision
Skyros
EUBOIA
SEA
Adriatic Sea
Smyrna
Chaironeia
Delphoi
Chalkis
Chios
Klazomenai
ATTIKE
Kolophon
Megara
Samian Peraia
Athens
Samos
Anaia
PELOPONNESOS
Korinth
Salamis
Keos
Priene
Olympia
Epidauros
Aigina
Miletos
Iasos
Tegea
Delos
Halikarnassos
Sparta
Paros
Knidos
Amorgos
Melos
Rhodos
Tainaron
0
100 mi.


THRAIKE
Maroneia
Ainos
Thasos
"Thraikian Sea"
Samothraike
Kardia
Agora?
Paktye
Krithote
THRAIKIAN CHERSONESOS
Aigos-potamoi
Lampsakos
Alopekonnesos
Sestos
Imbros
Madytos
Abydos
Elaious
Mt. Athos
Hellespont
TROAD
Sigeion
Hephaistia
LEMNOS
Myrina
Tenedos
Halonnesos
LESBOS
Mytilene
AEGEAN SEA
Skyros
0
50 mi.



0
25 mi.
Chalkis
Eretria
EUBOIA
AEGEAN SEA
BOIOTIA
Rhamnous
Plataiai
Panakton
Aphidna
Phyle
Marathon
Gulf of Korinth
ATTIKE
Eleusis
Acharnai
Karystos
MEGARIS
Megara
Peiraieus
Athens
Long walls
Salamis
Mounychia
(Upper)
Lamptrai
(Lower)
Korinth
Bay of Phaleron
Saronic
Aigina
Gulf
PELOPONNESOS
Epidauros
Cape Sounion
Keos
DETAIL
to Eleusis (Sacred Way)
KERAMEIKOS CEMETERY
Theseion (=Hephaisteion)
DIPYLON GATE
to Acharnai
MOUSEION HILL
Altar of the Twelve Gods
AGORA
PNYX
AREIO-PAGOS
AKROPOLIS
Theater of Dionysos
to Peiraieus
Long walls
0
1 mi.
to Phaleron
Ilissos River

INTRODUCTION

The Athenians had settlers abroad from the archaic period down well into Roman times, with particularly numerous establishments during the period of the fifth century Delian League/Athenian Empire. This study focuses, however, on the settlements of the fourth century B.C., i.e., from Athens' defeat at the hands of Sparta in the Peloponnesian War down to the Makedonians' elimination of Athens as an important naval power. The period itself represented Athens' last serious attempts at asserting political/military leadership in the Greek world.

Although important continuities between fifth and fourth century Athens were numerous, the nature and extent of Athenian power, even after recovery from the defeat by Sparta, were fundamentally changed. Gone was the tribute of hundreds of subject allies. True, a new naval league was organized in the early 370s, and it continued in operation in some form down to Athens' defeat at Chaironeia in 338 by Philip II of Makedon. But the fourth century league was weaker, less extensive, less rich, and less firmly under Athenian control than the fifth century empire had been. Changes had also occurred within Athens itself. The Peloponnesian War had brought with it, for example, huge population losses. And the experience of two oligarchic coups, in 411 and 404/3, had led both to modification and reaffirmation of Athens' democratic system of government.

Here I attempt to present the extant literary, and especially epigraphical, evidence relating directly to the fourth century settlements, in an organized and accessible form. Given the changes both within Attike and in the international circumstances in which fourth century Athens found itself, it would be surprising if fourth century Athenian overseas settlements should not differ in important ways from earlier Athenian settlements. The evidence, however, is not always sufficient to justify presentation of a convincing and definitive description of these contrasts and to show their more important historical implications. Indeed, it is not even possible to provide a thorough picture of all important aspects of the fourth century settlements alone. But I try to offer, at many points, whatever limited and preliminary conclusions I can. When a given question must necessarily remain open, I admit that fact explicitly and attempt to show why.

Much of my effort has gone toward establishing the evidence itself, again especially the epigraphical element of it. I have com-

pared different editors' versions of texts, consulted early facsimiles and majuscules, used published photographs and other photos taken by myself or at my request, made or commissioned paper "squeezes", and (in many cases) consulted the actual stones themselves. Appendix A reports many of the results of my autopsy; the textual conclusions reached there are taken as "givens" in the chapters preceding and in Appendix B. Throughout the book, the epigraphical evidence, whether established by autopsy or not, is kept constantly before the reader in my very full notes, which frequently provide the relevant passages of the original Greek. I provide it also for many literary sources. When I refer to an inscribed text as being "editorially dated" (a phrase to which R.S. Stroud strongly objects), I mean that the editor cited is employing some criterion less automatic than observation of a preserved formula indicating the Athenian *archon* of the year — letter forms, identification of persons mentioned in the text, stylistic criteria relating to the monument, etc. While I do not necessarily imply disagreement with the editor's date, its relative imprecision and ultimate fallibility must always be borne in mind.

Appendix B represents another aspect of my attempt to establish the evidence available in a usable form. In this case, the effort is to make prosopographical study of the residents of the Athenian settlements manageable, by presenting the most complete list available anywhere of attested certain, likely, or even possible settlers in the relevant territories, along with certain categories of information about them. One category to which I refer (again over Stroud's strong protests at my use of the term) is to the individual's "Athenian-ness", by which may be meant either Athenian citizenship or descent — or even only the assertion of either, whether accepted by the Athenians of Attike or not. I make some attempts at actually *doing* some prosopography, primarily for names associated with the fourth century, in the entries of this Appendix. These attempts are introductory and critical, rather than definitive. I hope that others will build on my work here. For this purpose, I intend to make available to interested scholars the computer database from which Appendix B is derived.

The chapter on "Chronology" must necessarily be placed first, lest the reader become lost among the detailed discussions of the other chapters by being unaware of the basic sequence of events involving the fourth century settlements. Although the treatment is basically chronological, I do tend to follow events in given geographical areas to certain reasonable break-points, then trace events in other geographical areas.

The second chapter, on "Personnel", discusses collective references to possible residents of the fourth century settlements (Athenians and others), provides some statistical summaries and tables, and concludes with discussion of sources and names associated with each fourth century settlement.

The third chapter, on "Institutions", reports what I believe can be learned — or, in some cases, what questions need to be asked — about the political, religious, and economic institutions of the fourth century Athenian settlements from the available literary and epigraphic sources. Since "Athenian(s)" in a context of relations between the settlements and the metropolis can be ambiguous, I employ artificial terms such as "the Attic *demos*" or "citizens of Attike" or "the archon of Athens" (instead of "the Athenian *demos*" or "Athenian citizens" or "the Athenian archon", respectively), when I want to make unambiguous references to persons within the mother city or its home territory. I am unfortunately unable to discuss the physical and archaeological evidence (except for inscriptions) to any meaningful extent, and I have little to say explicitly about social institutions. Nonetheless, I hope that my work will be useful to those capable of going beyond its scope.

In each of the chapters of my text, whenever a person included in my database is referred to, I provide a cross-reference to the appropriate entry in Appendix B, via the person's boldface entry **number**, usually in parentheses.

To this point, I have employed no word derived from or related to the term generally used to describe most of the settlements I propose to discuss, *klerouchia*, Anglicized to klerouchy or kleruchy or cleruchy. The klerouchy is often contrasted with the *apoikia*, on rare occasions Anglicized to "apoecy", but most commonly rendered by the translation "colony".[1] Much scholarly effort has been devoted to differentiating klerouchies from *apoikiai*, and to identifying which particular Athenian establishments fit into each category. Nothing about the words themselves would require any differentiation. A *klerouchia* should be a settlement of *klerouchoi*, i.e., of persons who each hold (*echein*) a lot or allotment (*kleros*) of land. An *apoikia* should be a settlement of *apoikoi*, i.e., of persons who live or dwell (*oikein*) away from or separated from (*apo*) their homeland. Logically, a "lot-holder" (*klerouchos*) can also be a "dweller-apart" (*apoikos*), and

---

[1] Greek κληρουχία -αι, ἀποικία -αι. It is amusing to note, however, that M.I. Finley, addressing a non-ancient-history-oriented audience in *TRHS* 26 (1976) 167-188 defines "colony" in a way that will fit classicists' conventional definition of "klerouchy", but will not fit what they know as an *apoikia*!

vice-versa.[2] The seemingly casual use of the two groups of terms in literary sources might tend to indicate a certain interchangeability between them.

But some distinction probably was understood, at least in the late fifth century B.C., to judge by an Athenian inscription's reference, in an obscure context, to both *apoikiai* and *klerouchiai*.[3] Some scholars have inferred that even if literary usage may have been imprecise, epigraphical usage — in official Athenian state documents — was always exact and consistent. An *apoikia* or colony was one thing, a klerouchy was quite a different thing, and every Athenian settlement was known to be either one or the other. The most extreme advocates of this position have been B.D. Meritt and his co-authors on the four-volume *Athenian Tribute Lists* (1939-53).[4] The most recent serious and thorough study of the terminology and its implications is Figueira, *Athens and Aigina in the Age of Imperial Colonization* (Baltimore 1991). In Figueira's view, "Athenian terminology divided settlements abroad into two categories, ... in accordance with the criterion of whether or not they could be said to constitute respectively dependent *poleis* [these he calls *apoikiai*] or merely arrangements for the collective and perhaps conditional apportionment of property to individual Athenians [*klerouchiai*]".[5] Other notable scholars, however, have doubted the precision of Athenian usage asserted by the *ATL* authors, or have at least seen gradations between the two extreme types.[6]

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[2] Greek ἔχειν, κλῆρος, οἰκεῖν, ἀπό, κληροῦχος, ἄποικος.

[3] *IG* i³ 237.9: ἀποικίαις καὶ κλεροχία[ις – – –]. This inscription is included among laws inscribed after 410, but no actual enactment date is suggested. See Walbank, *Agora* XIX p.155 and n.28.

[4] See especially *ATL* III.285f, which also discusses the term ἔποικος -οι, often seen as equivalent to *apoikos -oi*, or perhaps implying "additional" settlers, added upon (ἐπί) those already sent. The last survivor among the *ATL* authors, M.F. McGregor (who died in 1989), was still following the same line in his *The Athenians and Their Empire* (Vancouver 1987).

[5] Figueira, *A&A* 198. I encountered this work only after I had sent off the 1991 pre-submission draft of the present study to Wallace and Stroud for their comments. It is significant enough, however, that I have taken pains to incorporate references to it, and occasionally to argue with it, at numerous points in my notes. In the case of the fundamental fifth century klerouchy-*apoikia* distinction, I feel that Figueira sometimes has to explain away the apparent meaning of certain ancient passages or to explain others rather convolutedly. I do strongly applaud his avoidance of the unrealistic tendency among many commentators (including the authors of *ATL*) to deny Athenian citizenship to *apoikoi* within the fifth century Empire. See the sensible review of Figueira by L. Tritle, *Ploutarchos* 9 (1992) 52-57.

[6] See, e.g., Kahrstedt (1931) 159f; Ehrenberg, *Asp.Anc.World* 133f and *Pol.u.Imp.* 245-253; Walker, *CAH* V.96f; Gomme, *HCT* I.375 n.3; Graham, *CMC*² 14, 177, 189; Brunt, *Ehrenb.St.* 76; Vartsos, *AK* 12-19; Beister 407f; Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 79 n.1 (explicitly following Brunt). M.B. Wallace, in several presentations at scholarly

Most of this debate has centered on fifth century (and earlier) Athenian settlements, and need not be added to here. Scholars are generally content to see the fourth century settlements as being of a single type, and to call them all "klerouchies"[7] — all except the *apoikia* to the Adriatic Sea, explicitly so called in an Athenian inscription of 325/4 B.C.[8] In the fourth century "klerouchies", it is generally agreed, the settlers retained their Athenian citizenship, while operating their own political institutions as overseas subsets of the Athenian *demos*.[9]

Why then do I generally adhere to the neutral "settlements" in referring to the fourth century Athenian establishments that are the subject of my study, rather than simply calling them "klerouchies" like everyone else? There are four reasons:

1. I prefer to use a term that manifestly includes the Adriatic *apoikia* as well as the Aegean settlements;
2. I am not certain that the Athenians themselves referred to the latter as klerouchies;
3. I do not assume *a priori* that the political institutions in all of the Aegean settlements were identical; and
4. I do not automatically assume that within a given settlement the klerouchic establishment was necessarily the only political (or social) entity.[10]

All of these matters seem to me to be questions to bear in mind while examining the evidence, not presuppositions to foist upon it.

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gatherings, has offered such general statements as the following (from notes for a talk I attended in Athens in 1985, kindly given to me by Wallace): "Scholars have tended to find a clearcut distinction between this special type of out-settlement [i.e., the klerouchy] and the normal colony. But the sources do not really warrant such black-and-white schemes. Enough decrees survive to make it likely that every Athenian settlement abroad had its own individual decree.... If each settlement had its own decree with its own specific provisions, each settlement had its own nature". Wallace does, nonetheless, group the known settlements (his concern is primarily with the fifth century examples) into a few broad categories, somewhat as Ehrenberg does.

[7] Figueira, *A&A* is to be included in this general statement: "I should argue that Plutarch reflects the terminology of fourth-century Athens and afterwards, when virtually all Athenian settlements abroad could be considered cleruchies and almost all settlers cleruchs" (pp.45f).

[8] Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 182 and 188 n.51 calls this settlement a klerouchy also.

[9] Graham, *CMC*^{2} 167 provides a clear definition; in general, his chapter IX (pp.166-210) is the most useful treatment of Athenian settlements. Hansen, *D&D* App.I (pp.70-72 and 106f nn.203-218) is unusual in focusing especially on fourth century klerouchies.

[10] Graham, *CMC*^{2} 186 raises this question.

The primary types of sources relating to Athenian overseas establishments of the fourth century and to those of other periods are quite different. The fifth century Athenian Empire elicited (early and late) literary comments relating to klerouchies as institutions, and general statements about groups of examples (e.g., those established by Perikles). With the Empire, too, came tribute, and the records of Athenian tribute collection have prompted many inferences in modern scholarly literature about Athenian settlements. The pre-fourth century epigraphic evidence is overwhelmingly Attic, and that relating to a specific settlement often tells us something about the settlement as a whole, but it rarely mentions individual settlers. By contrast, the fourth century establishments, fewer in number, prompted less ancient literary commentary, and what comments there were tended to focus on particular settlements, not on the general phenomenon. And there are, or course, no tribute records to clarify (or confuse) fourth century issues, since Athens collected no tribute during this period.[11]

In two very important ways, the fourth century inscriptional evidence is significantly more informative than the fifth century evidence:

1. A much greater proportion of it is extra-Attic, i.e., derives from the settled territories themselves; and
2. Many more names of specific persons appear, names of settlers and of relatives and connections of settlers (both certain and doubtful examples of each type).

The first factor makes it possible to obtain a better understanding of the workings of the governmental, economic, and cultic machinery of the fourth century settlements. The second factor allows the beginnings of a prosopography of Athenian settlers.[12]

Only a few fourth century Athenian settlements are attested, in contrast to the much more numerous earlier ones. **Salamis**, although just off the coast of Attike, did not become an Attic deme (or demes), and was in some sense an overseas settlement, although quite likely of a unique type. **Poteidaia**, in the Chalkidike penin-

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[11] See F. Mitchel, *EMC* 3 (1984) 23-37 on the *syntaxis* of the Second Athenian League, sometimes erroneously seen as tribute (*phoros*) under a new name.

[12] Note the fundamentally philological orientation, appropriate to his largely fifth century topic, of Figueira, *A&A* 41, describing his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* word search for occurrences of the string -κληρουχ-, and 79: "It comes as no surprise that the actual identifications of Athenian colonists on Aigina (and everywhere else) are not well known". Cf. my prosopographical orientation and my prosopographical Appendix of more than 1000 names.

sula near Makedonia, had fourth century Athenian settlers, explicitly called klerouchs, but seemingly for only a few years near mid-century. The Thraikian **Chersonesos** (today's Gallipoli Peninsula) had Athenian klerouchs at least at certain periods within the fourth century, although skimpy sources make precision about when and precisely where elusive. The Northern Aegean islands of **Lemnos, Imbros**, and **Skyros** were explicitly recognized as Athenian possessions in the so-called "King's Peace" that ended the Korinthian War in 386, and literary and epigraphical attestations of an Athenian presence on all three are abundant. All of the areas just mentioned had also received Athenian settlers at some time(s) prior to the fourth century — a factor that can cause problems in connection with vague literary references or with difficult-to-date inscriptions. Salamis and the three northern islands, moreover, continued to have inhabitants of Athenian descent for several centuries after the fourth century, which complicates matters even further. **Samos**, in most scholars' opinion, was not settled by Athenians either before or after the fourth century period of klerouchic occupation, usually dated 365-322. The **Adriatic** *apoikia* is not attested prior to 325/4 (although then in a way that implies that it has already been in existence for a short while), and is never mentioned subsequently. These are the settlements with which I shall be concerned.

They are not the only areas dominated by Athens, which rapidly became again the greatest Greek sea power, even after its loss of the fifth century Empire. Annexed districts along the Attic-Boiotian border are obviously not overseas settlements. Delos, a great cult center on a tiny island, was controlled by Athens for much of the fourth century, but Athenian *settlers* there during this period are not clearly attested.[13] Halonnesos, an island whose control was disputed between Athens and Philip of Makedon, likewise apparently had no

[13] Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 182, 188 n.46 (citing *IG* ii^2 1634) puts within a discussion of fourth century klerouchies the statement that "Delos fell into Athenian hands", but does not elaborate. Kahrstedt (1931) 182-184 and nn. provides a full discussion of Delos' status during different periods, including its status "als athenische Kolonie seit 167": after fifth century struggles between the expanding "Amphiktyonic district" and the *polis* of Delos, the island became briefly independent after the Peloponnesian War (*IG* ii^2 1634.34f), but the Amphiktyons (i.e., the Athenians) reasserted partial control after the battle of Knidos in 394, although resistance later recurred (Kahrstedt's citations include Dem. 28.134; *Vit.Aesch.* 5; [Plut.] *Mor.*(=*X Orat.*) 840 EF, 850 A), and the Amphiktyons were expelled in ca. 314. At no point in the fourth century is it suggested that Athenian *settlers* peopled the island; Athens only administered it. See C. Vial, *Délos Indépendante* (Paris 1984) = *BCH* Supp. 10.

Athenian settlement on it.[14] It has been argued that a volcanic islet near Lemnos called Nea (later submerged) was a non-klerouchic Athenian possession.[15] Amphipolis, near the mouth of the Strymon River in the Makedonia-Thraike border region, was a fifth century Athenian establishment that had been lost during the Peloponnesian War; it was always claimed by the Athenians of the fourth century, but never recovered.[16] Certain cities within the Chersonesos may be similarly describable, although an Athenian presence in others is clear. There is no evidence that Athens gave up its fifth century Black Sea settlements at Amisos and Sinope, but there is not enough evidence at all about either of these places to warrant their inclusion in this study. Perhaps some fourth century settlements are simply unattested.[17] Attic inscriptions mention

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[14] It is the subject of an oration delivered by Demosthenes' supporter Hegesippos and of explicit denials of impropriety by Philip (if his "Letter" preserved in the Demosthenic corpus is authentic). The island was clearly not occupied by Athenian settlers in the fourth century — it was not even garrisoned by the Athenians, but by their allies, the Peparethians: [Dem.] 7.2, 6-8; cf. [Dem.] 12.12-15. See, however, *SEG* 25.1000, a Hellenistic gravestone of an Athenian woman from Halonnesos.

[15] Langdon, *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 55-58; see *SEG* 37.100. But *SEG* 39.88 cites even more recent literature that puts Nea on Halonnesos.

[16] The claim to the rightful possession of what Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981) 53 calls "that most precious imperial asset" was pressed in Athenian diplomacy and was a staple of Attic rhetoric: Ais. 2.21, 32f; Dem. 2.6, 28; 4.12; 19.137, 253; 23.14, 208; [Dem.] 7.29; Diod. 16.3.3. Attempts to enforce the claim led the Athenians into actual combat more than once. Timotheos unsuccessfully besieged the city: Ais. 2.27-33; Dem. 23.149-152; Polyain. 3.10.8. See also the (unreliable) *Hyp.* to Isok. 8, which begins: "Chares was sent to enslave Amphipolis..." (trans. of Cawkwell p.52, who denies the truth of the clause). The conflict with Philip over its possession was the "official" basis for the state of war which existed between him and Athens from 358 to 346 B.C.: Ais. 2.30, 70-72; 3.54; Dem. 1.5, 8, 12; 2.6; 23.14, 111 (cf. Isok. 5.2-6); Diod. 16.4.1, 8.2. Even later, the claim continued to be asserted, and hopes were expressed that Amphipolis might yet be "recovered": Dem. 5.10, 25; 6.17, 30; 8.66; 10.12; [Dem.] 7.23-29; [Dem.] 12.20. Cawkwell p.53 n.50 suggests (quite plausibly) that the vaguer phrasing of Dem. 4.7 and 8.36 also refers to Amphipolis. Yet Philip correctly pointed out that Athens' claim all along had been tenuous in the extreme, even compared with his own: [Dem.] 12.20-23. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 299f discusses fourth century Athenian attempts to retake Amphipolis. Julia Heskel is doing much to clarify fourth century Athenian-Amphipolitan relations, in work that is still largely unpublished. See *APA Abstracts* (1992) p.67 for an outline of her Dec. 28, 1992 presentation at the American Philological Association's convention in New Orleans.

[17] Hansen, *D&D* 71: "...the Athenians may have founded several other (smaller) klerouchies, not attested in the scanty sources we have". Possibilities might be sought among the various towns along the Thraikian coast and in the region of Chalkidike that Timotheos is said to have captured, besieged, or attacked. Omitting references to Poteidaia, the Chersonesos, and Amphipolis, such towns include: Torone (Isok. 15.108; Diod. 15.81.6; Polyain. 3.10.15), Pydna and Methone (Dein. 1.14 = 3.17), and Olynthos (Dem. 2.14; Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2f; Polyain. 3.10.7); also other vague claims of large numbers of cities in these regions (Ais. 2.70; Isok.

klerouchs (or possible klerouchs) heading for destinations that have been lost from the stones on which their names are listed.[18] Finally, vague settlements in Thraike are mentioned in connection with the Makedonian regent Antipatros' suppression of the Athenian democracy, and numerous Athenians depart for north Africa and Syria during the last decade of the fourth century. These movements are noted, toward the end of Chapter 1, but nothing specific can be said about such settlements. In any case, they were not established under Athenian auspices, and are therefore not really relevant to my topic.

15.113; Dein. 1.14 = 3.17; Polyain. 3.10.14). Most of these towns, and regions, are said later to have been captured, razed, besieged, etc. by Philip of Makedon: Torone (Diod. 16.53.2), Pydna (Dem. 1.5, 9, 12; 4.4; 20.61, 63), Methone (Diod. 16.31.6, 34.4f; Dem. 1.9, 12; 4.4, 35; 9.26), Olynthos (Diod. 16.53.2; Dem. 9.26), Zereia and other Chalkidian cities (Diod. 16.52.9), Mekyberna (Diod. 16.53.2), Apollonia (Dem. 9.26); and other vague large claims or numbers (Dem. 1.9; 3.16; 8.36, 64; 9.26; [11].7; 20.61). No evidence of Athenian settlers exists for anywhere in the region, however, except Poteidaia and the Chersonesos. Methone was used as an Athenian naval base in 360/59 (Diod. 16.3.5f; cf. others in Dem. 4.32). Accame, *Lega* 183 n.6 says that Methone was both an Athenian league member and the site of a fourth century klerouchic settlement; no evidence supports the first theory, and Meritt refutes the second (see Cargill, *SAL* 150 n.12 for details; Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 299 n.4 explicitly agrees).

[18] See sections in App. A and in Chapter 2 about the various fragments of *IG* ii^2 1952 and their names; see also *IG* ii^2 1609.88f.

CHAPTER ONE

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS RELATING TO THE FOURTH CENTURY ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS

In this chapter I look at the various settlements primarily from an Attic perspective, seeing them in the context of Athenian political-military-diplomatic policy. Questions relating either to institutions within the settlements or to individual settlers are considered only in so far as they must be raised in this chapter's particular context. More substantive discussion of such questions is reserved for subsequent chapters.

Before turning to the fourth century settlements themselves, I provide a brief background section on related pre-fourth century developments. In this short summary, I generally refrain from direct involvement in the numerous scholarly controversies (see "Introduction" for brief comments about one of them). In discussing territories that had no fourth century Athenian settlements, I do not cite even primary sources.

1.1 Summary Background on Pre-Fourth Century Settlements[1]

Athens began to send out settlers in pre-historic times, according to its legends; the fifth century Athenian Empire traded on propaganda about Athens as the "mother city of the Ionians", an attitude whose traces can be found even in fourth century diplomatic rhetoric.[2] More concrete were early Athenian penetrations into the Troad (at Sigeion) and into the Thraikian Chersonesos. The Peisistratid tyrants (ca. 560-510) were involved in both places, at one stage or another. The most significant early names in Athenian overseas expansion, however, belong to the elder and younger Miltiades (**948**, **949**) of the so-called "Philaid" family, rulers in the

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[1] The treatment of *ATL* III, for all its contentiousness, is wonderfully complete in source citations, usually providing the relevant passages in Greek. Figueira, *A&A* also copiously quotes and translates the relevant sources. Figueira's Table 4, "Athenian Colonization (478-404)" and notes (pp.217-225), along with his Appendix B, "Lemnos" and Appendix D, "Chersonese" (pp.253-256 and 260-262 respectively), are particularly helpful, even if occasionally contentious.

[2] Figueira, *A&A* 231f has a good discussion of the phenomenon in the fifth century; for fourth century traces see, e.g., *SV* 268 = Accame, *Lega* 230 (lines 5f) and Isok.12.164-167, 190.

Chersonesos and (one or the other of them — Herodotos says the younger) establisher of Athenian settlers on Lemnos and perhaps also on Imbros.[3] Their distant descendant, also named Miltiades (**950**), will turn up as the founder (*oikistes*) of the fourth century *apoikia* to the Adriatic (see below).

Salamis fell into the Athenian orbit quite early, as might be expected, given its proximity. Both the law-giver Solon (archon in 594/3) and the tyrant Peisistratos are associated (correctly or incorrectly) with its acquisition.[4] The so-called "Salamis decree", generally dated to the late sixth century, is the earliest extant inscribed decree of the Athenian state. Many editors restore a reference in it to "klerouchs", which would be the earliest known Athenian use of the technical term, but others object to the restoration.[5] Whatever the precise terminology, it is clear that Athenian settlers on the island are referred to, and scholarly speculations about the privileges and responsibilities of settlers elsewhere and much later are often based upon the provisions of this archaic document.

Another question raised by the Athenian annexation of Salamis that has later ramifications concerns the fate of the conquered native population of the island, which is obviously the original meaning of the term "Salaminians". How are they to be related to the well attested Athenian clan (*genos*) known as the *Salaminioi*? Conflicting theories about the origins of the Attic *Salaminioi* are offered in two articles of 1938, both prompted by the discovery in 1936 of two well preserved epigraphic documents of the *genos*. M.P. Nilsson argues that the *Salaminioi* really were natives of Salamis, settled in Attike and given special cultic privileges when Athenian klerouchs settled their island, in "an exchange of inhabitants and property".[6] Conversely, W.S. Ferguson offers a theory whereby the existence of the Attic *Salaminioi* does not imply any Athenian occupation of the

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[3] Sources include Hdt. 5.94.1; 6.34-40, 136-140; Diod. 10.19.6; and Paus. 6.19.6. See Figueira, *A&A* 134-137. Also attested in the archaic Chersonesos are Stesagoras (**1171A**), nephew and adopted son of the elder Miltiades and brother of the younger, and the younger Miltiades' son Metiochos (**939A**) and Thraikian second wife Hegesipyle (**590A**).

[4] Plut. *Sol.* 8-10. Frank Frost, in a presentation of December 28, 1992 at the American Philological Association convention in New Orleans, helped to unravel some of the confused tradition; his argument is summarized in *APA Abstracts* (1992) p.5.

[5] *IG* i³ 1. Graham, *CMC*² 168 n.6 discusses problems associated with this inscription. Now see also Figueira, *A&A* 144-146 and Walbank at *Agora* XIX pp.151 and n.9, 153. The Addendum to *IG* i³ 1, p.935 shows that the "klerouchs" restoration is now somewhat stronger, with the elimination of several other formerly plausible restorations: see App. A.

[6] Nilsson, *AJPh* 59 (1938) 385-393 (quote from p.387).

island (yet) or any movement of native Salaminians to Attike (at all). In his reconstruction, the *genos*-name *Salaminioi* was a politically motivated fiction, opportunely adopted by Athenian families connected with Attic hero cults, who re-defined themselves as descendants of the son(s) of Aias (lord of Salamis in the *Iliad*), who had supposedly moved to Attike and to whom their father had supposedly bequeathed the island. Two groups arose, both employing the same name, one centered on Sounion and another around the city demes of Melite and Phaleron. By assuming this legendary lineage, these Attic *Salaminioi* "could claim that they, not the Salaminians resident on the island, were the rightful owners", and they were able to make the claim stick when Kleomenes (apparently the Spartan king Kleomenes I) and other Spartan arbitrators definitively ruled that the island belonged to Athens and not to Megara, late in the sixth century.[7] Both authors assume that some (at least) of the native Salaminians stayed on Salamis and that Athenian klerouchs were sent to the island.[8]

M. Guarducci rejects the theories of both Nilsson and Ferguson on the origins of the *genos*, and develops a theory that involves Athenian occupation of the island in the seventh century, then its loss (decried by Solon), its recapture (under Peisistratos), and the sending of klerouchs very shortly after the Kleisthenic reforms of the late sixth century. Her *Salaminioi* are descendants of the early *Athenian* settlers on the island, whose area of habitation is said to have extended to nearby areas on the mainland while they still occupied the island (thus the branch of the *genos* whose members are associated with several *asty*-area demes), and then others settled in Sounion (the deme associated with the other branch of the *genos*)

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[7] Ferguson, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 1-74 (quote from p.45). Ferguson prints both texts, no.1 (archon-dated to 363/2) on pp.3-5 (trans. pp.5-8) and no.2 (dated by letter forms only to about a century later) on pp.9f (trans. pp.10 and 12), with photos on pp.1 and 11, respectively. H.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca 1977) 80 seems to accept Nilsson's theory, whereas E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison 1983) 91 seems (implicitly) to follow Ferguson's. The sources cited by Ferguson as mentioning five Spartans, one named Kleomenes (Plut. *Sol.* 10; Ail. *V.H.* 7.19), put these events in the time of Solon, which would be too early for the identification of Kleomenes with the king of that name, but Ferguson says that Plutarch "is probably antedating" and seems to prefer this interpretation (derived from Beloch); Nilsson, citing the same primary and secondary materials (p.386), agrees on this point. Ferguson's two texts are now available as *Agora* XIX.L4a and L4b.

[8] Ferguson pp.17 and 19; Nilsson pp. 386 and 393. Nilsson (p.386 and n.5), like others, finds evidence for this in a Scholion to Pindar's Ode to the pankratist Timodemos of Acharnai (**1238**: Sch.Pind. *Nem.* 2.19; see Sec.2.9 below for the Greek); see also Vartsos, *AK* 26. Vartsos 28 n.4 interprets Hdt. 8.95 as also referring to the klerouchs; cf. Graham, *CMC*[2] 168 n.6; see also *Agora* XIX.L3, Stroud's revised text of *IG* ii[2] 30, discussed in Sec.1.4 below.

when the Athenians were expelled from Salamis in the struggle with the Megarians. She accepts G. Daux's interpretation to the effect that Ferguson's second decree includes a reference to *Archaiosalaminioi*, and his suggestion that the word refers not to native Salaminians but to the earlier of these two divisions of the Athenian *genos*.[9] Later commentators suggest further complications.[10] In later sources, when a person is described as a "Salaminian", how many different meanings are possible? The question is more inescapable than answerable; theories are sufficiently numerous and mutually incompatible that certainty seems unattainable.[11]

Klerouchs sent to Chalkis near the end of the sixth century were the first of several dispatches of Athenian settlers to locations on the nearby large island of E uboia. Fifth century establishments existed also at Eretria, at Karystos, at Hestiaia/Oreos, and perhaps at other Euboian places. These settlements, their frequently ambiguous legal statuses, and the sources associated with them have fostered a huge literature — all, however, relating to pre-fourth century issues that need not be discussed here.

The same cannot be said about complications prompted by sources on fifth century developments on Lemnos and Imbros: these may well have important implications for understanding the history and institutions of the fourth century Athenian settlements on the two islands. Imbros is, in fact, often only an inferential "tag-along" in discussions of events involving Lemnos. Herodotos tells us, for example, that Miltiades sailed from the Chersonesos and conquered Lemnos, inviting Athenians to settle there.[12] From

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[9] Guarducci, *RFIC* 26 (1948) 223-237, citing Daux, *REG* 54 (1941) 220-222; both are cited in turn by Finley, *SLC* 287 n.49, on a tangential point.

[10] Humphreys, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 246f explicitly rejects all three of the cited theories, saying (p.247): "None of the attempts to link the genos with the sixth-century conquest of Salamis has been really persuasive. I suggest that the nucleus of the genos may have migrated from Salamis to Athens in the dark ages", moving outward from its initial area of settlement, that "the group was thoroughly incorporated into the city elite", and that it played no "conspicuous part" in re-taking the island. R. Osborne, *AJA* 96 (1992) 348 rejects connecting the Attic *Salaminioi* with the island and asserts that, in Attike, "the Salaminioi and their cults are at home in the seventh century". See *Agora* XIX.L4a and L4b for further literature.

[11] Figueira, *A&A* 146f seems rather strongly to doubt "the continued existence of a non-citizen population on the site", saying that "no solid evidence can be adduced in support of this hypothesis. Any 'indigenous' population...were (it seems) later considered citizens" [syntax in original]. Bolder suggestions by Figueira, e.g., that the indigenous Salaminians became citizens *without demes* (pp.147f), are discussed below.

[12] Hdt. 6.136-140; cf. Diod. 10.19.6; Miltiades' accomplishments on Lemnos seem also to be commemorated on inscribed helmets dedicated at Olympia (*IG* i[3] 1466: 'Αθεναῖοι [τ]ον ἐγ Λέμν[ο]) and at Rhamnous in Attike (*IG* i[3] 522*bis* = Touchais, *BCH* 109 [1985] 768f and fig.17: 'Ραμνόσιοι οἱ ἐν Λέμνο[ι ἀ]νέ[θεσαν

Hephaistia, the population center of the eastern half of the island (a role filled in the west by Myrina) comes a pillar inscribed, apparently on three sides, with lists of names in lettering appropriate to the first quarter of the fifth century, among which as a subheading appears the name of the Attic tribe (*phyle*) of Hippothontis.[13] The Athenian background of the persons listed is therefore obvious, but scholars differ as to what (if anything) is implied by the tribal heading as to their citizenship status; divisions of the citizen body within the mother city tend to be retained within its colonies.[14] "Lemnians" continue to appear occasionally in fifth century literary sources.[15] Who are they? Athenian settlers on the island? If so, do persons described by this "ethnic" retain their Athenian citizenship or not?[16] Or are such "Lemnians" the remnants of the conquered pre-Athenian, non-Greek population?[17]

The population situation becomes further muddled when (as most scholars believe) additional Athenian settlers arrive around the middle of the fifth century, and when Attic inscriptional records begin showing the receipt of tribute from Lemnos (first as a single entity, then separately from Myrina and Hephaistia). Scholars who take it as axiomatic that klerouchs, being Athenian citizens, would never have been assessed the tribute demanded of dependent allies have to explain how Lemnos, already long dominated by Athenians, could be tributary. The customary explanations are basically of two kinds:

Νεμ]έσει). For literature on the Rhamnous dedication, see *SEG* 35.24; 36.43; and 38.25. Other possibly related dedications at Olympia are *IG* i³ 518 and 1472. Figueira, *A&A* 138 suggests that Miltiades "may have retained Imbros" when he "surrendered Lemnos to Athens".

13 *IG* i³ 1477; see Sec.2.5 below. The so-called "Kleisthenic" tribes (established by the reformer Kleisthenes) existed in Attike from some point in the last decade of the sixth century. Every Athenian male henceforth was identified by, and performed certain political and military functions according to, his *phyle* and his deme within it.

14 Figueira, *A&A* 253, calling the inscription "a casualty list", says that the listing by Kleisthenic tribes "could suggest that the Lemnians still considered themselves to be Athenians, but whether in turn that would indicate a claim to be Athenian citizens...or merely Athenians in a cultural and religious sense...is indeterminable. Moreover the attitude toward such a claim to citizenship on the part of the Athenians themselves is quite uncertain".

15 See, e.g., Hdt. 8.11.3, 82; Thuc. 3.5.1; 4.28.4; 5.8.2.

16 Problems appear to be raised by, e.g., Thuc. 7.57; Paus. 1.28.2; *IG* i³ 1164 and 1165.

17 Hdt. 5.26f. Several non-Greek inscriptions have been found on Lemnos, e.g., *IG* xii(8) 1; Hereward, *AJA* 67 (1963) 72; Catling, *AR* (1983/4) 57. I suspected for a while that Diane Harris and I had found another: see App. A re *IG* xii Supp. 339.

1. The earlier settlers (those with Miltiades) were *not* Athenian citizen klerouchs, but were *apoikoi* who founded new cities with their own citizenship;[18] thus they (and their descendants) were not Athenians, but Athenian allies, subject to tribute just like other allies — and they pay, while the more recently arrived Athenian citizen klerouchs do not (a variant on this interpretation is that the early settlers had retained their Athenian citizenship, but forfeited it when they Medized during the Persian War); or
2. Those paying the tribute constitute *neither* set of Athenian settlers (early or late), but are instead the descendants of the remnant of the pre-Athenian inhabitants.

Neither explanation is entirely satisfying, as some scholars admit. Similar problems about displaced (or partly displaced) earlier inhabitants apply to Imbros.[19] Skyros, from which the native population seems to have been entirely expelled by Miltiades' son Kimon in the early 470s, apparently never paid tribute — yet the ethnic "Skyrian" is attested very much later on.[20] Discussions of the fourth century history of the three islands tend to avoid any mention of problems of ethnicity among their inhabitants.[21] Editorial phrasing within the initial publication of an inscription discovered in the Athenian agora in 1986 seemed perhaps to bring them once again to the fore, although that impression has proved to be erroneous.[22]

Kimon also restored an Athenian presence in the Chersonesos[23] (control there had temporarily passed to the invading Persians) and captured Eion at the mouth of the Strymon; some believe that settlers were established there, others think only of a garrison. Probably shortly afterward came the Athenians' first unsuccessful at-

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[18] Figueira, *A&A* 254f, not differentiating fifth century *apoikoi* from *klerouchoi* on the basis of citizenship, differentiates instead between early (non-Athenian-citizen) *apoikoi* and imperial (Athenian-citizen) *apoikoi*, seeing the dwellers on Lemnos as mostly tributary because mostly early arrivals. Some hedging about Lemnos' status appears, however, at p.168 and n.20.

[19] Graham, *CMC*² 188: "In the present state of our knowledge it must be confessed that there is no entirely satisfactory way of reconstructing the situation of these islands in detail...".

[20] For the expulsion, see Thuc. 1.98.2; Diod. 11.60.2; Plut. *Kim.* 8.3-5; Nep. *Cim.* 8; Plut. *Thes.* 36.1; Paus. 3.3.7f. For the "ethnic", see the Roman-period memorial *IG* xii(8) 672.2.

[21] A comment from which I exempt Graham, *CMC*² 184 and Brunt, *Ehrenb.St.* 81.

[22] Agora Inv. I 7557, still unpublished at this writing, but briefly discussed in *SEG* 36.146; see Sec.2.2 below.

[23] Hdt. 9.114-121; Thuc. 1.89.2; Plut. *Kim.* ?9, 14.1; Sch.Ais. 2.31 (Loeb numbering).

tempt to settle a short distance upriver at a place called *Ennea Hodoi* ("Nine Ways"), the location later (437/6) settled by a combined population of Athenians and allies and named Amphipolis. There is a problematic relationship between this city (lost to the Spartan Brasidas in 424/3 and never regained by the Athenians) and the mysterious *apoikia* at Brea, apparently established somewhat earlier, whose precise location within this Thraikian region is unknown. The foundation decree of the *apoikia* at Brea is extant, however, and is sometimes cited in discussions of institutional arrangements within the fourth century settlements.[24]

In the heyday of the Athenian Empire, especially under the leadership of Perikles, thousands of Athenian settlers were sent out, occupying places from Italy (Thourioi) to the shores of the Propontis and the Black Sea.[25] Among them were additional settlers dispatched to the Chersonesos.[26] Other groups of klerouchs, not directly attested, to Lemnos and Imbros (the ones already discussed, above) are inferred from fluctuations in the islands' tribute quotas, which parallel those for the Chersonesite cities. It is not possible even to name with certainty all of the places to which Athenian settlers were sent in this expansionist period, and some suggested places are debatable.[27] A few scholars[28] even assert that Samos received Athenian settlers after its abortive revolt from the Athenian alliance in 440-439, but the only concrete evidence cited is a few boundary stones (*horoi*) associated with Athenian cults — evidence which I, like most commentators, find unconvincing.[29] Samos was,

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[24] *IG* i^3 46. *SEG* 37.9 cites Vartsos, *Anc.Mac.* II (Thessaloniki 1977) 13-16 as referring to Brea as a klerouchy. Brea is mentioned in some very late sources, but these do not answer the questions that arise. Figueira, *A&A* 59f makes some rather bold inferences about klerouchies from this text referring explicitly and only to an *apoikia*. Forms of the latter word itself appear in lines 9, [12f], 33, and 37f; references to the settlers as *apoikoi* appear in lines 18, 23, 29, and 45f; and related words appear in lines 8f, 30f, and 32f; no word from the root *kler-* appears at all.

[25] Numbers in ancient sources are often unreliable, and conclusions are necessarily conjectural. See, e.g., Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 172-189 and *D&D* 70-72.

[26] Plut. *Per.* 11.5, 19.1; Diod. 11.88.3; *IG* i^3 1162. The contextual reference of Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a, quoting Peitholaos to the effect that Sestos was the "grain chest of the Peiraieus" (Σηστὸν δὲ τηλίαν τοῦ Πειραιέως), seems to be late-fifth century; the phrase is paired with another from the same orator, calling the state trireme, the Paralos, the "bludgeon of the *demos*".

[27] Figueira, *A&A* 226-236 summarizes the Periklean period of Athenian settlements, questioning much of the traditional terminology.

[28] E.g., Kahrstedt (1931) 168-170 and Vartsos, *AK* 11f, 105-107.

[29] The *horoi* are discussed in, e.g., Barron, *JHS* 84 (1964) 35-48 and Tsakos, *AD* 32 (1977) A.70-79; the latter article is summarized by Robert, *BÉ* (1983) 291. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 102f and nn. discusses this controversy, with literature, and seems himself to prefer the negative interpretation. Texts of these *horoi* are now handily available at *IG* i^3 1492-1499.

however, an important Athenian naval base, and the Athenian fleet stationed there formed a virtual democratic "government in exile" at the time of the oligarchic coup of the "Four Hundred" in Athens in 411 B.C. By this time (in 412), a democratic revolution on Samos had instituted a regime on the island friendly to the Athenians, and the special closeness of the Samians and Athenians persisted throughout the war and beyond. In 405, the Athenian *demos* granted Athenian citizenship to these pro-Athenian Samians, although explicitly recognizing their state as autonomous, and Samos (unlike Athens' other allies) remained loyal to the end, fighting even beyond the surrender of Athens itself; the citizenship grant was reaffirmed in 403. I have suggested elsewhere that these special circumstances may have had profound effects on the Athenian settlement on Samos in the fourth century, although most scholars have ignored any possible relationship between the developments.[30]

The Peloponnesian War itself (431-404) prompted the establishment of several Athenian settlements, sometimes punitively, as Athenians were sent to take over lands confiscated from unsuccessful rebels. Among places receiving settlers that have not been mentioned thus far are Aigina,[31] Mytilene on Lesbos (the best attested), Skione, and Melos. None of these establishments outlasted Athens' defeat in the war, nor, apparently, did the presence of fifth century Athenian settlers at Poteidaia[32] — although Athenians would reappear in this place in the fourth century. The Spartan naval commander Lysandros was the chief agent of Athens' defeat, winning the decisive naval battle of Aigospotamoi in the Hellespont in 405 and later besieging Athens until its surrender. Xenophon tells us that he expelled the controlling (pro-Athenian) faction from Samos, reinstating its (oligarchic) rivals. He is also said to have expelled Athenian garrison troops — and indeed any Athenians he encountered — requiring them to go home to Attike and nowhere else, expecting their presence there to worsen starvation conditions during his contemplated siege. He restored the surviving remnants of the native populations of Aigina and Melos, and of unspecified other places, Xenophon adds.[33]

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[30] Thuc. 8.21 and *passim*; *IG* ii^2 1; see Cargill, *GRBS* 321-332. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 88 and 301 is an exception. For additional recent literature, see *SEG* 36.23; *ib.* 37.20 cites Shipley, *Samos* against my argument. See further Figueira, *A&A* 30 n.60.

[31] The focus, as is obvious from his title, of Figueira, *A&A*; the study ranges far, however, both geographically and chronologically, offering many observations relevant to the present work that call for citation and/or challenge.

[32] Thuc. 2.70; *IG* i^3 514; *ATL* D 21.

[33] Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.2, 9; 2.3.6f.

1.2 The Thraikian Chersonesos in the Early Fourth Century

How literally should Xenophon's summary of Lysandros' expulsion of Athenians be accepted? Should we infer expulsions from places not explicitly mentioned?[1] The Chersonesos, site of Lysandros' decisive victory of Aigospotamoi in 405 B.C., warrants discussion, for example: were all the Athenian settlers in that area sent to Athens? Clearly the Athenians had been able to operate freely on the peninsula prior to the battle, as they anchored their ships at Elaious, then moved on to Sestos, and finally occupied the uninhabited beach at the battle site itself, getting their supplies from Sestos.[2] Lysandros took many prisoners back to his base on the Asian shore at Lampsakos, and there his allies resolved to kill all (with one exception) of the Athenians among them.[3] It would appear that these prisoners were Athenians and allies serving on the fleet that had recently arrived; nothing is said about the involvement of dwellers in the Chersonesos, either in the battle or in any repercussions just afterward.

Still, Xenophon's statement about Lysandros' sending all Athenians he saw to Athens is made in the context of Lysandros' activities around Byzantion, and reasonably would apply to Athenians "seen" in the nearby Chersonesos. Plutarch does say that Lysandros took Sestos from the Athenians (see below). Departure of Athenian settlers (or at least many of them) would explain the scene surveyed by the Spartan commander Derkyllidas in 398, when he (re)built the wall that offered protection from marauding Thraikians to the "eleven or twelve towns" of the peninsula. Although damaged, the towns seem to have been functioning, presumably still occupied (at least mostly) by the non-Athenian elements of the population, who remained in place. Xenophon does not say that the Spartans themselves brought in any settlers at this time, but the desirability of the land is stressed,[4] and Plutarch says that Lysandros gave the city and

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[1] See, e.g., the inferences of Figueira, *A&A* 27 about Poteidaia. But *HCT* IV.435 (=V.413f) points out that Lysandros' expulsions on Aigina and Melos were merely incidental to his voyage from the Hellespont to Athens, and also that whereas Paus. 4.26.2 and 10.38.10 says that the Messenians were expelled from Naupaktos at the end of the war, Diod. 14.34.2 puts their expulsion only in 401/0, after Sparta's completion of its war with Elis.

[2] Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.20, 26.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.30, 32. Adeimantos, one of the Athenian generals, was to be spared, because in assembly he had opposed a suggestion to mutilate captives.

[4] Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.9f.

chora of Sestos to his "pilots and boatswains".[5] The Spartan king Agesilaos passed through the Chersonesos on his return march from Asia in 394, apparently without incident, although war with Athens and other Greek states (the Korinthian War) had already broken out.[6] By this time, the Spartans had definitely established a fortified center at Sestos, where, later in the same year, expelled Spartan governors (*harmostai*) sought refuge after the naval victory of the Persian Pharnabazos and the Athenian Konon at Knidos; Sestos is also described as the place of refuge for "whoever through the Lakedaimonians had land in the Chersonesos".[7] It is notable that when Plutarch says that "the Lakedaimonians" overruled Lysandros and restored the Sestians to their *chora*, he does not say that they were restored to their *city*.[8] Pharnabazos ordered Sestos (along with Abydos on the Asian side of the straits) to expel its Spartans, but without initial success, so he sent Konon to try to win over "the cities along the Hellespont" (no indication of which side), to gain their help in assembling a fleet for spring 393.[9]

Defending his activities on a peace mission sent to Sparta at about this time, Andokides asked his Athenian audience to consider why the fighting should continue: "...to get back the Chersonesos and our *apoikiai* and our landed property and the debts (owed us)?" But to accomplish these things, he continued, we would need the help of the Persian king and our allies, and they refuse to help.[10] Nonetheless, the Persians seem not to have cooled entirely (or for long). Sestos apparently had fallen, and an Athenian presence in the region apparently had been re-established, by 390, since in that year Thrasyboulos of Steiria could sail in and out of the Hellespont seemingly at will. Xenophon comments on Thrasyboulos' advantage in having Persian friendship to keep the cities on the Asian side favorable and discusses his mediation of peace negotiations between rival Thraikian dynasts, but says nothing to indicate any problems in dealing with the Chersonesos; he mentions also an Athenian possession in Asia, Kalchedon.[11] An aside by Isokrates clearly

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[5] Plut. *Lys.* 14.2: Σηστὸν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων ἀφελόμενος οὐκ εἴασεν οἰκεῖν Σηστίους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῷ κυβερνήταις καὶ κελευσταῖς ἔδωκε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν νέμεσθαι (Loeb trans. of technical terms). Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 81 and 107 cites this passage as evidence that the Spartans, like the Athenians, allowed persons above their lower economic classes to hold *kleroi* overseas.

[6] Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.6, 8.

[7] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.5: ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ.

[8] Plut. *Lys.* 14.2: ἀντέκρουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοὺς Σηστίους αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν κατήγαγον.

[9] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.6.

[10] Andok. 3.15.

[11] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.26-28, 31.

shows, however, that Athenian settlers *were* present in the Chersonesos at this time: he tells Philip of Makedon in 346 that if they should acquire control of Amphipolis, the Athenians would have to maintain the same friendly relations with him "because of the settlers there as we had toward the elder Amadokos because of the landholders in the Chersonesos". This Amadokos was one of the two Thraikian kings who had been reconciled and made "friends and allies" of Athens in 390 by Thrasyboulos.[12] When the Spartans sent Anaxibios to the region to harass Athenian and allied shipping from the Black Sea, the Athenians countered by sending out Iphikrates, whose base was in the Chersonesos (no specific location indicated).[13] Abydos, still in Spartan hands, was besieged in 388 by Athenian generals setting out from the Chersonesos (again unspecifically),[14] and was relieved in 387 by Antalkidas, fresh from his meeting with the Persian king, having won him over to friendliness with the Spartans and to a revised set of general peace terms similar to those Antalkidas had proposed to the satrap Tiribazos in 392 (of which more below).[15] Thus in the Chersonesos, an initial removal of Athenian settlers seems likely, followed by an influx of settlers sponsored by the Spartans (provenance unknown), who in turn were apparently expelled, whereupon Athenian settlers came back.[16] There were also always many non-Athenians among the peninsula's inhabitants. One passage in Xenophon's account is particularly interesting. Iphikrates, in successfully setting up an ambush for Anaxibios, deceived the Spartan into believing he was away, by use of the following ruse:

> The triremes which had brought him across he ordered to sail along at dawn, beside the Chersonesos, up (the strait), so that it might seem that, as he was accustomed to do, he was sailing up to collect money.[17]

If Athenian generals at this time customarily collected money in the Chersonesos, as this ruse implies, from whom did they collect it? Presumably at least some of it came from the non-Athenian inhab-

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[12] Isok. 5.6: διὰ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας οἵανπερ εἴχομεν Ἀμαδόκῳ τῷ παλαιῷ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ γεωργοῦντας. Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.26 says that Thrasyboulos Ἀμήδοκόν τε... καὶ Σεύθην... Ἀθηαίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε.

[13] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.32-35, 39.

[14] Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.7.

[15] Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.25-29, 31; cf. 4.8.12-15.

[16] Beister 410f may be technically correct in saying that for twenty years after the Peloponnesian War the only Athenian "staatlichen Außenbesitzungen" were Salamis, Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. The Athenians' possession of places in the Chersonesos was apparently more-or-less "extralegal".

[17] Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35: ... παραπλεῖν ... παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τὴς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι.

itants. But Athenian citizens there might also be asked to support Athenian war efforts, as citizens in Attike sometimes paid *eisphorai.*[18]

In 386, the Chersonesite cities (at least the Greek *poleis* there) must have been among those guaranteed "autonomy" under the terms of the "King's Peace" which Antalkidas had negotiated. At least one of them (Elaious) subsequently joined the second Athenian league,[19] and others seem at a later point to have been autonomous Athenian allies of some type.[20] No new Athenian settlers in the Chersonesos are attested prior to 353/2 (see Sec.1.7 below), although there is no evidence that Athenian settlers already in the Chersonesos were expelled. The Spartan presence in Asia, and at Sestos, had been removed, so no actual enemy threat required an extensive Athenian presence in the area — an area whose cities were mostly friendly toward Athens, anyway. Moreover, the Persian king had recognized Athenian control of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros (see next section), and the presence of Athenian settlers on those islands also did much to safeguard the Athenian grain trade.

1.3 Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros to the Makedonian Conquest

It is symptomatic of the general scholarly uncertainty about post-Peloponnesian War developments in Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros that M.H. Hansen, in his 1986 monograph on the population of fourth century Athens, can make the following statement:

> In 405/4 Lysandros forced all Athenians abroad to return to Attica...and by the turn of the century the total number of Athenians must have been almost identical with the number of Athenians living in Attica,

yet only two pages later can say:

> the klerouchies in Skyros, Lemnos and Imbros...were probably populated by Athenians not sent back to Athens in 404, and may not have been reinforced, in the fourth century, by new contingents of klerouchs.[1]

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[18] Mention may be made in this context of a passage seemingly referring to an *eisphora* among Athenians in Poteidaia, [Arist.] *Oikon.* 1347a.18-24, but much, including its date, is doubtful; see discussion in Sec.3.13 below.

[19] *IG* ii^2 43.123 (=B27).

[20] *IG* ii^2 126.13-17.

[1] Hansen, *D&D* 68 and 70, respectively. Beister 410 says that in 405/4 "hatte Athen alle Außenbesitzungen mit Ausnahme von Samos verloren", but also that on Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros "das Siedlungsrecht der Athener und ihrer Nachkommen wahrscheinlich auch nicht von Lysander 405/4 v.Chr. angefochten

The chief problematic source is a passage of Andokides, in which certain proposed peace terms with Sparta (in 392) are described as preferable to those of an earlier truce, because Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros "then belonged to those possessing (them), but now are to be ours".[2] The issue is whether Athenian settlers, detached from political dependence on their mother city, would be referred to by an Athenian as "those possessing" as contrasted with (so to speak) "us". If not, then someone else must be meant. I believe, however, that such a reference *was* possible, and I think that this interpretation does the least violence to the limited evidence available.[3] In the view of most commentators, an inscription from Myrina on Lemnos, dated by editors to the period right around 400 B.C., indicates independence from the Athenian state. It is a proxeny decree passed by the *boule* and *demos* of "the Myrinaians" — the sort of phrasing we see again in inscriptions dated after Lemnos was separated from Athenian control in the late fourth century, as contrasted with obviously klerouchic decrees' references to "the Athenians in Myrina" in the interim.[4] Loss of control of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros at the end of the Peloponnesian War is also a reasonable inference from Aischines' lament that Athens, toward the end, spurned peace terms that would have included their retention.[5] There is, however, literary evidence indicating possible Athenian control of the three islands at the time of the peace negotiations of 392,[6] and such control was certainly ratified by the eventual

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worden war"; he adds that by 387/6 there were "wahrscheinlich auch Neusiedler" on the islands. Vartsos, *AK* 73 seems to indicate that Lysandros removed a great many Athenian klerouchs; Kahrstedt (1931) 174 and Brunt *Ehrenb.St.* 80 say that he probably removed no one; Graham, *CMC*^{2} 184-187 and nn. discusses the possibilities even-handedly. Figueira, *A&A* 37 boldly asserts of Lemnos and Imbros: "Both islands were probably controlled by Spartan-installed decarchies right after the war"; n.82 cites *IG* xii(8) 2 and *IG* ii^2 30 (=*Agora* XIX.L3) in an unconvincing defense of this suggestion, concluding: "This reconstruction accommodates the absence of any evidence for a Spartan-imposed settlement such as the one attested at Sestos...".

[2] Andok. 3.12: τότε μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς ἔχοντας, νῦν δὲ ἡμετέρας εἶναι.

[3] Graham, *CMC*^{2} 185-188 discusses this problem.

[4] *IG* xii(8) 2, similar to *ib.* 7; cf. 3-6. See fuller discussion, and Greek, in Sec.3.6 below. Graham, *CMC*^{2} 186 implies the possibility of the simultaneous presence of more than one body capable of making such resolutions.

[5] Ais. 2.76; Vartsos, *AK* 51 n.6 cites this, somewhat irrelevantly, as evidence that Athens recovered the islands in 391.

[6] Andok. 3.12 (see Greek above) and 14 may tend to imply this; see also Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.15: οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖεν. Vartsos, *AK* 74 infers Athenian recapture of the islands shortly after Knidos, as does Bugh, *Horsemen* 211.

peace terms.[7] There is also Attic epigraphical evidence for Athenian *kleroucho*i on Lemnos by at least the early 380s.[8]

No extant literary or epigraphic source clearly refers to the sending of any group of Athenian settlers to any of these islands in the fourth century.[9] One possible, but quite uncertain, source deserves mention, nevertheless. An Athenian inscription of fourth century date (by letter forms) apparently includes the heading and the beginning of a list of klerouchs for a specified destination, but the stone is broken off just at the beginning of the toponym: [*klero(u)*]*choi eis* [– – –]. Traces rule out some suggestions for the next word's initial letter and make some other letters reasonable alternatives. Hansen suggests a possible restoration of Krithote, in the Chersonesos, an attested Athenian-controlled site (see below), and Imbros is also possible. Hephaistia on Lemnos seems to me to be the most likely possibility.[10] In any event, the Athenian settlers on Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros are mentioned frequently enough in inscriptional and literary sources to make it clear that the three islands were occupied by Athenian settlers throughout the period of Athens' fourth century hegemony.[11] Rebels from the Athenian league at the time of the Social War (357-355 B.C.) attacked Imbros, Lemnos, Samos (see below), and other Athenian-domi-

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[7] Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31: "Artaxerxes the king thinks it just that the cities in Asia should be his, and of the islands Klazomenai and Kypros, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left autonomous, except Lemnos and Imbros and Skyros: these, as of old, should be the Athenians'" (ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων); cf. Diod. 14.110.3.

[8] *Agora* XIX.L3 = *IG* ii^2 30, as improved by R.S. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 162-173 no.23 (discussed in considerable detail in several other places, below, with Greek passages). Vartsos, *AK* 74 sees this inscription as being related to the resettlement (ἀποκατάστασιν) of Athenian klerouchs on Lemnos (p.52's reference to the question of whether Athens lost possession of Skyros in "387/6", incidentally, is only a misprint for 287/6).

[9] Cf. Figueira, *A&A* 37 n.82: "*IG* II^2 30 may contain Athenian regulations for the return to Lemnos of Athenian citizens put to flight by Lysander...". In a similar vein, see Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 298: "386 hatte Athen...Siedler auf die Inseln geschickt".

[10] *IG* ii^2 1952, fr.*a*; see App. A, citing esp. Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 172-174. The Krithote suggestion is at Hansen, *D&D* 106f n.209; see also Vartsos, *AK* 124 n.5. Cf. Figueira, *A&A* 52, discussing Hereward's suggestions of *eta*, *kappa*, or *nu*, who concludes: "That would not agree with any known fourth-century cleruchy". Referring to the same argument elsewhere (p.248 n.46), Figueira says that Hereward's observation means that "another, otherwise unattested, cleruchy *must have* existed [my emphasis] in the fourth century. If that were so, it would have an incalculable effect on allied perceptions of Athenian recolonization". More careful epigraphy might encourage more cautious historical theorizing, I would suggest. Sec.2.4 below discusses this fragment.

[11] See Vartsos, *AK* 62 and Graham, *CMC*^{2} 174 and nn. Along with other sources cited here, add *Agora* XIX.P4 = Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 25-28 no.33, on which see Sec.3.13 below.

nated territories;[12] later Philip of Makedon made incursions,[13] and Myrina on Lemnos apparently gave shelter to persons he had expelled from Chalkidike.[14] An Attic decree of 337/6, moved by Demades, mentions both Lemnos (twice) and "the king", which the inscription's editor interprets as meaning Philip, but the inscription is too fragmentary for certainty about its content, and a recent discussion suggests that the reference is to "the Athenian official, not a Macedonian king, and that the law was concerned with ritual".[15]

1.4 Salamis from Aigospotamoi through the Lamian War

A similarly long and thorough stability existed, not surprisingly, in the settlement on Salamis, just off the coast of Attike. A fourth century Attic inscription prescribes that certain arrangements among the Lemnian klerouchs shall be "just as for those on Salamis", implying to some scholars that institutions there were considered archetypical for Athenian settlements.[1] Nonetheless, the population of Salamis may well have been temporarily but substantially decreased near the end of the fifth century. Lysandros, after restoring the surviving Aiginetans to their island in 405, is said to have ravaged Salamis prior to sealing the Peiraieus against incom-

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[12] Diod. 16.21.2.

[13] Dem. 4.34; [Dem.] 59.3; Ais. 2.72; Str. 9.5.16.

[14] *IG* xii(8) 4; see Greek and further discussion in Secs.2.2 and 3.8 below. Vartsos, *AK* 78 seems to identify these as refugees from Chalkis in Euboia.

[15] Schwenk no.5, improving Schweigert, *Hesperia* 9 (1940) 325-327 no.35, lines 10 (Λήμνω[ι – – –]), 19 ([– – – Λ]ήμνωι), 21 ([– – –] τὸμ βασι[λέα – – –]). Schwenk p.32, agreeing with Schweigert, sees line 21 as probably referring to Philip; cf. Humphreys, *Essays...Starr* 202 and 223 n.12 (quoted phrase from n.12). *SEG* 36.120 cites Humphreys, inserting "[sic]" after her unwarranted term "law".

[1] *Agora* XIX.L3 = Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 162-173 no.23.34 (=*IG* ii² 30.b7): [– – – καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα – – –]. Vartsos, *AK* 28f (e.g.) draws this conclusion; see also Beister 410; Hansen, *D&D* 107 n.218. Hansen (pp. 71, 107 nn.214f) treats provisions of the late sixth century "Salamis decree" (*IG* i³ 1) as valid concurrently with provisions of a decree concerning Samos that was passed a full century later. Cf. the sensible admonition of Stroud p.173: "...a reference to rules for Salaminian cleruchs is not necessarily a reference to the fragmentary sixth-century text which we possess[;]...it is possible that there were later enactments which superseded *I.G.*, I², 1" (Stroud's n.34 suggests possible reorganization after the Persian Wars). Bugh, *Horsemen* 214 cites Stroud's caution favorably, and Figueira, *A&A* 145 n.28 is admirably cautious in drawing inferences from Stroud's "lacunose text". Walbank seems to share this caution at *Agora* XIX p.151 n.9, but his comments on p.153 indicate a belief in similar conditions placed on all klerouchs at all times.

ing ships.[2] Dwellers on Salamis who could escape presumably fled to the mainland of Attike. Those remaining and/or the returnees were later victimized by Lysandros' protégés, the "Thirty Tyrants", who are said to have planned to take over their territory, along with that of Eleusis, as a potential place of refuge. Among several accusations of Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty, Lysias charged that he and his fellow magistrates went to Salamis and Eleusis and took 300 citizens to prison, who were condemned to death by a single vote.[3] M.B. Walbank reinterprets *IG* ii^2 1579, with a newer fragment added by Meritt in 1946, as part of a monument "which bore a record of the sale by the *poletai* of 402/1 B.C. of the real property of the Thirty Tyrants and of their adherents"; Meritt's fragment mentions property on Salamis, and Walbank suggests the possibility that the names of two of the Thirty may have appeared as its owners at the time when the *demos* re-confiscated it.[4] Xenophon, who gives a full account of the destruction and expropriation of the Eleusinians, offers no such general discussion of events involving Salamis, although he does mention the groundless condemnation of Leon "the Salaminian" (**853**), an event that is well attested because of its connection with Sokrates.[5] In addition to the document of the Athenian *poletai* just discussed, there is a mid-fourth century inscription that refers to collection of an Athenian 1% sales tax (*hekatoste*) for a transaction on Salamis, among other such transactions in various Attic demes.[6] An inscription of the first half of the fourth century

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[2] Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.9. Rhodes, *CAAP* 686 says that Athens lost all its possessions *except* Salamis after Aigospotamoi.

[3] Lys. 12.52; the same events are alluded to in 13.44.

[4] *Agora* XIX.P2 = Walbank, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 74-98, improving (p.80) the text of the fragment of Meritt, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 181-184 no.31 (quote from Walbank's p.74); Walbank subsequently adds another fragment, *Agora* XIX.LA2 (it does not affect the argument). Admittedly, one of the suggested names depends on restoration and the other depends on emending a name in Xenophon's list of the Thirty. It is not even necessary, however, Walbank contends, to find names of members of the Thirty on the stele, since the names could equally well be those of their adherents, which would fit the situation just as readily. T.C. Loening, *The Reconciliation Agreement of 404/402 B.C. in Athens* (Stuttgart 1987) = *Hermes* Einz. 53, pp.64-67 (summarized in *SEG* 38.149) refines Walbank's argument somewhat; see also Langdon, *Agora* XIX p.59 and n.15.

[5] Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.8-10 and 2.3.39, respectively; see also *Mem.* 4.4.3; Andok. 1.94; Plato *Apol.* 32 C-D; *Lett.* 7.324E; D.L. 2.24. Sokrates was ordered to be a member of the arresting party, but refused to go. On Leon, see Sec.2.9 below.

[6] *IG* ii^2 1596.12-16. Figueira, *A&A* 145 n.28 cites these two inscriptions as evidence for post-fifth century "treatment of Salaminian holdings as ordinary property". See Sec.3.3 below.

records the lease of properties on the island.[7] An epigraphical passage dated to 329/8 lists first-fruits for Eleusis that have been brought by officers from various Athenian-held territories and by someone from Salamis — mentioned without title, although the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, generally dated to about this same time, refers to an archon on Salamis.[8]

Antipatros, having defeated the Athenians in the "Lamian War" of 323-322, is said to have permitted them "to retain their city and their possessions and everything else".[9] If this phrase in Diodoros refers to the Athenian state's territorial possessions, and not only to the private holdings of individuals, it should apply to Salamis and to the more distant overseas possessions, and this would be consistent with what little is known about their fate at this time (see below) — especially since the obvious exception, Samos, is in fact singled out in this same account for separate treatment.[10] It is not surprising, then, to see an inscribed dedication, found on Salamis and usually editorially dated to ca. 320 B.C., in which the Athenian *hippeis* "for Salamis" honor their commander (**637**) and list their own names, all with patronymics and demotics, but we should not infer that these cavalrymen are residents of the island.[11]

1.5 Klerouchs on Samos, ca. 365-322 B.C.

In contrast to the population stability that seems to have characterized the islands just discussed, major shifts in population did occur during the fourth century on Samos. The anti-Athenian "oligarchic" Samians installed by Lysandros were seemingly still in power

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[7] *IG* ii^2 1590a (editor's date), from Salamis, cited and thus described by Walbank at *Agora* XIX p.158 n.53.

[8] *Ath.Pol.* 54.8; *IG* ii^2 1672.271-278, esp. 274 (ἐξαλαμῖνος Τιμόθεος 'Αλωπε.); the first name listed with every other territory's offering bears some title — *strategoi* from Skyros, Myrina, and Hephaistia, another from Drymos, and a *demarchos* bringing offerings from the precinct of Amphiaraos — although sometimes several names are related to the offering of one place, and in these cases the names beyond the first do not bear titles. Timotheos (**1240**), however, is the only name listed for Salamis.

[9] Diod. 18.18.4: ἔχειν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τ'ἄλλα πάντα.

[10] Diod. 18.18.6.

[11] *IG* ii^2 1955, esp. line 1. Bugh, *Horsemen* 212 points out a possible analogy between this text and a decree quoted in Dem. 18.116 (bracketed by editors), where Charidemos, as hoplite general, is stationed on Salamis, along with Diotimos, in command of the cavalry. See Sec.2.9 below for Greek and further discussion of both passages.

in the late 390s.[1] Perhaps the Spartans were able to safeguard the position of this faction under the "autonomy" clause of the King's Peace in 386; although located just off the coast of Asia, Samos was not (like Klazomenai and the more distant Kypros) designated as part of the sphere of the Persian king. There is no indication that Samos joined the new Athenian league organized in the 370s, although most of the other large islands along the Asian coast did. On the other hand, the Athenian league effectively broke Spartan sea power in the Aegean after 376, and Athenian interventions on behalf of "democratic" factions are attested elsewhere,[2] so the return of the Samian *demos* is not absolutely ruled out by the silence of the sketchy extant sources.[3]

Whatever had happened in the interim, we are told that a garrison commanded by one Kyprothemis,[4] who had been sent out by the Persian Tigranes, was occupying the island when the Athenian general Timotheos, originally sent out to support the rebel satrap Ariobarzanes, besieged it in 366. The siege succeeded, and Timotheos, in Demosthenes' words, "freed" Samos.[5] Athenian klerouchs were sent to Samos.[6] The generally accepted date for

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[1] Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.6f; 4.8 (esp. sec. 23); Diod. 14.79.4-7, 84.3f, 93.2-4, 97.1-4, 99.4f (esp. 97.3f); see also the cynical observations of Paus. 6.3.15f.

[2] See Cargill, *SAL* 40f, 44, 64-66.

[3] Shipley, *Samos* 135f, aware that there is "no precisely datable evidence for specific events between 391 and 366", agrees as to Samos' non-membership in the second Athenian league, but attributes this to Persian influence rather than Spartan, and says that this Persian influence "would also explain the possible attacks by Iphicrates and Chabrias of Athens in the late 370s or early 360s". Those events, as Shipley's own citations (156 n.7) show, and despite similar conclusions elsewhere (e.g., Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 300f n.8), are in fact undated: Frontinus 1.4.14 (Chabrias) and Polyain. 3.9.36 (Iphikrates). They tell us nothing about the power in whose orbit Samos was when the attacks occurred, only that those in power were hostile to Athens. Shipley's suggestion (*ib.*) that Iphikrates' ravaging of the *chora* of Samos "probably belongs in the Social War" seems manifestly incorrect: Samos was Athenian-controlled territory at this time, and was in fact being ravaged by the rebels (Diod. 16.21.2). Why would the Athenians ravage their own territory? Figueira, *A&A* 248 n.47 cites Shipley 155-157, speculating: "If he were correct, the nature of Iphikrates' actions would certify that rebel Samians who accupied a significant slice of territory were cooperating against the Athenians in the Social War".

[4] Shipley, *Samos* 136 speculates that he may have been one of the "renegade Greeks" often used by the Persians when intervening in the politics of Greek cities, and that indeed "he was probably a Samian". This is certainly possible, although undemonstrable. Shipley's further casual assertion (p.137) that Mausolos of Karia conquered and governed Samos is quite baseless.

[5] Dem. 15.9: ἐλευθέρωσε; see also Isok. 15.108, 111; Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2; *IG* ii^2 108; Dein. 1.14 (=3.17); Polyain. 3.10.9f.

[6] Misinterpretations of Athens' promise about klerouchies in the decree of Aristoteles (*IG* ii^2 43.25-46) begin perhaps with Diod. 15.29.8 (see Cargill, *SAL* 146-150). Modern partakers in such misinterpretation include Kahrstedt (1931)

their establishment (365) is derived by subtraction from Diodoros' account of the expulsion of the Athenian klerouchs in 322, which says that Perdikkas restored "the Samians" after forty-three years of exile.[7] There is no particular reason to challenge this unsupported date, although the vagaries of ancient counting and arithmetic (not to mention Diodoros' own frequent carelessness) would allow for some imprecision in any case. Even if Samos had been controlled, prior to the intervention of Kyprothemis, by Samians of the "democratic" faction who bore Athenian citizenship, lip service to the terms of the King's Peace would have dictated an official position of "autonomy" vis-à-vis Athens — as indeed their grant of Athenian citizenship had promised,[8] and as was asserted on Lemnos, etc. in certain later periods (see Sec.1.3 above).

But in the 360s the King's Peace had broken down: Kyprothemis' occupation of Samos shows this as clearly as does Timotheos' subsequent siege.[9] Whether or not settlers came from Athens to Samos in 365, the island was probably proclaimed Athenian territory at about that time (cf. similar developments in the Chersonesos, below). Given the combination of

1. The King's Peace (with its "autonomy" clause) having become a dead letter,
2. The lack of any fourth century alliance (so far as we know) between Athens and Samos, and
3. The unique special condition of the Samian *demos*' holding Athenian citizenship,

a proclamation in these terms would have made more sense than an anachronistic pretense of intervention to uphold Samos' autonomy.

174; Vartsos, *AK* 125 (who seems to give Diodoros' phrasing equal if not greater weight); and Shipley, *Samos* 135f and 143. Figueira, *A&A* 240 seems to say that *IG* ii² 43 forbade a particular "type of overseas landholding"; in reality it forbade *all* types — but only in certain *places*, i.e., in member states' territories (something Figueira seems to recognize elsewhere, e.g., pp.241 and 243).

[7] Diod. 18.18.9. The dating of the klerouchs' expulsion is firm, whenever their arrival, and therefore the editorial dating (307/6) of *IG* ii² 3207.20-22, with its dedication by the *demos* in Samos, moved by a demotic-bearing Athenian (**453**), is obviously suspect.

[8] *IG* ii² 1.12f: Σαμίος Ἀθηναίος ἐναι, πολιτευομένος ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βόλωνται. See Figueira, *A&A* 238: "The Samian enfranchisement contributed to the paradigm for the fourth-century cleruchies, which were composed of people possessing both local and Athenian civil rights".

[9] Vartsos, *AK* 107 sees this; yet Davies, *APF* p. 510 refers to Timotheos' "unprovoked aggression on Samos". Cf. Cargill, *SAL* 171 and n. 19; see also *ib.* 31f, 167f in connection with the sensible theory of T.T.B. Ryder, *Koine Eirene* (London 1965) 81f n.9.

The assertion would amount to saying that on Samos the status of 405 B.C. had been restored.[10]

Aischines refers, in a speech delivered in 345, to a potential witness as being currently "on Samos with the klerouchs", and the Scholion on the passage says that klerouchs were sent in 361/0;[11] a dedication which the Athenian treasurers of Athena listed in 354/3 seems to have come from the klerouchs on Samos;[12] a fragment of Philochoros refers to klerouchs sent to Samos in 352/1;[13] another dedication in Attike is from 351/0;[14] an inscribed document of the klerouchs themselves (found on Samos) is explicitly dated to 346/

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[10] Shipley, *Samos* 142 emphatically rejects such an interpretation. Figueira, *A&A* 240-249 uses the Samian klerouchy as the keystone for a traditional denunciation of Athens' 'Second Empire', citing Shipley along with Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981) 40-55 and S. Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford 1981), in a tale of Athenian duplicity and rapacity. Consider, for example: "As far as it goes, it is a correct position to hold that the fourth-century cleruchies did not transgress the agreements which were constituent to the foundation of the Second Confederacy. The very scale, however, of their earlier overseas holdings caused colonial irredentism of the Athenians to subvert the nature of the alliance, while it technically upheld the protections for its signatories" (p.243) — phrasing that rather neatly buries the datum at its core, i.e., that Athens *kept* its agreements with its fourth century allies. Or compare the statement that "the Athenians *would not* [my emphasis] ally themselves for the most part with their former colonial holdings, which breached the principle of the alliance's openness" (p.244) with *IG* ii² 43.15-18's open invitation to τις βόλ|[ηται τῶν 'Ελ]λήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν |[ἠπείρωι ἐν]οικόντων ἢ τῶν νησιωτῶν, ὅσ|[οι μὴ βασι]λέως εἰσίν. To Figueira's own admitted exception of Hestiaia on Euboia (p.243) could obviously be added Mytilene (fifth century klerouchy, fourth century league ally), except for the fact that Figueira's interpretation of the nature of klerouchies and *apoikiai* would make only the latter (not the klerouchies) truly objectionable to the Greeks (pp.239-241). In any event, note the utter absence of evidence that any *polis* seeking membership in Athens' second league was turned away. If I argue somewhat heatedly on this point, it is because I have already devoted an entire book to showing the flaws in the kinds of studies from which Figueira seems to borrow his presuppositions about fourth century Athenian diplomatic behavior. Figueira cites *SAL* at p.243 n.32 and lists it in his bibliography (p.263) — both times under an incorrect title.

[11] Ais. 1.53 and Sch. Vartsos, *AK* 108 argues that this is a mistaken reference to the dispatch of klerouchs in 365. Conversely, Heisserer, *Alex.& Gks.* 186 takes the 361/0 dispatch of klerouchs mentioned by the Scholion as the first. Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981) 48 interprets Polyain. 6.2.1 as implying the presence of Athenian naval forces in Samos in 361 (I agree: it apparently does); for some reason he finds this "surprising".

[12] *IG* ii² 1437.20f: ὁ δῆ[μ]ο[ς ὁ] ἐν Σάμωι.

[13] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 154 = Dion.Hal. *Dein.* 13, referring to a speech supposedly delivered in the archonship of Aristodemos (352/1): οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σάμον ἀποσταλέντες κληροῦχοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀπεστάλησαν, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν ταῖς 'Ιστορίαις λέγει. Harding *Tr.Doc.* 2.77 has translations of both this fragment and Sch.Ais. 1.53, with biblio.

[14] *IG* ii² 1440.42: [– – – στέφανος ὃν ὁ δ]ῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμωι ἀνέθηκ[ε . . .] . This inscription has now been combined with *IG* ii² 1438 and 1463; see literature in *SEG* 36.208.

5,[15] apparently the same year in which they make another dedication in Athens;[16] and their assembly makes a dedication to Apollon at Delphoi in 334/3.[17] Samos was attacked by the Social War rebels and relieved by an Athenian expedition;[18] Athenian commanders with fleets were sent to Samos at various times during the klerouchs' presence.[19]

Less clearly dated — and sometimes less apparently reliable — additional sources have allowed many scholars to follow George Grote (1869) in constructing a scenario of increasingly numerous settlers from Attike who eventually expel all native Samians, shocking and offending the entire Greek world, and of their expulsion in turn when native Samians were put back in control by Makedonian intervention.[20] See discussion of these events and some weaknesses in conventional interpretations of them in Sec.1.9 below.

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15 Michel 832 = Ohly, *AM* 68 (1953) 46-49 no.7. Both of these are now superseded by the improved text of S. Aleshire; I follow her readings throughout this study, with thanks for her having sent me a pre-publication typescript draft.

16 *IG* ii² 1443.89: ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμωι (archon date restored, but probably safe enough).

17 *SEG* 18.200 (dated by archons in both Athens and Samos).

18 Diod. 16.21.2; Nep. *Timoth.* 3 (garbled).

19 *IG* ii² 1628.18, 28, 110, 120; Hiller, *Inschr.v.Priene* 5.18; Habicht, *AM* #1.3f; *SEG* 30.114; Leonardos, *AE* (1918) 76 no.97.8-10; *Heraion* Inv. J24.

20 Aristot. *Rhet.* 1384b; Krateros *FGrH* 342 F 21; Aristot. fr. 611.35; Str. 14.1.18. Other relevant sources on the klerouchic period are *IG* ii² 3207.20-22; Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 34-38 nos. 4f; *Agora* XVI.68 (still unpublished Agora Inv. I 5212 at this writing); and *SEG* 18.201f. Note that *IG* ii² 1609 and 1952, often cited in discussions of the Samian klerouchy, have no apparent connection with it: see Cargill, *GRBS* and its bibliography (esp. its Appendix, pp.331f). One of the best treatments of the Athenian settlement on Samos is by Griffith, in Garnsey and Whittaker, *Imp.Anc.World* 127-144 and 310-314. Vartsos, *AK* 109 also discusses several of the above-cited sources, as well as Athen. 3.99d, where Demades the orator is cited for turning the phrase that Samos was a broken-off piece of the city (ἀπορρῶγα τῆς πόλεως). Jones, *Pub.Org.* 196, apparently relying on the alternative reading ἀπώρυγα, translates the phrase as "canal from Athens"; with reference to the year 366/5 specifically, Jones says: "the Samian citizen body was driven into exile and replaced by an Athenian cleruchy". Shipley, *Samos* 141-143 essentially follows the consensus line on the klerouchs sent to Samos, offering (I admit) a fairly effective critique of one of my arguments in *GRBS*, i.e., showing that a Samian-descended element among the klerouchs is not demonstrable. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 88 and 301 seems more sympathetic to my suggestion. Figueira, *A&A* 30 n.60 agrees with Shipley's critique of my article, citing us both, but believes that Shipley's figures of 6000-12,000 klerouchs "would posit a settlement on a scale unparalleled in Athenian colonization". Figueira quotes and translates several of the sources discussed in my article's Appendix, drawing conclusions essentially the opposite of my own (pp.27-30; see also pp.241f and n.27). As for the phrase of Demades, Figueira seems alternately to lean toward either one reading or the other (p.30 n.60, cf. p.242). Sekunda, *ABSA* 87 (1992) 315f cleverly turns one of my arguments in *GRBS* on its head, citing my comments about an ephebe named Taureas son of Aisimos: "[Cargill] suggests that the family were enfranchised Samians, but it is also possible that they were Athenian cleruchs on Samos".

1.6 Poteidaia, Athens, and Philip

Isokrates, defending (in 354/3) the career of his recently-deceased ex-student, says that Timotheos (**1241**) went from the siege of Samos to the Chersonesos (of which more below), and finally captured the city of Poteidaia in Chalkidike.[1] An Athenian inscription, archon-dated to 362/1, refers (twice: the restorations seem firm) to "those coming on public authority from those out of Poteidaia" and to their successful request that the Athenians might send "the klerouchs to Poteidaia".[2] The requesting parties could apparently have been either Athenians who had occupied the town since Timotheos' expedition, native Poteidaians favorably disposed toward Athenian protection, or perhaps the latter (not so favorably disposed?) coerced by the former.[3] The ambiguous phrasing leads some commentators to suspect *two* dispatches of klerouchs to Poteidaia, one immediately after Timotheos' capture of the town and another (referred to by the inscription) a couple of years later.[4]

It is in any case clear from subsequent events that both Athenians and non-Athenians were present. In the context of a few years later, Demosthenes describes Poteidaia as having been an Athenian possession and refers to Philip's expulsion of the Athenian *apoikoi*;[5] Hegesippos condemns Philip's unlawful deprivation of "Athenians settled in Poteidaia" of their property, although they were (he says) Philip's own allies.[6] Diodoros, supplying a date (358/7, corrected to 356 in modern accounts), says that Philip sent the Athenian "garrison" in Poteidaia to Athens;[7] then, selling the city's population into

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[1] Isok. 15.108, 111-113; cf. Diod. 15.81.6. The date appears to have been ca. 364/3.

[2] *IG* ii^2 114 (= Tod 146).5f (repeated in 10f) and 9; see Sec.2.2 below for Greek and discussion of this inscription and of the even more problematic *IG* ii^2 118.

[3] Beister 411 says that the request of the "Bewohner von Poteidaia" might have been made because of the threat from Olynthos and possibly also because they were descendants of the former fifth century *apoikoi*. The Athenian decree *IG* ii^2 118 seems to be a resolution of praise for the Poteidaians; its content is very fragmentary, however. Figueira, *A&A* 27 cites (n.55) two non-demotic-bearing epitaphs from Poteidaia and concludes: "Some of these residents of Poteidaia of non-Athenian extraction probably remained on the site when the Athenians were expelled after Aigospotamoi. They constituted the pro-Athenian party which welcomed Athenian intervention there during the 360s...".

[4] See Tod 146 comm.; Hansen, *D&D* 70, 106 n.205.

[5] Dem. 6.17, 20; see also 4.35; Plut. *Alex.* 3.4.

[6] [Dem.] 7.10. [Arist.] *Oikon.* 1347a.18 describes the settlers similarly, in the context of property assessment for an apparent *eisphora*. The date could be fourth century (Figueira, *A&A* 69 n.50 thinks so), but could also be fifth century; see fuller discussion in Sec.3.13 below.

[7] Hansen, *D&D* 71 is among those correcting the date; he also suggests that "many" of the klerouchs returning from Poteidaia may have joined the groups sent out later to the Chersonesos and to Samos.

slavery, he gave the town to the Olynthians.[8] Thus the fifth century Athenian settlement at Poteidaia was re-established in the fourth century,[9] but it was short-lived and the sources on it are extremely varied in their terminology and not really very informative.[10]

1.7 The Chersonesos, 360s and After

After discussing the siege of Samos by Timotheos, Isokrates says that he sailed away from there and captured Sestos and Krithote, compelling the Athenians to renew their dormant interests in the Chersonesos; Timotheos' activities in Poteidaia (see above) and in the Chalkidike region in general followed.[1] Diodoros and Cornelius Nepos seem to be referring to the same sequence of events; if so, Diodoros' date of 364/3 is fairly close.[2] In 341, Demosthenes was able to reproach Philip for sending mercenaries to the Chersonesos, on the basis that Athens' claim to that territory had been recognized by the king of Persia and by all the Greeks.[3] If this statement (as it applied to the king) was true when made (which is possible: Athenian-Persian co-operation against Philip had been increasing), we still have no clear indication of when the claim had originally been advanced and/or accepted. A similar claim to Amphipolis had been asserted (and apparently widely accepted) by 369 B.C.,[4] and

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[8] Diod. 16.8.3-5, esp. 5 (see Sec.2.2 n.16 below for Greek); see also Dem. 23.107, 116; 2.14; 10.12, 64, 67.

[9] See Sec.2.4 below for discussion of certain inscriptions published by Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) 43-76 and Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) 190-198, some of which reappear in *IG* i^3. All are doubtful as to date, and Robinson's finds are actually from excavations at Olynthos; he infers their movement from Poteidaia. Vartsos, *AK* 127 suggests that Poteidaia should be included among the "32 cities in the region of Thraike" said to have been destroyed by Philip in Dem. 9.26.

[10] Graham, *CMC*^{2} 169f, e.g., notes the variability; Jones, *Pub.Org.* 265 says that "evidence definitely relating to the short-lived cleruchy of 361-356...is lacking". Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5 (1988) publishes an improved text of one of Robinson's inscriptions from Poteidaia, apparently an honorary decree of the council and assembly (*ekklesia*) of the Poteidaians shortly before the fall of the city; see discussion in Sec.2.2 below.

[1] Isok. 15.108, 112.

[2] Diod 15.18.6 has Timotheos taking Torone and Poteidaia and relieving a siege at Kyzikos. Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2f lists Timotheos' most celebrated deeds (apparently *not* in strict chronological order) and says that he got Krithote and Sestos for Athens as payment for aiding Ariobarzanes in his revolt from the Persian king; see also Dem. 23.141f.

[3] Dem. 9.16.

[4] Ais. 2.32. Cawkwell, *JHS* 101 (1981) 53 is skeptical: "The precise moment when the Athenians got a Congress of Hellenes to recognise Athens' right to Amphipolis is unsure and there seems little point in reopening the debate"; but Accame's interpretation of the passage seems decisive (see Cargill, *SAL* 86 n.8).

Timotheos' activities in the Chersonesos were followed by activities at and near Amphipolis, so perhaps long-standing claims to both areas — and to Samos — were all asserted in the early-to-middle 360s.[5] It is clear, however, that the claim to the Chersonesos — at least any claim applying to territory beyond that of the two cities of Sestos and Krithote[6] — had to be enforced by arms, and that success was not immediate.

Euthykles, who delivered the Demosthenic speech *Against Aristokrates* in 352, had served as a trierarch with an Athenian fleet sent to the Hellespont in 359. In attacking a proposed grant of inviolability for Charidemos (**1407**), the mercenary commander from Oreos in Euboia who had been given Athenian citizenship, Euthykles outlines recent events in the region involving Charidemos, the Athenians, and various Thraikian dynasts. According to his account, when the Athenians had sent Timotheos as general to Amphipolis and the Chersonesos, Timotheos had wanted to hire Charidemos' services, but he took service with the Thraikian king Kotys instead, and later sailed from Kardia in the Chersonesos to assist the Olynthians against Timotheos at Amphipolis. He was captured en route, however, and agreed to switch sides.[7] Subsequently, discharged by Timotheos, he found employment in a dispute in Asia between Persian dynasts, but betrayed his employers and found himself besieged. At this point he wrote to the Athenian Kephisodotos, promising to recover the Chersonesos for Athens, if given a fleet. Not wanting to tangle with the expected force, his besiegers let him depart, and he crossed to the Chersonesos prior to the fleet's arrival — whereupon he disregarded his promise to the Athenians, took service with Kotys again, and besieged what Euthykles calls "your last remaining strongholds" in the peninsula, Krithote and Elaious; Sestos is described as being then held by Kotys.[8] The quoted phrase seems to indicate that the Athenians had recently held more of the Chersonesos than Krithote (perhaps as a possession[9]) and Elaious (as an ally), but it is not clear how

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[5] Beister 411 puts the claims to both Amphipolis and the Chersonesos in 370/69, citing only Sealey, *Phoenix* 11 (1957) 95-111 — the arguments of which are largely superseded in Sealey's *HGCS* (1976).

[6] Beister 411 mentions only Sestos, not Krithote, as Timotheos' prize, and describes it as having become an Athenian *ally*.

[7] See discussion in Sec.2.2 below of a recent fundamental critique of the restored phrase of *IG* ii^2 118.6-8 referring to [- - - Χαρίδ]ημος καὶ οἱ μ[ετ' αὐτõ], as well as the inscription's conventional editorial date of 361/0.

[8] Dem. 23.149-160; the translation is from 158 (τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τῶν ὑμετέρων χωρίων); similar phrases occur in 161 and 162.

[9] A possibility raised by the presence of an Athenian archon there (see below), although Kahrstedt (1931) 181 says that Krithote should be considered "als Bundesstadt, nicht als Kolonie".

much more — perhaps only Sestos (not Kardia: this much is certain). Still, the Athenian archon in Krithote at this time should not be thought to have written all of the letters sent "by the *archontes* in the Chersonesos", and no archon in the allied city of Elaious is attested.[10] Describing the expedition sent under Kephisodotos in 359, in which he himself had taken part, Euthykles tells of besieging the headland of Alopekonnesos, which runs out toward Imbros, in a effort to dislodge robbers and pirates infesting it. He tells his Athenian jurors that Alopekonnesos "was yours" and that Charidemos attacked the Athenian force besieging the place, "having crossed the Chersonesos, all of it yours"; other trierarchs who were present are called upon to verify Euthykles' account.[11]

Charidemos' powerful position in the Thraikian region reflected his influence with Kersobleptes, who became king while still quite young, upon the death of his father Kotys in 359. Subsequent struggles in the area involved Athenian attempts to enforce a partition of Thraike between Kersobleptes and two other kings, and to get all of the pretenders to recognize Athenian claims in the Chersonesos. Perhaps Euthykles' phrase, "all to restore to you your territory", reflects the actual wording of one proposal.[12] If so, it is clear that at least some of the territory claimed by Athens (even Kardia was claimed![13]) was in fact held by others. A treaty that the Athenians hoped would be definitive was negotiated by the general Chares (**1395**) in 357, but Euthykles says that Charidemos and Kersobleptes have abided by it only when Athenian forces were in the region, and subverted it when they were not.[14] This statement itself would tend to weaken the likelihood of a continuous substan-

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[10] Dem. 23.161 (ὁ ἄρχων Κριθώτης), 159 (τὰς ἐπιστολάς ... τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐκ Χερρονήσου). It should be recalled that one suggested restoration for the destination of the klerouchs of the undated *IG* ii^2 1952 is Krithote. *IG* ii^2 43.21-23 had promised that there would be no garrisons or *archontes* in the territory of members of Athens' confederacy, although exceptions *are* attested by this time (see Cargill, *SAL* 150-160). Kahrstedt (1931) 182 discusses the different parts of the Chersonesos held by Athens in different periods; he tends to make the holdings of this particular period even more restricted than is suggested here.

[11] Dem. 23.163-168, translations from 166 (ἦν ὑμετέρα) and 167 (πορευθεὶς διὰ Χερρονήσου πάσης τῆς ὑμετέρας); see also the summary statement (208), to the effect that the Athenians' ancestors had bequeathed them the Chersonesos, Amphipolis, and δόξαν ἔργων καλῶν.

[12] Dem. 23.169-173, translated phrase in 170 (πάντας δ' ὑμῖν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν χώραν).

[13] Dem. 23.181; see also [Dem.] 7.41; Dem. 8.66; 9.35. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 306f emphasizes the extensiveness of Demosthenes' territorial claims in general. There were apparently actual Athenian-Kardian connections in archaic times: see discussions of Themistokles' mother (**551**) in Sec.2.4 and of coinage in Sec.3.11 below.

[14] Dem. 23.173-183. The treaty is *IG* ii^2 126; see Greek and discussion in Sec.2.2 and n.27 below.

tial Athenian presence in the Chersonesos between 357 B.C.[15] and 352 (the date of the speech).

But by 352 there *were* settlers. Euthykles introduces his remarks by stating that his purpose is that "you may hold the Chersonesos safely, and may not by deception be deprived of it again",[16] and he describes division among the Thraikian dynasts as advantageous "for those of our citizens living in the Chersonesos".[17] Diodoros fills in some of the gaps, telling us that Chares in 353/2 sailed to the Hellespont, captured Sestos, killed its adult males, and enslaved the rest of the population; Kersobleptes gave control of the cities of the Chersonesos, except Kardia, to the Athenians, and the *demos* sent out klerouchs to the cities.[18] An Athenian naval inscription of 353/2 lists triremes in various places, including "those which the *oikistai* have in the Chersonesos".[19] Much has been made of Chares' behavior at Sestos, sometimes starting from the baseless premise that Sestos was a member of the second Athenian league.[20] Many things remain unclear, and Chares probably deserves most of the opprobrium (ancient and modern) he has received, but a few points should be raised. Athens had at this point been involved in diplomatic and military struggles with the Persians since at least the conference of Sousa in 367; Krithote and Sestos had been won by Timotheos in struggles with the Persians. Later Sestos was re-taken,

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[15] In 357/6 the allied city of Elaious was praised in an Athenian resolution; see E. Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 12-17 no.4.15-17. Also see, briefly, Walbank, *AHB* 3 (1989) 122.

[16] Dem. 23.1 (ὑπὲρ τοῦ Χερρονήσου ἔχειν ὑμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθέντας ἀποστερηθῆναι πάλιν αὐτῆς); cf. 8.

[17] Dem. 23.103: τοῖς Χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν.

[18] Diod. 16.34.3f; passages paraphrased are Σηστὸν πόλιν ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας ἀπέσφαζεν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐξηνδραποδίσατο and Κερσοβλέπτου . . . ἐγχειρίσαντος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πόλεις πλὴν Καρδίας ἀπέστειλεν ὁ δῆμος κληρούχους εἰς τὰς πόλεις.

[19] *IG* ii^2 1613.297f. Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 188 n.51 argues that the Greek term οἰκισταί (which is customarily used for the founders of *apoikiai*) is not here used technically; he restricts its reference to "the leaders of the cleruchs". Beister 413 equates the word with the klerouchs themselves: "In [this inscription] werden die Kleruchen οἰκισταί genannt". Vartsos, *AK* 89 seems to infer the dispatch of more than one klerouchy, i.e., of klerouchs to other cities in addition to Sestos, on the basis that each klerouchy would have one *oikistes*, and the plural form appears here. See further discussion in Sec.3.3 below.

[20] See, e.g., A. Gerolymatos, *Espionage and Treason* (Amsterdam 1986) 46f; cf. rev. by Cargill, *AHR* 95 (1987) 105f. Beister 411 has much the same implication, although he does not insist on a league-membership type of alliance. Vartsos, *AK* 149 (citing only the above-quoted source) describes Chares' actions as the consequence of a "revolution" (ἐπανάστασις) which broke out in Sestos in 357; he refers to the sending of klerouchs only to Sestos, although the source clearly has the plural "to the cities".

from a base of Abydos, on the Persian side of the Hellespont.[21] We are not told *who* took it, nor how it had subsequently come to be in the power of Kotys, but Persian involvement in the process seems believable. Chares had already had strained dealings with the Thraikians and had hired out as a mercenary commander under a satrap rebelling against the Persian king, prompting the king's ultimatum that led to the end (devastating for the Athenians) of the Social War in 355. Chares' attack on Sestos may reasonably be seen as another chapter in the Athenians' struggle with the Persians, complicated by the assertiveness of Thraikian dynasts. His bloody treatment of the captured city's population might reflect exasperation with Sestos' history of switching sides depending on whose forces were the most powerful in the region at the time: he finally "disposed" of them, and replaced them with Athenian settlers whose loyalty could be trusted. Cruel, but intelligible, and analogous to certain atrocities of the Peloponnesian War period. Moreover, we need not suppose that *all* Sestians defended the city against Chares. His executions and enslavement will have affected only those present; even hostile Sestians who fled in time may have returned later (see Sec.2.4 below for possible examples).

A catalogue of goods held by the treasurers of Athena includes several crowns dedicated to the Athenian *boule* and/or *demos* in the period 346-344 B.C., among them ones from klerouchs in Samos and the Chersonesos (a restoration specifies one group in the town of Agora). The Elaiousians seem to have given their crown as an independent ally; the same kind of phrasing (somewhat surprisingly) is used in describing the offerings of those in Alopekonnesos and Madytos (and apparently likewise for other groups whose names are lost or corrupted).[22]

In 346, during the negotiations leading to the Peace of Philokrates, the growing power of Philip (long at war with Athens over control of Amphipolis) had pushed Kersobleptes closer to the Athenians, but Philip was able to compel the acceptance of peace terms that left Kersobleptes outside the treaty and at his mercy. In their mutual recriminations about who had been "to blame" for the "betrayal" of Kersobleptes, Demosthenes and Aischines occasionally refer to the situation in the Chersonesos in the 340s. Aischines says that the threat of Philip had created a situation in which "our

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[21] Dem. 23.158.

[22] *IG* ii^2 1443.89-98, 117-120. Kahrstedt (1931) 181 observes the same parallel phrasing, but unnecessarily concludes from it that all were members of the Athenian league. See App. A and further discussion in Sec.2.2 below.

citizens were abandoning the Chersonesos, which was acknowledgedly Athenian territory".[23] Demosthenes shows that Athenian possession of the Chersonesos was ultimately retained, but he describes the Chersonesos as being in greater danger from Philip as he speaks (343) than it had been in 346.[24] Possibly a further group of klerouchs was sent out in ca. 343/2 to reinforce the peninsula against Philip's continuing threat.[25] In an oration of 341, Demosthenes accuses Philip of having wrongly seized much Athenian territory, "before Diopeithes sailed out, and the klerouchs, who are now accused of having brought on the war".[26] Philip does seem to have made such an accusation, since he claims in a letter of 340 that the klerouchs in the Chersonesos were at war with him by virtue of the (otherwise unknown) resolution of Polykrates.[27] The precise chronology of letters and resolutions in these few years is unclear. An official Athenian interpretation of the boundaries of the Chersonesos had been developed (not without conflict), apparently as early as 346, but Philip and the inhabitants of Kardia clearly disputed these boundaries.[28] The *Hypothesis* to Demosthenes' *Chersonesos* oration says that the other Chersonesites received the newcomers from Athens hospitably and provided them with houses and land — except for the Kardians, who insisted that their country was their own, not the Athenians'; the Athenian commander Diopeithes therefore attacked Kardia, and the Kardians appealed to Philip.[29]

Demosthenes' oration *On the Chersonesos* (341) was a ringing call for defense of the Athenian claims and settlers in the region, and for support of Diopeithes (**387**) and the mercenary force under his command.[30] In 330, the orator claimed credit for having success-

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[23] Ais. 2.72 (ἐξέλειπον δὲ Χερρόνησον ἡμῶν οἱ πολῖται, τὴν οὖσαν ὁμολογουμένως Ἀθηναίων); see also 73 (Χερρόνησον τὴν Ἀθηναίων) and 82.

[24] Dem. 19.79.

[25] Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 188 n.50 gives this date, citing Dem. 8.6 and *hyp.* 1f, but the only date provided there is "in the times of Philip" (κατὰ τοὺς Φιλίππου καιρούς); the note *ad loc.* in the Budé edition says after the peace of 346, probably around 343, citing Dem. 9.3, 15 (and Schaefer).

[26] Dem. 8.6 (πρὶν Διοπείθην ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους, οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον); something similar is said in 9.15. Vartsos, *AK* 89 cites these two sources in dating the dispatch of Diopeithes and these klerouchs to 346.

[27] [Dem.] 12.16: τῶν μὲν κληρούχων κατὰ τὸ Πολυκράτους δόγμα πολεμούντων ἡμῖν.

[28] Dem. 5.25; 6.30; 9.35; 10.60, 65, 68; [Dem.] 7.39-44; cf. [Dem.] 12.3, 11, 16f.

[29] Dem. 8 *hyp.* 2.

[30] Dem. 8 *passim*, esp. 6, 16f, 58, 64, 66; see also Dem. 9.73; 18.302; cf. [Dem.] 12.3, where Philip accuses Diopeithes of attacking and enslaving Krobyle and Tiristasis. From the text (and from Dem. 8 *hyp.* 3) these would seem to be sites on

fully (at that time) engineered the defense of the Chersonesos, Byzantion, "and all the allies", and he asks the clerk to read a decree bestowing crowns on the Athenians. The document that appears within the Demosthenic text is bracketed as spurious in modern editions.[31] It is presented as a decree made by those settled in the Chersonesos — specifically in Sestos, Elaious, Madytos, and Alopekonnesos — meeting in a common *bouleuterion*.[32]

"The Athenian cleruchs on the Chersonese may have suffered the same fate as those in Potidaea: they may have been sent back to Athens when the Macedonians conquered the area; but we do not know", says Hansen.[33] There is a dearth of useful epigraphic evidence from the Chersonesos itself.[34] No literary source specifically refers to the removal of klerouchic territories from Athenian control as a result of Philip's victory over Athens and its allies at Chaironeia in 338 B.C., and scholars who assert the loss of the Chersonesos generally do so without citing any concrete evidence.[35] But evidence

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the Thraikian mainland, but the Loeb editor, J.H. Vince, says Krobyle is otherwise unknown and (without providing a citation) that Tiristasis was in the Chersonesos. Isaac, *Gk.Sett.in Thrace* 191 n.185 indicates that the source for Tiristasis as a city of the Chersonesos must be Plin. *N.H.* 4.11.48, but also cites Ps.-Skylax as placing it on the Propontis (pp.201f), and suggests: "Teiristasis may well be the same place as Tyrodiza, modern Peristeri" (p.202 n.251) — a place which, however, he puts "fairly close to the Chersonese" (p.204).

[31] The Loeb editors, C.A. and J.H. Vince (p.17), e.g., describe this and other documents within the speech as "forged, with very little skill, by some exceptionally ignorant editor"; Kahrstedt (1931) 181, although he calls it a "Dekret athenischer Kolonisten", nonetheless dismisses it.

[32] Dem. 18.80, [92], 139; see Greek, translation, and fuller discussion of sec.92 in Sec.2.2 below.

[33] Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 183; similarly Vartsos, *AK* 149: Περὶ τῆς τύχης τῆς ἀθηναϊκῆς αὐτῆς κληρουχίας οὐδεμίαν περαιτέρω μαρτυρίαν ἔχομεν.

[34] *SEG* 24.648-655 are inscriptions from the Chersonesos, but only no.655 is of fourth century date, and most of the others are much later. A few not very helpful documents are discussed in Robert, *BÉ* (1972) 276-279; cf. *ib.* (1971) 405. The texts of J. Krauss, *Inschr.v.Sest.u.d.thrak.Chers.* (Bonn 1980) are all very late; see the extremely critical discussion of Robert, *BÉ* (1981) 328; see also *SEG* 29.685; 30.784; 32.678.

[35] Kahrstedt (1931) 175 n.4 says that Athens lost the Chersonesos in 337, on the basis that it is "keine Kolonie mehr" in the wording of *Ath.Pol.* 62.2. Beister 412 rather ambiguously says that the peace of 338 "beendeten Athens Stellung auf der Chersones". Vartsos, *AK* 90 says that after Chaironeia "the Athenians lost their naval hegemony and with it the Chersonesos" (no source cited). Bosworth, *C&E* 16 says that after Chaironeia Athens "suffered only the loss of her remaining allies (but not her cleruchies, with the possible exception of the Chersonese)...". Errington, *Hist.Mac.* 84 says: "Philip was not...prepared to tolerate a continuation of...the possessions on the Chersonnese [*sic*!], which in any case could not be held should Macedonia seriously want to take them", but he cites only Paus. 1.25.3, which does not appear to refer to the Chersonesos.

of a sort may be present in Arrian's account of Alexandros' itinerary between Makedonia and Asia in 334: he reached Sestos after twenty days' march, offered sacrifice at Elaious, left Parmenion in charge of embarking the troops from Sestos for Abydos, and himself sailed from Elaious to the Troad.[36] Were his Athenian "allies" so obliging, and so invisible, that his operations in these cities, one formerly in their direct control and the other always very friendly to them, do not even elicit a mention of the Athenians' presence? Or were they not there, i.e., had the Makedonians taken over the region and expelled the Athenians?[37] In reality, the only thing that makes the answers to these questions less than automatic and obvious is the suspect Chersonesite decree cited by Demosthenes in 330. He apparently really cites *something*, even if the document which appears within his text is a forgery, and he conspicuously introduces the clerk's reading by referring to the crowns "from those in the Chersonesos".[38] The resolution, whatever its actual content, was passed a few years prior to Chaironeia by some entity in the region friendly to the Athenians. If, after Chaironeia, Philip left such friends of Athens in the Chersonesos (their expulsion or punishment would very appropriately have been mentioned in this context, but no such developments are referred to), we need not automatically assume that all the Athenian klerouchs were expelled, either. Hansen's "don't know" may be the safest conclusion available. The late (third century C.E.) Athenian historian Dexippos says that the Chersonesos was explicitly assigned to Lysimachos when Alexandros' generals divided up his empire after his death, but the phrasing of earlier authors may have a different implication.[39] Lysimachos certainly founded Lysimacheia at the site of

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[36] Arr. 1.11f; in contrast, all of Diodoros' references to the passing over of Makedonian forces into Asia, first under Philip and then under Alexandros, are unspecific as to their European itinerary: Diod. 16.91.2; 17.2.4-6; 17.17.1f, 4.

[37] The argument of Griffith in Hammond and Griffith, *Hist.Mac.* II.607 is justly cautious: "There is no positive evidence on what happened to the Chersonese now [the context is Philip's settlement with the Greeks in 337 B.C.] and to its Athenian cleruchs. But no Athenian connection with the Chersonese is ever recorded again from this time on, and the generally held view, that Athens lost it by this treaty, undoubtedly must be right". But see my text, immediately below.

[38] In the unbracketed portion at the beginning of sec.92: τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

[39] Dexippos, *FGrH* 100 F 8.3 (trans. in Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.125A); cf. Diod. 18.3.2 (Λυσιμάχῳ μὲν ἐδόθη Θρᾴκη καὶ τὰ συνοπίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν παρὰ τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλασσαν); Curtius 10.10.4; Arr. *FGrH* 156 F 1.5-8 (Harding 125B trans. part of it). Billows, *Antig.* 55 says that Lysimachos "was given in Thrace a satrapy which he would have to conquer himself before being able to rule", a statement that perhaps could apply also to the Chersonesos.

Kardia in 309,[40] and Demetrios Poliorketes, shut out of Athens after the battle of Ipsos in 301, went to ravage the Chersonesos as a way to do damage to Lysimachos.[41]

1.8 The Adriatic Apoikia *of 325/4*

The surviving text of an Athenian naval inscription, apparently dating to 325/4 B.C. (that is the latest of several archon years to which extant entries refer), begins within a list of ships,[1] each described as one which "Miltiades Lakiades the *oikistes* took over, according to the decree of the *demos* which Kephisophon Cholargeus introduced" (lines 17-21 *et passim*). After these ships and their trierarchs and equipment are listed, the decree of Kephisophon, son of Lysiphon, is itself quoted (165-271). Its goal is the quickest possible carrying out of the resolution of the *demos* "[concerning] the [*apoi*]*kia* to the Adriatic" (173-177)[2] — complete with a deadline (before the 10th of Mounychion)[3] and prizes for the trierarchs who have their ships ready earliest (190-204); elaborate procedures for expediting the departure of this fleet are spelled out (204-217, 233-269). The purpose of the expedition is stated, i.e., (closely to paraphrase the Greek) so that the *demos* shall always have its own commerce (*emporia*) and grain escort ([*sit*]*opompia*) and, when its own anchorage (*naustathmon*) is established there will be protection against the Tyrrhenians, and Miltiades the *oikistes* and the *epoikoi* will have the use of their own fleet; and those of the Hellenes and of the barbarians sailing the sea also may sail into the Athenians' anchorage, keeping their ships and other things in safety, knowing

[40] J. Hornblower, *Hieron.Card.* 14f and n.50, citing Justinus 17.1; Paus. 1.9.8; and fragments from Strabo.

[41] Plut. *Demet.* 31.2.

[1] *IG* ii² 1629 (Tod 200 is a partial text; Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.121 is a partial translation): the left edge is broken away, but four long columns are extant on the front and another on the right side, very well preserved except for (apparently) small losses at the bottoms of the columns; the archon of 325/4 is named in lines 350f *et passim*; extant lines 1-164 refer to nine ships — three triremes, two horse-transports (ἱππηγοί), four triakonters — and an unspecified number of quadriremes (τετρήρεις, line 167), plus one more belatedly added (lines 272-278).

[2] The key phrase (176f) is [περὶ] τῆς εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν [ἀποι]κίας.

[3] Lines 186-188; Tod p. 286 equates this with May 4, 324 B.C.

that...(here a lacuna occurs).[4] Scholars are generally willing to accept that the settlement was actually established, not just abortively planned.[5] Even if we accept that it was established, no evidence exists as to its ultimate fate.[6] Much is surprising and confusing here — and not merely the fact that this is the only extant fourth century inscriptional reference to an Athenian settlement as an *apoikia.*[7] Why this awakening of interest in the west, by an Athens shorn of its league hegemony and (as far as we know) without remaining allies in the region? And why the apparent haste? Commentators emphasize Athenian worries about piracy in the Adriatic, citing lost orations of Hypereides and Deinarchos whose titles seem to indicate concern with the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans).[8] Some emphasize the commercial motive.[9]

The treatment of K. Rosen is unusual in putting the Adriatic *apoikia* in a context of Athenian preparedness for an expected conflict with Makedon,[10] and in juxtaposing discussion of the settle-

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[4] Lines 217-232: ὅπως δ' ἂν ὑπάρχηι | [τῶ]ι δήμωι εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα | [χρ]όνον ἐμπορία οἰκεία καί || [σιτ]οπομπία, καὶ ναυστάθμο | [οἰκ]είου κατασκευασθέν|[το]ς ὑπάρχει φυλακὴ ἐπὶ | [Τυρ]ρηνοὺς καὶ Μιλτιά|[δης] ὁ οἰκιστὴς καὶ οἱ ἔποι||[κοι ἔχ]ωσιν χρῆσθαι οἰκεί | [ωι ναυ]τικῶι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλ|[λήνων] καὶ βαρβάρων οἱ | [πλέοντε]ς τὴν θάλατταν | [καὶ αὐτοὶ ε]ἰσπλέωσιν εἰ || [ς τὸ ναύσταθμ]ον τὸ Ἀθηναίων, | [πλοῖά τε ἔχον]τες καὶ τὰ ἄλ|[λα ἐμ βεβαίωι, εἰδό]τες ὅτι | [– – –] .

[5] Ferguson, *HA* 111 n.1 says that the "colony" was sent "probably to Adria at the mouth of the Po river". *SEG* 15.125 cites discussions that appear (from the summary there) to focus on suggesting plausible locations for the *apoikia.* Tod pp. 287f cites speculative locations suggested (without evidence) by Boeckh and Koehler, and sees in the term ἔποικοι the possibility "that Miltiades was reinforcing a previous settlement"; Harding nn.11f offers similar comments. Gitti, *PP* 9 (1954) 23 insists that the inscription refers only to the Adriatic Sea area unspecifically, not to any precise location called "Adria". He seems to believe that the settlement was only planned, not actually established: "Anche la colonia decisa attorno al 325/4, secondo ogni verisimiglianza, è rimasta sulla carta" (p.24).

[6] Kahrstedt (1931) 175 says "...wir kennen ihr Schicksal nicht, vielleicht war sie ein Fehlschlag".

[7] This label presumably explains why Beister does not discuss the settlement; on p. 411 he calls Sestos in 353 "die letzte Grundung einer attischen Kleruchie im 4. Jh." The commentary in *IG* ii^2 refers to a *colonia* and to *coloni*; Tod's comm. (several times) calls the settlement a "colony"; likewise the translation of Harding. Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 182, 188 n.51 (= *D&D* 70, 106 n.207; see also 92 n.33) says it was probably a klerouchy. Figueira, *A&A* 239 finds the usage of this inscription supportive of his general thesis on the differentiation between *apoikiai* and *klerouchiai* (see "Introduction").

[8] *IG* ii^2 comm. and Tod p. 288 comm. cite these, e.g.

[9] Bosworth, *C&E* 207, although mentioning "Etruscan piracy", concludes: "Few state enterprises in antiquity have an economic motive so clearly defined". See also Gastaldi, *Epigraphica* 42 (1980) 135-138.

[10] Rosen, *Historia* 27 (1978) 28f emphasizes Athens' awareness of the stranglehold over grain shipments in the Aegean that the Makedonians were capable of exercising, and argues that the provisions for urgency in the decree indicate fear of an actual Makedonian attack.

ment fairly closely with discussion of Alexandros' "exiles decree" and the flight of Alexandros' treasurer Harpalos to Athens, both developments of 324 B.C. In fact, it is in the dangerous and highly uncertain period in the first half of 324 B.C. — when Alexandros' "reign of terror" among his satraps and commanders and his dissolution of satrapal armies had set mighty forces in motion, when the exiles decree had been formulated but not yet announced at Olympia, when Harpalos had fled from Ekbatana but had not yet appeared at Athens, while Antipatros the regent in Makedon (whose announced replacement had put him in danger) still held several options open[11] — that the resolution concerning the *apoikia* to the Adriatic fits chronologically, and logically. The unsettled conditions accord well, also, with the haste of the procedures the inscription envisions. Athens' Aegean empire was a memory from a lost golden age,[12] Athens' fourth century naval league had been disbanded since Chaironeia,[13] and Athens' Aegean settlements were menaced by all the movements just described. The Aegean could be expected to become a Makedonian lake — as indeed it did become, with Athens' defeat off Amorgos in 322 (see next section), even though Alexandros himself was no longer around.

A base for resistance, a grain source, a place to put an influx of returnee Athenians: where could it be but in the west? Commentators frequently point out that the *oikistes* Miltiades (**950**) was a member of the great "Philaid" family, whose namesake ancestor had been *oikistes* in the Chersonesos centuries earlier, and they sensibly speculate that this fact probably had something to do with his being chosen to head the expedition.[14] It is, furthermore, frequently mentioned that his daughter Euthydike seems to have married first Ophellas, dynast of Kyrene, and then Demetrios Poliorketes,[15] yet that there might be any political importance in these connections is rarely suggested.[16] But perhaps it should not be treated as compara-

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[11] A situation brilliantly discussed by Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961) 16-43, repr. in Griffith, *Main Prob.* 206-233, from which article I borrow the quoted phrase.

[12] Ais. 2.175 had recalled when "we had the Chersonesos and Naxos and Euboia, and we sent out many *apoikiai* in those years".

[13] This is what Paus. 1.25.3 appears to mean in saying that Philip at that time took away the islands and put an end to Athenian naval supremacy (νήσους τε ἀφελόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ναυτικὰ παύσας ἀρχῆς).

[14] See, e.g., Tod p. 288; Harding n.4. Ferguson, *HA* 110 notes the connection; Bosworth, *C&E* 207 calls him "the Philaid aristocrat Miltiades".

[15] See *PA* 5547 (with stemma) and Tod p. 288, then Davies, *APF* p. 309 for sources and discussion — including a critical emendation.

[16] Ferguson, *HA* 110f discusses Euthydike, concluding (p.111): "She was, obviously, not an ordinary person". Davies, *APF* p.309 says: "Miltiades' daughter Euthydike...achieved two remarkable dynastic marriages".

tively unimportant, in these disordered times, that the Athenians may have chosen an *oikistes* who had a marriage connection with Ophellas Seleinou, *hetairos* of Alexandros.[17] Whatever the specifics, it should not be inappropriate to look at the expedition to the Adriatic in as broad a context as possible.[18]

1.9 Expulsions and Relocations of 322-321 B.C.

Although it has not been customary to bring the *apoikia* to the Adriatic into the picture (see above), scholars do tend to recognize the interrelatedness of several factors that begin around 324, generally along lines laid down in E. Badian's justly-praised 1961 article entitled "Harpalus". A large literature has grown up, of which I will cite only enough here to provide a clear summary of points generally agreed upon and points still subject to dispute.[1] Locales relevant to the narrative are the court of Alexandros (which moved along with him, of course, but ended up in Babylon for a while prior to his death in early summer of 323), Samos and its environs (where native Samian exiles determined to return home confronted Athenian klerouchs and a *demos* in Athens determined to hang on to the island), and mainland Greece (where Athens sought wider Greek support and ultimately took the field against Antipatros, regent of Makedon for the now-deceased Alexandros, in the fateful Lamian War, which led to Athenian defeats by land and sea,

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[17] *APF* p.309 provides sources, also showing the uncertainty of the wedding date: 309 B.C., when Ophellas made an alliance with Athens (Diod. 20.40.5f), is often preferred, which would weaken the point of these speculations, but Davies seems to think that an earlier date is more likely (although perhaps not this much earlier). Still, a friendship between families could precede a marriage alliance between them, and daughters might be destined for such marriages before they were actually of marriagable age.

[18] Mindful of, and extending a bit, the useful observation of Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961) 41:

> The scrappy remains of ill-informed and often deliberately misleading sources, which are all we have on the last year — and not only on the last year — of Alexander's reign, have yet furnished the outlines of a pattern into which much disparate evidence, unintelligible (and often rejected) in isolation, can profitably be fitted. The pattern is that of a period of tension, plotting and surprises, and the period begins to become intelligible, at least in outline. Much remains to be done to fill in these outlines; and more (it seems) can be done than has usually been attempted.

[1] In addition to Badian *JHS* 81 (1961) 16-43, essential reading on this period and these events would include Habicht, *AM*; Errington, *Chiron* 5 (1975) 51-57; Heisserer, *Alex.& Gks.*; Shipley, *Samos* 154-168; and Bosworth, *C&E* 204-228.

Antipatros' suppression of Athenian democracy, and the perhaps involuntary transfer of numerous Athenians to outposts "in Thraike").

Athens, accustomed to exercising its own hegemony, had proved a recalcitrant and unreliable subject ally to the Makedonians, despite the fairly persistent efforts of Philip and (after his death in 336) his son Alexandros to ingratiate themselves with the city. Even if Philip's old nemesis Demosthenes had become generally a supporter of non-confrontation, spokesmen who advocated revolt against Makedonian domination received a hearing, although they were not able to persuade the *demos* to join in the ill-fated uprising led by Agis III of Sparta in 331.[2] But the conqueror's increasing autocracy — of which his directive (324) that he should be accorded cultic observances befitting a god may serve as an appropriate symbol[3] — increased the chances for conflict. The infamous "exiles decree" (same year), which directly menaced both the Athenians at home and the klerouchs on Samos, made conflict close to inevitable, and the tension could only be increased by the presence in Athens of Alexandros' absconded treasurer, Harpalos, who had come seeking asylum (also in the same year). Negotiations toward the forming of an anti-Makedonian alliance, if not the actual alliance itself, were initiated, apparently while Alexandros still lived, by the Athenians with the Aitolian League, which also stood to lose an external possession under the exiles decree.[4] Mercenaries (themselves often classifiable as "exiles" in terms of the decree) were retained in readiness at their base at Tainaron in Lakonia.

The dating of the public announcement of the exiles decree is not controversial in any important way: it was proclaimed at the Olympics in late summer or early autumn of 324 by Alexandros'

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[2] On this conflict, see Bosworth, *C&E* 198-204, with sources.

[3] See Bosworth 287-290. Badian, *JHS* 29 and n.93 is correct to make light of the bizarre political theories that some scholars (notably W.W. Tarn) have spun out of Alexandros' deification demand, but what the demand clearly does show is the king's thoroughly autocratic attitude toward the Greeks who had been nominally his free allies.

[4] Mitchel, *Phoenix* 18 (1964) 13-17 improves the text of *IG* ii^2 370, a fragment from the heading of the Athenian-Aitolian alliance treaty. Worthington, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 139-144 doubts Mitchel's "secret" alliance, agreed upon prior to Alexandros' death, but accepts the idea that *negotiations* toward the eventual alliance (sworn to shortly after Alexandros' death became known) had already begun thus early. The argument is derived from G.E.M. de Ste. Croix's sensible dictum that (in Worthington's phrase, p.141) "secret agreements between Greek states were constitutionally illegal" — indeed impossible, since in a democracy such as Athens a binding decision could be made only in open assembly.

envoy Nikanor.[5] The question of how much earlier the content of the decree was "unofficially" but generally known is somewhat more complex. Scholars differ about what to do with a fragment of the Athenian historian Ephippos (preserved in Athenaios) and especially about its relationship to a decree of the returned Samians honoring Gorgos of Iasos (and his brother). There is also controversy about the authenticity and (if authentic) the context and actual implication of a letter supposedly written by Alexandros to the Athenians, quoted by Plutarch. (See "Note on Sources" at end of this section, below.) No one doubts that the Athenians attempted to persuade Alexandros to make Samos an exception to the exiles decree, and most interpreters agree that their effort ended in failure.[6] Certain Samian exiles, encouraged by Makedonian recognition of their claims, apparently staged a return to the island while the Athenian klerouchs were still in residence. A force was sent from Attike that arrested them and took them to Athens for trial, where they were condemned to death — a fate from which they were rescued by the intervention (with bribes) of Antileon of Chalkis, who was later honored by the returned Samians for his timely assistance.[7]

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[5] Diod. 18.8.3-5, esp. 4: "King Alexandros to the exiles from the Greek cities: Of your being exiled we have not been the cause, but of your being restored to your own fatherlands we shall be, except those under a curse. We have written to Antipatros concerning these matters, to the effect that those of the cities not wishing to accept (you) he is to compel" (βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν είς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἀναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὅπως τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσῃ). Heisserer, *Alex.& Gks.* 188 n.49 and Bosworth, *C&E* 220 n.36 (e.g.) discuss certain disagreements about the precise dating of the Olympics of 324, but no suggested date creates problems for this reconstruction.

[6] Errington, *Chiron* 53 n.9 correctly points out that "Athenian ambassadors are not mentioned explicitly among those who visited Alexander at Babylon...; but in view of the Athenian success in delaying the application of the decree to Samos some sort of further negotiation is most probable — even if only as a time-wasting device...". See my "Note on Sources" for scholarly suggestions of possible success.

[7] Habicht, *AM* #1 is the only source for these events; translations include those of Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.128 and Shipley 167 (unfortunately mis-cited in n.66 there as "Habicht 1957 no.2" — an inscription that is correctly cited at p.168 n.75). Revisions of Habicht's chronology made by Errington have in general found favor, sometimes with slight further modifications: see, e.g., Rosen 26; Shipley 167 n.66; Bosworth 226 n.42. Habicht's no.2, with the revised restorations of Badian, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 289-294 that scholars generally accept (see *SEG* 26.1022), appears to refer to armed conflict with the klerouchs on the part of the exiles and their supporters (see the brief comment of Shipley 168 and n.75).

Meanwhile, Alexandros had died, and when the event was reliably reported in Greece, the Athenians led the uprising against Antipatros that is sometimes called the Hellenic War,[8] but is more familiarly known as the Lamian War, for the Thessalian city (Lamia) in which Antipatros was besieged during the winter of 323-322. He escaped, ironically with the help of Krateros, whom Alexandros had sent to supplant him as regent, and in 322 their combined forces defeated the rebel Greeks in the battle of Krannon (also in Thessaly),[9] while the Makedonian Kleitos defeated the Athenian fleet more than once, and finally and decisively off the island of Amorgos.[10] Athens having surrendered, Antipatros put a Makedonian garrison in Peiraieus (specifically in its fortress of Mounychia) and disfranchised thousands of Athenians by establishing a high property qualification for exercise of civic rights. Peter Green, in the opening pages of his Hellenistic history, summarizes the new political situation brought about by the Lamian War: "Amorgos and Crannon marked the end of Athens as a serious political or military force in Greece. Her cry of 'Freedom for the Greeks' had failed".[11]

Diodoros says that 22,000 Athenian citizens were disfranchised and that they emigrated (with Antipatros' encouragement) "to Thraike"; Plutarch's number is 12,000, and he says that only *some* of them went to Thraike.[12] One cannot help wondering *where* in Thraike? I know of no literary or epigraphical evidence for these Athenians' presence in Thraike. Some of them apparently returned

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[8] As at *IG* ii[2] 505.17: ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου.

[9] The fullest source on the war is Diod. 17.111.1-3; 18.8.1, 9.1-13.6, 14.4-15.7, 16.4-17.8. For others, see the translations and citations of Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.123f. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961) 36-41 provides a summary.

[10] An effective and detailed study of the naval aspects of the war is that of Morrison, *JHS* 107 (1987) 88-97, with full sources and translations. Morrison interprets the ambiguous sources as referring to *three* naval engagements: a skirmish in the Malian Gulf (near Lamia) and then two full-scale naval battles, first in the Hellespont and then off Amorgos. Sekunda, *ABSA* 87 (1992) 348-351 offers another plausible account of the naval struggle, one which differs significantly from Morrison's. See *SEG* 39.95 and 173 for literature on tangential aspects of the war.

[11] Diod. 18.18.1-6; Green, *Al.to Ac.* 11 (he stresses the class divisions in Athens and Antipatros' awareness of them).

[12] Diod. 18.18.4f; Plut. *Phok.* 28.4. Note that R.M. Geer in the Loeb Diodoros has accepted an editorial emendation to make Diodoros' figure consistent with Plutarch's; but see the rejected reading of p.64 n.1 (δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων). The relevant Greek passages (and versions of them) are quoted and clearly discussed in Hansen, *D&D* 28f and 35f. Sekunda 319f reaches different conclusions, using the same evidence. Vartsos, *AK* 111 seems to take these passages as referring to Antipatros' way of dealing with the returned klerouchs from Samos.

to Attike; did others among them coalesce with the populations in Thraike?[13] Or join the settlers elsewhere (see below)?

On the question of the return of the Samian exiles, Antipatros deflected further animosity from himself by deferring to the nominally superior authority of the "kings", i.e., of the regent in Asia, Perdikkas. The latter insisted that the Samians indeed were to return, thus making Samos one of very few Greek states in which Alexandros' exiles decree is known to have actually taken effect.[14] The returned Samians, probably in large part descendants of the "oligarchs" Lysandros had put in power at the beginning of the century, praised and rewarded various benefactors who had assisted them during their exile, in a series of honorary decrees that perhaps began with that for Antileon (see above) and continued through numerous resolutions praising various Makedonian dynasts (then kings) and their subordinates. From these inscribed Samian decrees we even pick up clues that indicate die-hard Athenian attacks on the island well after it was irretrievably lost.[15]

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[13] Hansen, *D&D* 99 n.112: "We are, however, totally ignorant of the location and size of the Athenian settlement(s) in Thrace". Hansen (p.35) accepts the implication of Diod. 18.66.4 that πολλοὶ τῶν τε φυγάδων γεγονότων ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρου were back in Athens by 318, no doubt having taken advantage of Polyperchon's edict of 319 (in the names of the puppet "kings") calling for the restoration, with full civic and property rights, of τοὺς μεταστάντας ἢ φυγόντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐκ πόλεων since the time of Alexandros' invasion of Asia (Diod. 18.56.4). See also Plut. *Phok.* 33.2 and Hansen 99 n.111. Sekunda 320 cites an implied decrease in Athenian citizen population between 322 and ca. 317 in suggesting that some emigrants perhaps did indeed remain in Thraike.

[14] Diod. 18.18.6 and 9 (ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας ἀποκαταστήσας τοῖς Σαμίοις τήν τε πόλιν καὶ χώραν κατήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, πεφευγότας ἔτη τρισὶ πλείω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα). The conclusion of Worthington, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 194-214 is that a decree of Tegea in Arkadia (*Syll.*[3] 306) is the only evidence for any Greek city's compliance — indeed, he suggests (pp.213f), Tegea was the only city actually to comply — with Alexandros' directive. He places a decree of Mytilene (*IG* xii[2] 6 = *OGIS* 2 = Tod 201), sometimes seen as an additional example of compliance with the exiles decree (as by Billows, *Antig.* 194 n.15, e.g.), in a context of the late 330s instead. Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.122 provides a translation of the Tegea decree and citations of related sources and literature.

[15] Shipley 161-164 provides a clear summary of the content of the so-called φυγή decrees; subsequent honorary decrees of similar type are discussed in pp.165-175, *passim*. Many of both sorts of inscription were published in Habicht's seminal 1957 article. See *SEG* 38.845 for a recent discussion of one decree. Shipley 167 and 175 offers comments concerning the relatively high economic status of at least the early returning exiles. Shipley 172 and n.22 discusses Habicht's fragmentary #18.5f and #19.4, 8 in connection with possible belated Athenian hostilities against the returned Samians. Both he and Habicht seem to prefer to date these inscriptions ca. 312; I am not sure why they do not connect them with Polyperchon's unenforceable "restoration" (supposedly on behalf of the "kings") of Samos to Athenian control in late 319 or early 318 (Diod. 18.56.7: Σάμον δὲ δίδομεν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Φίλιππος ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ). See Billows, *Antig.* 198f for a good discussion of this decree.

What happened to the klerouchs themselves? No doubt many returned to Attike, which had itself just recently lost some population (see above), and many others went elsewhere — to Lemnos or Imbros or Skyros, perhaps even to the Adriatic settlement, if it still existed, or to the new settlements in Thraike where Antipatros had put some of the disfranchised Athenian victims of his political revolution.[16] Some of them, despite what our literary sources say, stayed on in Samos. Shipley, who has already hedged noticeably on the conventional line that the Athenians expelled *all* the Samians,[17] is even less certain about the equally conventional notion that the returning Samians expelled all of the Athenians. He says the following in dismissing my argument, in *GRBS*, about possible enfranchised Samians among the Athenian klerouchs: "If the parallels between cleruchs' and Samian names show anything, they may show that numbers of Athenians stayed on after the end of the cleruchy in 322".[18] A source that supports such a conclusion is the late-third century inscription Shipley calls the "Name List", with its subdivisions of the Samian population that include, as restored by the editor and generally accepted, *Athenaioi* and *Halaieis*, the latter seen as having been derived from an Athenian demotic.[19] Shipley restores the latter subdivision as *[Astyp]alaieis* instead, which would weaken the evidence for Athenian continuity. It may be significant, however, that S. Tracy, in re-dating this inscription and suggesting improved readings based on squeezes, discusses the very lines in which this population subdivision is mentioned and suggests improvements in nearby words, yet indicates no problem at all in connection with *Halaieis*.[20] As for most of the klerouchs, however, as

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[16] See Sec.2.8 below on the epitaph of an Athenian (**1214**) found at a site in the Samian *peraia*. Ferguson, *HA* 174 says that Epikouros the philosopher (**446**), of a klerouchic family from Samos, "had become a wanderer". Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 302 suggests that some of the Athenians expelled from Samos may have relocated in the Thraikian settlements.

[17] Shipley begins hedging almost immediately (p.143): "The important point, however, is not whether all or merely some Samians were expelled...". He finally really backs away from the position (p.158, in a context of 346/5 B.C.): "it is likely, as we have seen, that not all the population was expelled anyway". Discussing the returnees, he says (p.169): "Of course not all the demos had been expelled, perhaps only a minority...".

[18] Shipley, *Samos* 142 ; the same point is made on p.305.

[19] Theophaneides, *AD* 9 (1924/5) 95-104 no.1, with 'Αθηναῖοι and 'Αλαιεῖς. See editor's comm., p.102. L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 483 and Jones, *Pub.Org.* 199 are among those following Theophaneides' interpretation.

[20] Shipley, *Samos* 286 n.2: ['Αστυπ]αλαιεῖς. This argument is cited at *SEG* 37.725. Cf. Tracy, *Chiron* 20 (1990) 59-75, cited at *SEG* 40.728. Seeing this article after reading Shipley led me to re-check Theophaneides' original publication, but the only two photographs there proved to be of no help on this particular point. Photo no.2 (p.96), however, very clearly shows the probably more significant heading 'Αθηναῖοι.

is so frequently the case, we really do not know. In the words of Hansen: "In the period 322-318 the vast population movements defy calculation...".[21]

1.9a NOTE ON SOURCES: ATHENS, SAMOS, AND THE EXILES DECREE

Ephippos *FGrH* 126 F 5 (=Athen. 12.538b) is set at Ekbatana (autumn 324), and Ephippos is highly critical of one Γόργος ὁ ὁπλοφύλαξ who extravagantly promises Alexandros all sorts of armaments, ὅταν Ἀθήνας πολιορκῇ. *Syll.*[3] 312 (=Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.127; see *SEG* 33.693 for bibliography), a Samian honorary decree usually dated ca. 321, commends Gorgos of Iasos (and his brother) because, among other things, Gorgos had crowned Alexandros in his camp (no location indicated) after he had announced that he would restore Samos to the Samians. Errington, *Chiron* 5 (1975) 54f denies the identity of the two events and the specific reference of the former to Samos, placing the latter at Babylon in 323. Rosen, *Historia* 27 (1978) 34 n.96 finds the parallels within the two sources more compelling. Heisserer *Alex.& Gks.* 182-193, in his detailed discussion of the inscription, argues that it and the Ephippos fragment refer to different events (p.187), but he cannot accept Errington's late date for the occasion referred to by the inscription. Rather than either Ekbatana in 324 or Babylon in 323, Heisserer suggests (pp.188f, with n.46; see also 190 n.61) some camp occupied during Alexandros' journey between Sousa and Ekbatana, earlier in 324 (*lacunae* in both Arrian and Diodoros limit the possibilities of specificity, he says). Bosworth *C&E* 221 n.38 finds Errington's 323 "an implausibly late date for a decision which concerned such an important group of exiles" and in general finds the Ephippos fragment credible (p.163 n.431). Shipley, *Samos* admits to ambivalence (p.165) and devotes his Appendix 7 (p.297) to the issue. He finds that the "parallels...are strong" in the two sources, but cautions that it would be "unwise to make the two incidents entirely parallel", and finally concludes: "The question remains open" (citing Errington).

Within the same Appendix, Shipley comments: "It is, incidentally, unlikely that it was the *Samians*, or others on their behalf, who...sought clarification of the Exiles Decree: Nicanor's announcement at first sight clearly covered them". This observation is

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[21] Hansen, *D&D* 69.

sensible, and it in fact causes me to doubt that there is a real problem here. Of course Alexandros always intended to apply the exiles decree to Samos — why not, when the consequence would be the weakening of the most dangerous of the Greek states, i.e., Athens? Heisserer 192f stresses Alexandros' antipathy toward Athens in his later years. Indeed, the klerouchs on Samos had during Alexandros' early days in Asia, willingly or unwillingly, aided the Persian forces opposing him, by furnishing them with provisions (Arr. 1.19.8). Therefore it was appropriate for Alexandros to answer the question "Is Samos included?" affirmatively, whenever and wherever it was asked — at Ekbatana in 324, in Babylon in 323, and at any other time and place, once the basic idea of issuing the decree had occurred to him. Nor was there any reason for him to avoid saying it more than once. The two sources can refer to two different incidents, yet to the same Gorgos: perhaps the philo-Samian zealot took every opportunity to get Alexandros "on record" on the topic (this conclusion seems consistent with that of Heisserer 189).

The issue for the Athenians, however, was not what Alexandros might *say*, but what he would actually *do*. Antipatros might coerce the mainlanders with his large army (as the phrasing of the decree itself envisioned), but the Makedonian regent would hardly venture so far away as Samos! Someone else (Antigonos the satrap of Phrygia? Alexandros himself?) would have to enforce the replacement of the Athenian klerouchs by the exiled Samians, or it would not in reality happen, i.e., the Athenians would hold on to the island. The Athenians therefore had every incentive to send embassy after embassy, to stall, to flatter, even (not too explicitly) to threaten. Perhaps Alexandros' energies would be drawn into another project; anything might happen. In the event, however, Alexandros proved resolute and decisive, and the Athenians dared not openly defy him, so the transfer of populations presumably would have taken place in 323. Then suddenly all bets were off, when Alexandros unexpectedly died, and only the crushing defeat of the Lamian War — including the destruction of Athenian naval power — made the exchange feasible again. Even then, Antipatros had no intention of enforcing it himself; he left it up to Perdikkas, who was, as Alexandros had been, supreme in Asia.

Plut. *Alex.* 28.1: "...writing about Samos to the Athenians, he said, 'I would not have given you (that) free and admirable city; you have it, having received (it) from (him who was your) master at that time and was said to be my father'" (περὶ Σάμου γράφων Ἀθηναίοις, "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ," φησίν, "ὑμῖν ἐλευθέραν πόλιν ἔδωκα καὶ ἔνδοξον· ἔχετε δὲ αὐτὴν λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ τότε κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ προσαγο-

ρευομένου"). My translation here is influenced by the comment of Hamilton *ad loc.* Rosen begins his article by quoting this passage (p.20), but on his last page (39) concludes: "Der Brief erweist sich endgültig als Fälschung". Others are more willing to accept the letter, although they place it in different chronological positions: Shipley 166 puts it (implicitly) in 324, while Errington 55 prefers spring 323. Badian, *JHS* 81 (1961) 33 n.122 cites it as evidence that "Alexander may in the end even have decided to leave Samos in the Athenians' possession", although expressing doubt about the date (323) that such an interpretation would require, saying "it is not certain that the letter quoted by Plutarch, even if genuine, belongs to this late date: Plutarch himself certainly implies an earlier date". Worthington, *ZPE* 57 (1984) 143 takes the unique (and in my opinion excessively ingenious) position that the letter can be used in support of a 'compromise' reconstruction, saying "I suggest that what Alexander did was to grant the Samians ownership of their island but, at the same time, he allowed the Athenian cleruchs to continue living there, perhaps even paying rent to their new 'landlords'". I myself tend to prefer the position of Heisserer 193 n.70, who describes Alexandros as "implacable" on the question of Samos and insists that there is "no good reason to suppose" that he ever relented. Heisserer (187 n.44) seems to accept the letter as authentic; he dates it to 324 and treats it as having a menacing implication, i.e., that Alexandros did not necessarily consider himself bound by *Philip's* decision to allow the Athenians to retain control of Samos.

1.10 Islands of Independent Athenians

If Philip II had ever captured Skyros, he clearly did not hold on to it after Chaironeia, since its attachment to Athens is epigraphically attested in 329 and taken for granted in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* of a few years later, its treatment in both cases being parallelled with that of Lemnos and Imbros.[1] These northern islands,

[1] Str. 9.5.16 tells of Philip seizing the islands off Magnesia during his struggle for hegemony with Athens; among five named islands, Strabo calls Skyros the most notable. This passage, which is obviously rather imprecise, has been differently interpreted by various scholars; see Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. pp.3 and 176 entries for the year 338; also Vartsos, *AK* 52. A reference to the hoplite general Nausikles (**977**) and 2000 Athenian hoplites ὄντων ἐν Ἴμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον in a decree supposedly cited by Demosthenes (Dem. 18.115, a passage bracketed by editors) could fit this period, if it reflects any factual events at

along with Salamis, seem to have remained firmly in Athenian possession not only after Chaironeia but even after Athens' devastating defeat at the hands of Antipatros in the Lamian War.[2] In the numerous and wide-ranging struggles of Alexandros' "successors" (*diadochoi*), however, all of these islands may have changed masters more than once. Sometimes it is not absolutely certain to which occasion vaguely dated sources refer.[3]

Antipatros having died in 319, his son Kassandros (who had cleverly contrived to get his own man, Nikanor, in as commander of the garrison in Mounychia) struggled for the Makedonian regency with his father's designated successor Polyperchon. Antigonos, who had been Antipatros' general in Asia since the settlement arranged in 320 after the death of Perdikkas, temporarily became Kassandros' ally, out of a shared aversion for subordination to Polyperchon. The embattled regent sought Greek support against his rivals by issuing the above-mentioned proclamation in favor of the autonomy of the Greek cities, and he specifically courted the Athenians by proclaiming the return of Samos to them — a proclamation he was quite unable to enforce, nor did he make any attempt to enforce it. Invoking Polyperchon's autonomy edict, the Athenians besought Nikanor to remove the garrison from Mounychia; instead, he seized all of the town of Peiraieus. Polyperchon's son Alexandros, seemingly coming to the Athenians' assistance, in reality proved to be after control of Peiraieus himself. The disenchanted Athenians, particularly certain persons disfran-

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all; the dating formula attached to it, however (ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς), is irregular in form, even if not entirely unparallelled, and refers to no known archon of the appropriate period. An extremely fragmentary Attic decree of 337/6, moved by Demades, refers twice to Lemnos and (probably) once to Philip (Schwenk no.5.10, 19, 21; see Greek at Sec.1.3 n.15 above), prompting an editorial suggestion that this decree "shows that final settlements were still being arranged in 337/6 and that Demades had a hand in it" (Schwenk p.47). Curtius 4.5.22 shows Chares, after a stint as commander of mercenaries for the Persian king, taking refuge on Imbros in 337, but the implications of this for the island's association with Athens may be ambivalent. For the situation several years after Chaironeia, see *IG* ii^2 1672.274-288 and *Ath.Pol.* 62.2.

2 Diod. 18.18.4 (Greek quoted in preceding section). If *IG* ii^2 3206 is more-or-less correctly dated by Kirchner to before 318, its references to statues dedicated by Ἀθηναίων ‖ ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σαλ|λαμῖνι (lines 4-6) and Ἀθηναίων | ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Ἴμ‖βρωι (lines 8-10) would show Salamis and Imbros still as Athenian possessions. But cf. the late-third century dating of Wagner 54: "wohl aus den Zeiten kurz nach der vollen Wiedereinsetzung Athens in seine Rechte auf Salamis durch Aratos (a.229)".

3 Highly recommended treatments of this period, from different angles, are to be found in Errington, *Hist.Mac.* and Billows, *Antig.*. Indispensable for its Athenian orientation, and never yet replaced although badly out of date, is Ferguson, *HA* (1911).

chised by Antipatros who had returned (see above), vented their frustration by condemning pro-Makedonian political leaders, notably the long-time general Phokion. Polyperchon, still angling for the Athenians' support, turned the suppliant Phokion over to them.

Meanwhile, Kassandros had arrived in person to join forces with Nikanor. He determined to take Salamis in addition to Peiraieus, but "the Salaminians" (Diodoros' term) resisted him strongly, until the approaching Polyperchon compelled him to retreat to Peiraieus. Soon afterward, however, Polyperchon showed himself inept in a campaign in the Peloponnesos, and Nikanor and Antigonos (on Kassandros' behalf) defeated his commander Kleitos, the victor of Amorgos, in a sea battle in the Hellespont. The advantage in Attike, as indeed in Greece in general, now swung decisively to Kassandros, and the Athenians were forced to come to terms with him. Diodoros tells us that he retained Mounychia, instituted a property qualification for Athenian citizenship (albeit lower than his father's, which had been repealed in the meantime), and appointed his own *epimeletes* to rule the city, in the person of Demetrios of Phaleron. Diodoros says nothing further about Salamis, and seems to imply the Athenians' retention of it in saying that they were to have their "city and countryside and revenues and ships and everything else, being friends and allies of Kassandros".[4] It is possible, although not strictly necessary, to read Pausanias as contradicting this, since among the things done by Kassandros in Attike he lists the seizure of Salamis before the appointment of Demetrios as (in his word) "tyrant" in Athens.[5] Ferguson, e.g., asserts that Kassandros, having failed to take Salamis in 318, succeeded in doing so in 317. Along with some other scholars, I have my doubts.[6] No real clarification is provided by an honorary in-

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[4] This paragraph so far, and the preceding paragraph, have provided a very condensed summary of Diod. 18.48.4-50.3, 54.1-57.4, 64.1-75.2, omitting developments (e.g., the machinations of Alexandros' mother Olympias) not essential to my narrative. The key passages of relevance for Salamis are 18.69.1 (... ὁ Κάσανδρος ... τοὺς δὲ Σαλαμινίους ἀλλότρια θρονοῦντας εἰς πολιορκίαν συνέκλεισε ... καὶ ... εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἤγαγε τοὺς Σαλαμινίους) and 18.74.3 (...συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην ὥστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ προσόδους καὶ ναῦς καὶ τἄλλα πάντα φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους Κασάνδρου...).

[5] Paus. 1.25.6: Πάνακτον τεῖχος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ καὶ Σαλαμῖνα εἶλε τύραννόν τε Ἀθηναίοις ἔπραξε γενέσθαι Δημήτριον τὸν Φανοστράτου....

[6] Ferguson, *HA* 35 with n.5 and 117 n.2. Ferguson puts *IG* ii^2 11960, the epigram about Leon (**852**) found on Salamis, in the context of this struggle of 318-317; cf. *IG*'s own mid-third century dating (see Sec.2.9 n.28 below for the Greek). Green, *Al.to Ac.* 44 and nn. conspicuously omits Salamis from his account of these events. If indeed Salamis was successfully defended in 318 and remained Athenian territory, its defense might make a reasonable context for the Athenian *hippeis*' inscription honoring their hipparch Theogenes (**637**), *IG* ii^2 1955. Kirchner dates

scription found at Sounion for someone (**1551**) who had been elected (apparently at different times) *peripolarchos* (commander of mercenaries), general for Salamis, and general for the *chora*, honored in connection with the second-named magistracy when crowned by the "Salaminians".[7] No names — of honorand, of archon(s), or of anyone else — are extant in the inscription, so Beloch's date of 307-304, accepted by Kirchner, seems only one reasonable guess among others.[8]

Several elements of Ferguson's discussion of the ten-year administration of Demetrios of Phaleron[9] are associated with Athens' overseas settlements in one way or another, even if we exclude his references to the departure of numerous disfranchised Athenians for an ill-fated attempt at settlement in north Africa during the period.[10] Ferguson's argument to the effect that certain financial regulations of Demetrios caused an increase in the incidence of dated "security *horoi*" — in the overseas settlements as well as in Attike — is severely attacked by Finley in an Appendix to his study

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it ca. 320, perhaps accepting an argument like Ferguson's (although in fact citing Koehler, Niese, and Horner, whose arguments I have not checked): "Titulus revocandus est ad tempora, quae a. 318 proxime antecedunt; tum enim insula Salamis Macedonibus tradita est". Bugh, *Horsemen* 180f and 212f discusses the inscription in some detail, and mentions without elaboration (p.212) that it was "perhaps connected with the Lamian War", but in general he seems content with *IG*'s "ca. 320 B.C." and does not mention any possible post-320 context. He does cite inscriptions in which *hippeis* honored Demetrios of Phaleron himself "as a former hipparch" (p.175 and n.49: it is not clear which of a string of citations fits this description). In any case, S.V. Tracy showed in a presentation of December 28, 1992, at the APA convention in New Orleans that *IG* ii² 2971 should *not* be taken (as it generally has been taken) to refer to the famous Demetrios of Phaleron, but that instead it refers to his homonymous grandson. I cite only the summary in *APA Abstracts* (1992) p.68, not having been able to hear Tracy's paper in person.

[7] *IG* ii² 1260, esp. 14-20: [– – – καὶ στ]ρατηγὸς χειροτονηθ||[εὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου εἰς Σα]λαμῖν[α] χρήματά τε πρ||[οεδάνεισεν Σαλαμινί]οις εἰς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν | [τῆς πόλεως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐ]πεμελήθη τῶν τε τειχῶ[ν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς δικα]ίως καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ | [διὰ ταῦτα ἐστηφάνωσ]αν αὐτὸν Σαλαμίν[ιο]ι ἀρ||[ετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαι]οσύνης τῆς εἰς ἑα[υ]τούς. On restorations, see next note.

[8] Salamis as a *polis* (if properly restored in line 17) might seem to indicate its independence from Athens; conversely, "general for Salamis" (lines 14f) appears to imply Athenian control.

[9] Note how the mode of Demetrios' attaining power is euphemized in *IG* ii² 1201+ (=Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.129).

[10] Ferguson, *HA* 37 and 67, citing (imprecisely) Diod. 20.40-42; note especially the statement (sec. 41.1) that so many wives and children, etc. had come along, ὥστε ἐμφερῆ τὴν στρατιὰν ὑπάρχειν ἀποικίᾳ. The leader was Ophellas, dynast of Kyrene, whose Athenian wife Euthydike was the daughter of Miltiades, *oikistes* of the Athenian *apoikia* to the Adriatic in 325/4. After Ophellas' death, she married Demetrios Poliorketes (see Sec.1.8 above). In discussing her further, Ferguson asks, did Miltiades again "serve as *oecist* for the colony?" (pp.110f and 111 n.1). Green, *Al.to.Ac.* 42 and 222 is again less adventurous.

of the *horoi*.[11] Ferguson also offers a theory about the nature of Demetrios' authority as Kassandros' *epimeletes*, saying that "he occupied in Athens the same position which the Athenian high-commissioners had occupied on Lemnos"; this seems thoroughly legalistic and strained.[12] In any event, no exact definition of the powers and duties of the *epimeletai* on Lemnos can be offered (see Sec.3.5 below). Most important if true, although quite lacking in evidentiary support, is Ferguson's inference, applied to Lemnos and Imbros, that "the control of Demetrius and Cassander,...doubtless, had been accompanied by restrictions upon popular freedom in the cleruchy similar to those existent in the metropolis"; he treats this as a motivating factor in the secession of these islands from Athenian control in 314 B.C.[13]

The context of their secession was another round in the struggles of the *diadochoi*, Kassandros and Antigonos having become estranged. Antigonos, in his so-called Proclamation of Tyre (314) had adopted something akin to the espousal of Greek cities' "autonomy" employed earlier by Polyperchon, who was himself now only a marginalized minor player. Antigonos sent his nephew Dioskourides with a fleet of nearly 200 ships to seek the support of islands not yet allied with him.[14] After his discussion of the Proclamation of Tyre and the sending out of Dioskourides, Diodoros describes the efforts of Kassandros, through Demetrios of Phaleron, Dionysios the commander of the Mounychia garrison, and an officer whom they appointed named Aristoteles, aided by Seleukos, "to persuade the Lemnians to rebel from those on Antigonos' side". The obvious implication is that at some point Lemnos had seceded from its mother city, which was dominated by Kassandros and his lieutenants. The precise date is not indicated, nor the particular event (if any) that encouraged or provoked the secession: perhaps the Proclamation of Tyre itself, perhaps the sending out of

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[11] Ferguson, *HA* 43; cf. Finley, *SLC* App. II, pp.177-181, dealing also with an article by Ferguson on the same subject, and with the views of other authors who have accepted Ferguson's theory.

[12] It is plain enough from Ferguson, *HA* 47f and nn. that Demetrios' actual office or magistracy is not even certainly known — *epimeletes* may be either a technical or a non-technical term — and Ferguson's dismissal (n.5) of problems arising from *IG* ii^2 1201+ is too casual, as well as being itself excessively legalistic; cf., e.g., Austin, *Hell. World* 23 n.9.

[13] Ferguson, *HA* 49.

[14] Diod. 19.61.1-4, 62.9. Billows, *Antig.* 236 argues effectively for the relative benevolence of Antigonos toward the Greeks, as contrasted with the other Makedonian dynasts. His promises, if not wholly disinterested, were far from being merely self-serving and hollow.

Dioskourides, perhaps awareness of both of these developments, and/or of others. It does seem, however, that Dioskourides did not make his actual appearance at Lemnos until after Kassandros' representatives had arrived. Aristoteles had taken twenty ships from Athens to Lemnos, and when "the Lemnians" would not abandon Antigonos, he ravaged their *chora* and besieged their "city", meaning apparently the fortified Myrina, on the Attic (west) side of the island. But Seleukos departed with his fleet, and Dioskourides arrived.[15] Aristoteles was driven away and most of his ships and crews were captured. Nothing is said of the fate of the crews, but if they were largely Athenians, which seems believable, they were no doubt simply absorbed into the Athenian population on Lemnos. Fredrich reports the discovery on Lemnos of a sling bullet with *Diony-* written on it, and associates this with the name of the garrison commander of Mounychia, Dionysios, mentioned by Diodoros in connection with the expedition to Lemnos.[16] Neither Diodoros nor any other ancient author indicates that Imbros also seceded at this time, but commentators almost unanimously (and reasonably) infer it.[17] Nobody mentions Skyros.

Fredrich's treatment of two security *horoi* from Hephaistia seems inconsistent with his own chronology, which would have Lemnos independent from Athens throughout the period 318-307. The sin-

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[15] Diodoros puts the Proclamation of Tyre and the appointment of Dioskourides in the archonship of Praxiboulos (315/4); the decision of Kassandros and the events on Lemnos itself are put in the archonship of Nikodoros (314/3). See Diod. 19.68.3f; the first translated phrase (sec.3) is τοὺς Λημνίους ἔπειθεν ἀποστῆναι τῶν περὶ 'Αντίγονον. After describing the ravaging, the investment of the city, and the departure of Seleukos, Diod. (sec.4) says that Διοσκουρίδης δὲ κατασταθεὶς ναύαρχος ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου, πυθόμενος τὸν πλοῦν Σελεύκου, κατῆρεν εἰς Λῆμνον, κτλ. That the "city" is Myrina is inferred by Fredrich, e.g.: "Myrinam obsidentem".

[16] Fredrich, *AM* 31 (1906) 71. Cf. the well-known "Philip" bullets from Olynthos: see A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford 1979) 39 and 435 n.2, who discusses Philip's bullets in the context of the general phenomenon, with citations.

[17] Although Fredrich puts Lemnos' secession in 318 (without source or argument), he nonetheless indicates that Imbros seceded at the same time (also without source or argument). Ferguson, *HA* 49 puts the secession (again of both islands) in spring or early summer of 314, and seems to see the Proclamation of Tyre as the triggering mechanism. Green, *Al.to Ac.* 48 indicates the same motivation, year, and linkage. Billows, *Antig.* 118 says that the sending out of Dioskourides "was no doubt responsible for the adhesion to Antigonos' cause of the islands of Lemnos and Imbros"; he dates their alliance with Antigonos to 313 (p.340) and Dioskourides' rescue of Lemnos to the end of 313 (p.382). Bugh, *Horsemen* 216 accepts Fredrich's dating for the period of Lemnos' separation from Athens (318-307), but describes this as the period "when *Kassander* held the island" [my emphasis], and, having said that Lysimachos held it ca. 287/6-281, says further that "Demetrios Poliorketes was dominant in the intervening years".

gle transaction recorded on one of the stones is dated to the archonship of Nikodoros (**1015**); the other stone has a transaction dated to that same archonship, but also another below it, which is dated to the archonship of Archias (**234**). Nikodoros is an attested Attic archon — and of 314/3 B.C., the very year in which Diodoros places the above-described conflict on Lemnos. Archias, however, is not the archon of the next year in Attike, or of any apparently appropriate year. Therefore he is seen as being the *local* archon, either of Lemnos as a whole or of Hephaistia specifically. The reasonable conclusion is that between the cutting of the two texts of the second *horos*, the proper way of dating a document on Lemnos ceased to be by the Attic archon and began to be by the local archon, i.e., that Lemnos had become independent of Athenian control in or shortly after 314/3 B.C.[18] Ferguson was so delighted with this new (1909) evidence, which seemingly vindicated his own interpretation and dating of events, that he wrote an Addendum to an article of 1910, just to make the connection.[19] Some years later, M. Segre, discussing a different Lemnian *horos* dated by the local archon (**915**), remarked casually, without argument, that this man's name might now be added to those of the other two known Lemnian archons — Nikodoros and Archias![20] Finley, in his study of *horoi*, states that although most commentators have followed Fredrich in their identification of Nikodoros, "Mario Segre has properly rejected the assumption and included Nikodoros among the small number of Lemnian archons whose names are known".[21]

I am myself suspicious of the notion that each archon attested in an overseas settlement whose name appears within the catalogue of Attic archons must be the Attic archon of that name; this assumption is too casually made in connection with several inscriptions.

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[18] *SLC* 104 = *IG* xii(8) 18, as improved at *IG* xii Supp. p.147 (see also my Appendix A), is the first stone (name in line 6). *SLC* 107 and 108 are the two texts of *IG* xii(8) 19, with archons' names in the respective first lines (108.1 = *IG*'s line 8). My phrasing here is a somewhat fuller version of Fredrich's comment on the two-text stone. Even here, Fredrich casually uses "inter annos 318 et 307" as if it represented some obviously meaningful period; yet the cross-reference to his Introduction leads the reader to no argument or source-citation in support of the 318 date, only to its bald assertion. See further discussion of these archons in Sec.3.4 below.

[19] Ferguson, *JHS* 30 (1910) 208.

[20] Segre, *Ann.* p.299, comment on his #6(=*SLC* 10).1: "L'arconte Μέναιχμος è ignoto ad Atene: è dunque un nuovo arconte lemnio, da aggiungersi ai due già noti, Νικόδωρος e Ἀρχίας (*IG.*, XII, 8, 18 e 19)".

[21] Finley, *SLC* pp.199f (quote from p.200).

On the other hand, there is an impressive confluence of mutually-consistent data in this one particular case. The only awkward element in Fredrich's reconstruction is in fact his date of 318 for the beginning of Lemnian independence from Athens, for which he cites no evidence. Actually, 314/3 is the date that fits his own evidence, although 318 permeates his entire treatment of Lemnian, and Imbrian, events, and has become an unquestioned datum (pun intended) in mainstream scholarship about the period. I had myself always assumed that there must be some basis for it, but in the sources there is none.[22]

It is reassuring to see literary and epigraphic sources support each other in the manner just described,[23] but Lemnos and Imbros both disappear from the literary record (Skyros is already long gone) until events around 307 B.C. begin to be discussed. In the interim, one tries to understand the situation as far as possible by using epigraphic sources alone, some from the islands and some from Attike. However, the dating of many inscriptions is debatable, as well as the actual meaning and/or implications of some of them, especially the more fragmentary ones. One decree from Myrina whose heading is missing (therefore no archon's name appears, either local or Attic) is treated by Fredrich and by many other commentators as the product of an independent Lemnos, since it refers not to the *demos* of Athenians in Myrina but to the *demos* of Myrinaians.[24] The phrasing of the Attic inscription *IG* ii^2 550, which I tend to date to the "independent" period (see below), is too ambivalent to be very helpful: "Myrina" is used as a toponym, and the only extant reference to any *demos* seems to employ the word unmodified (perhaps even referring to the Attic *demos*).[25]

Two decrees of independent Imbros are generally identified. An honorary decree for the polemarch Lykon (**869**) lacks specification as to "whose" *demos* enacts it, but it is dated with the name of a non-

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[22] The argument presented here is generally consistent with that of Sherk, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 271f.

[23] Sometimes the support can be illusory. Billows, *Antig.* 116f n.43 argues on common-sense grounds that Droysen's connection of *IG* ii^2 450 with the events I have been discussing (cited without indication of disagreement in *IG*'s comment) is unlikely to be correct.

[24] *IG* xii(8) 7.17 (phrase totally restored) and 19 ([τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Μυριναίων). Fredrich's date is, predictably, "haud multo post 318". See also Sec.3.6 below; my observations in App. A do not concern these lines.

[25] *IG* ii^2 550.5 ([– – – ‖ δ]ήμου καὶ τοῖς κτλ.), 6 (πρέσβεσιν εἰς Μύ[ριναν– – –]), 9 (καὶ τῶν ἐμ Μυ[ρίνηι – – –]), 16 ([– – – | ε]ἰς Μύριναν). See App. A for fuller discussion. More useful clues may be provided by *IG* ii^2 1485 and 1486 (each now combined with other texts: see *SEG* 38.142f and discussion below).

Attic archon (**699**).[26] The other decree, honoring Athenodoros (**34**), is considerably more doubtful, since its non-Attic archon (**117**) is named only in a top line reported in the *ed. prin.* but never confirmed since. On this shaky basis, Fredrich puts the decree in the same period of independence as the preceding decree, but other editors have preferred considerably earlier dates, in periods of definite Athenian control.[27] Ferguson suggests that from this inscription "we may infer that soldiers from Imbros fought with Antigonus in the wars"; this interpretation probably puts more weight on the fragmentary source than it can bear.[28]

A more attractive inference from epigraphic evidence is that of Billows, in his prosopographical entry for Aischylos of Rhodos(?), who suggests that a fragmentary Attic inscription may refer to his having been Antigonos' military commander, "who would have been placed over Lemnos (and maybe Imbros too) by Antigonos between ca. 310 and 307".[29] This might amount to saying that the "independent" islands had been garrisoned by their liberator[30] — which would not necessarily have been seen as an unfriendly act, in the circumstances. I believe, in fact, that another Attic inscription refers specifically to such a garrison on Lemnos at this time, but that its significance has been missed because of editorial misdating.[31] The presence of Antigonid garrison(s) would, moreover, make

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[26] *IG* xii(8) 47.9 (ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἱεροφῶντος), 17 (unspecified *demos*). Fredrich's comment begins with "Decretum liberae civitatis inter a. 318 et 307 factum. cf. vs. 9".

[27] *IG* xii(8) 48.1 (? [– – – ἐπὶ] Ἀξιόχου ἄρχοντος), with the comment: "Vs. 1 Nicephorus dat; in Foucarti ectypo legi non poterat". See Sec.2.6 below for suggested identifications for Athenodoros and the attendant dating problems.

[28] Ferguson, *HA* 50 n.4; the inference would be from lines 8-12, which specify honors for Athenodoros because his management (*tamieusas*) of something (text lost) seems to have been somehow useful for the dispatch of funds to those fighting... ([– – – ἐπε]ιδὴ ὁ ταμιεύσας [...|.....ἀποφαίν]ει Ἀθηνόδωρον χρήσιμο[ν ‖ γεγονότα πρὸς τὸ]ν ἀπόστολον τῶν χρη[μά|των τοῖς στρατ]ευομένοις προευ[χρη|στήσας? – – –]). But the inference would be rather weak, since editors who date the inscription earlier apply these lines to different conflicts.

[29] Billows, *Antig.* 365, citing *IG* ii^2 569.6 and 9 and saying that the Aischylos (**48**) of the inscription "could be either the departing Antigonid commander or the arriving Athenian officer", and that he inclines to the former. See App. A for certain problems with readings, although they do not affect this interpretation significantly.

[30] Ptolemaios in 310 used as a justification for hostilities the accusation that Antigonos φρουραῖς τινας διείληφε τῶν πόλεων, but the context seems to indicate that he refers to cities in Kilikia (Diod. 20.19.3-5, Greek from sec.3).

[31] *IG* ii^2 550 is dated only "post a. 314/3" in the *Corpus* (with which I would have no quarrel), but Maier, *Gr.Mauerb.* I 199f n.4 (cited in *SEG* 19.59) dates it to 307/6. Maier's argument is, however, invalid for several reasons. On Lemnos' supposed membership in Antigonos' league of islanders, cf. Billows, *Antig.* 223 n.96. On the royal title, see App. A: even though the title's absence would strengthen my own dating preference, epigraphically Maier has not demonstrated

some sense of the notion that either island might be a possession of Antigonos that he could "restore" to the Athenians in 307.[32]

In that year Antigonos sent his son Demetrios (later known as *Poliorketes*, "Besieger") with a large fleet to free the cities of Greece from Kassandros' control, beginning with Athens. His surprise landing at Peiraieus was successful, and was swiftly followed by the departure of Kassandros' *epimeletes* Demetrios of Phaleron on a safe-conduct, the restoration of Athens' traditional democracy, and a successful assault on the garrison in Mounychia, whose surrender was followed by the dismantling of the fortress. Not surprisingly, the liberated Athenians were grateful, and showed it in a series of ever more excessive honorary resolutions, led in their increasing flattery by Stratokles of Diomeia, whose servility provokes the contempt of commentators ancient and modern. The development significant for this narrative is that Antigonos, informed of Demetrios' accomplishments and the Athenians' response, not only sent grain and ship timber to the Athenians, but also withdrew his garrison from Imbros and restored it to Athenian control. Most commentators infer, reasonably in light of epigraphic evidence from the next few years, that Lemnos, too, was restored in or around 307 B.C.[33]

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its absence. Another new point I raise in App. A is the apparent reference to Hephaistia in this inscription, not only to Myrina. The relevant point in the present context, and one that is quite uncontroversial, is the presence of the phrase "of the garriso[n]" (τῆς φρουρᾶ[ς – – –]) in line 4.

[32] Cf., e.g., Ferguson, *HA* 65, who has to infer an Antigonid garrison on Imbros, but *not* on Lemnos, to account for the phrasing of Diod. 20.46.4f (see below).

[33] A very clear and critical account of these events is to be found in Billows, *Antig.* 147-151, with sources; see also Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.3; Ferguson, *HA* 63-65 and 95f; and Green, *Al.to Ac.* 48f. The basic ancient narrative is Diod. 20.45.1-46.4, which receives much anecdotal (and sometimes unreliable) elaboration in Plut. *Demet.* 8-14. On Stratokles as arch-flatterer (in 307 and especially in later years) see Plut. *Demet.* 11.1-12.4 (cf. the "competitive" flattery of Dromokleides of Sphettos, *ib.* 13); see also Ferguson, *HA* 101f, 120-123 and 135, and Green, *Al.to Ac.* 48's reference to "sedulous apes such as Stratocles". Ferguson, *HA* 64f says: "Lemnos had been free since 314 B.C., and she at once joined the mother city. Imbros was, however, in the possession of Antigonos, but he now withdrew his garrison and handed the island over to the Athenians"; Billows, *Antig.* 150 simply asserts that Antigonos "restored to Athenian control the islands of Lemnos and Imbros", citing inscriptional evidence (see below) in addition to Diodoros. Green, *Al.to Ac.* 49, however, omits any mention of Lemnos in his brief account, citing only Diodoros. Bugh, *Horsemen* 216 actively fights the consensus, in his Appendix on the hipparch to Lemnos; having cited the Diodoros passage, he argues: "There is no mention of Lemnos here. It would have been foolish on [Antigonos'] part to have relinquished military control over the prosperous and strategic island of Lemnos". Such "foolishness", however, was the stated policy of Antigonos, if we may believe an anecdote in Plut. *Demet.* 8.2.

Ferguson, not followed by most later scholars, adds Skyros as well.[34]

The year in which Diodoros sets Demetrios' liberation of Athens and Antigonos' return of Imbros to Athenian control, 307/6 B.C., seems to be the date of references in two Attic treasure lists to a crown which the *demos* of Myrinaians awarded to the Athenian *demos*. The phrase by which the former entity is described may have been the proper way of referring to the klerouchs of the Lemnian town during the period of separation that apparently ends in this year.[35] Billows cites W.K. Pritchett for an argument that two other extremely fragmentary texts refer to the very Athenian embassy to Antigonos that prompted his return of Imbros.[36] I believe that Billows is correct in asserting that *IG* ii² 1492B, with its apparent references to things received from Antigonos and from "the kings" in a passage archon-dated to 306/5, and to money from Lemnos and Imbros in a passage dated 305/4, clearly shows Lemnos as well as Imbros back within the Athenian orbit, despite Diodoros' failure to mention the larger island's restoration.[37]

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[34] Ferguson, *HA* 65: "It may be surmised that Scyros became Athenian at the same time or a little later, since its inhabitants were Athenians like those of Lemnos and Imbros, and had thus a right to be allowed to join the mother country because of the general policy of Antigonus that all Greek cities should be free".

[35] *IG* ii² 1485.6f (archon date), 18-20 (crown that Μυρ[ινlαί]ω[ν] ὁ δῆμος gives); 1486.4f (archon date), 12-14 (*idem*, Μυρινl[αίων ὁ δῆμος]). *SEG* 38.143 and 145 cite recent studies, most recently Lewis, "Last Inventories", that suggest combining *IG* ii² 1485 with several other texts (*IG* ii² 1467 + 1473 + 1477 + 1490), suggesting a date of 304/3 for the combined inscription. The archon-date of the cited passage, however, appears to be unaffected by the combining of these texts. The same sort of thing seems to be true if one accepts *SEG* 38.142's combination of *IG* ii² 1486 with 1491A and 1492A, collectively dating them to "305/4 B.C.?". Lewis (p.307) prints no text for *IG* ii² 1485, but he includes no brackets or underdots in *IG* ii² 1486's reference to the crown which Μυριναίων ὁ δῆμος gave to τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων.

[36] Billows, *Antig.* 151 n.32, citing Pritchett, *AJPh* 58 (1937) 329-333, who shows that *IG* ii² 675 and 525 are apparently part of the same inscription, which improved readings allow him to re-date to 306/5.

[37] Billows, *Antig.* 150f and 227 n.105 (Billows' citations of lines 5-12, 27-31, and 40-42 of text B would match *IG*'s continuously-numbered lines 97-104, 119-123, and 132-134). Wallace does not find the argument as convincing as I do. One element of Billows' treatment of this inscription to which I do object — already in my otherwise highly favorable review of his book in *Biography* 14 (1991) 169-171 — is his use of the thoroughly anachronistic word "tribute" (pp.223 n.96 and 365) to describe the ἕτερα [χρ]ήμ[ατα] brought to Athens from the two islands (line B40 = 132). It is perhaps worth noting that what Antigonos "handed over" (line B7 = 99) is also called χρήματα. The word simply means "money", in both places. Note the above-cited recent suggestion that *IG* ii² 1492A should be combined with other texts. The further argument, cited at *SEG* 38.146, that *IG* ii² 1492A and B might be dated to the Panathenaic Year 306/5 rather than to an archon year, creates no problem: the dating formula referring to the archon Euxenippos (305/4) is almost totally preserved in the relevant passage (line B32=124).

A dated inscription not generally cited in this context would be equally decisive, if only it were possible to be sure that the events to which it refers are *recent* ones. An Attic decree of the tribe Antiochis, archon-dated to 303/2, praises one Euthydemos (**498**) for his participation, along with the priest Leptines (**847**), in settling disputes while serving as tribal *syndikos* at the tribe's *temenos* in Lemnos. Unfortunately, the dating formula for this service is only "in the priesthood of Leptines". The reference to Euthydemos' work in Lemnos is followed by a discussion of something he did in Oropos, in the course of which the text becomes fragmentary and breaks off. The inscription's editor, Ch. Karouzos, believes that the Lemnian events must have taken place at least fifteen years prior to the inscribing of the tribal decree — because in 318 Lemnos was seized by Antigonos and it was not returned to Athens until 307! Whatever one may think of this argument (my own feelings about Fredrich's 318 are already clear), it remains undemonstrable that the events described must have taken place after 307, so the inscription is not as helpful as it might be.[38]

I find another possibly-relevant reference in Billows merely tantalizing: in his prosopographical entry for Nikomedes of Kos, he refers to an inscription from that man's home island "containing a complete dossier of decrees from Greek cities around the Aegean honoring Nikomedes". However, he continues, "Only a few parts of the inscription, which is very fragmentary, have been published to date", including decrees from — among other places — Athens and "the Athenian colony on Lemnos". I am unable to verify this last-named decree, and I am not fully convinced that in this period klerouchs would call themselves Athenians in *Lemnos*, rather than in Myrina or Hephaistia.[39] In his prosopographical entry for Apollonides of Kyzikos(?) Billows cites *IG* ii^2 492, a decree in Apollonides' honor introduced by Stratokles in 302, saying that it

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[38] *SEG* 3.117 = Karouzos, *AD* 8 (1923) 85-89 no.1, text on p.86, comment re date on p.87. The archon-dating formula (line 1) is fully preserved. Jones, *Pub.Org.* 58, 60, 66 mentions and/or cites this decree (although it is oddly omitted at p.86 n.2), but without discussing the date of the activities of Euthydemos on Lemnos.

[39] Billows, *Antig.* 411 cites Herzog, *RFIC* 20 (1942) 12, but the relevant comment there is only a summary: "Decreta sunt Ἀθηναίων... [and at the end of the list] Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Λήμνωι aliorumque incertorum". Herzog's own cited source, Paton and Hicks, *Inscr.of Cos* nos.17-19, neither restores nor suggests any Lemnian connection. Nor do the original editors cited by Paton and Hicks, Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois, *BCH* 5 (1881) 208f no.4. I doubt that the phrase of Herzog has any epigraphic basis. The phrasing of *IG* ii^2 3204 and 3207 is relevant, but is itself perhaps problematic. See detailed discussion of these inscriptions in Sec.2.1 below.

"gives a survey of his dealings with Athens over a number of years"; one passage not discussed is the inscription's possible reference to Lemnos — although the context is so fragmentary that nothing much could be said.[40] A fragmentary Attic inscription already cited (above) in another context has, in *IG*'s text, a heavily-restored reference to both "the *demo*[*s* of Athenians and the *de*]*mos* in Hephaisti[a ---]". If this restoration is correct, and if a word related to "freedom" (without clear context) has been properly interpreted as indicating a date somewhat after 307/6, the restored phrase could refer either to the pre-return or to the post-return period.[41]

Kirchner puts *IG* ii^2 1222 among his *Decreta Cleruchorum*, dating the fragmentary text to the end of the fourth century (much earlier than any other text in the section). The inscription as published has drastic problems (see Appendix A for a complete substitute text), and the script provides the only support for the date, so far as I can see, although there is no particular reason to suggest a different time-frame. What I question here is the categorization. There are apparent references to Athenians in Hephaistia, to Hephaistia as a place, and to a group of *presbeis*, but absolutely nothing to indicate that this Attic inscription is not an Attic decree that makes reference to the klerouchs in a town on Lemnos. Whoever produced the decree, this fragmentary inscription provides little help.[42]

Antigonos founded his new capital city, Antigoneia-on-the-Orontes in Syria, in 306 B.C. Diodoros tells of its foundation, but only very late authors provide the information that many of the settlers were Athenians. Billows refers to "drafts" of Greeks for this and for military expeditions led by Demetrios, but such language may indicate a greater degree of coerciveness than was actually practiced: voluntarily settling abroad was hardly a new practice for Athenians![43] Antigonos recalled Demetrios from Athens in 306, and

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[40] Billows, *Antig.* 369f (quote from p.369). In restoring *IG* ii^2 492.5 to the effect that Apollonides has exhibited goodwill [--- περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν 'Αθηναίων κα[ὶ] Λ.Μ., Kirchner in his *apparatus* cites Velsen and Koehler as suggesting Λημ[ν]–. Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4 restores [--- πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν 'Αθηναίων καὶ Λημ[νίων ---], but does not suggest a specific occasion.

[41] *IG* ii^2 569.2 ([--- ἐλευ]θερο followed by damaged surface), 5f (τῶι τε δήμω[ι τῶι 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῶ|ι δή]μωι τῶι ἐν 'Ηφαιστί[αι ---]).

[42] *IG* ii^2 1222 (following my own text of App. A).1f ([--- 'Αθη|ν]αίων τῶν ἐν ['Ηφαιστίαι ---]), 5 (ἐν 'Ηφαιστία[ι ---]), 10f ([--- ἐπαι|νέσ]ạι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις ---]).

[43] Diod. 20.47.5f; Billows, *Antig.* 152, 227, 294, 297, 303f, 309 n.36. Billows (p.304 n.27) cites "Malalas, p. 201 (Bonn ed.)", which is equivalent to Ferguson, *HA* 112 n.1's citation of *FHG.* iv. 469; Ferguson quotes the Greek. Billows refers to "drafts" on pp.227, 303, and 304; he also mentions (p.227) the thirty Athenian ships fighting on Demetrios' side at Kyprian Salamis in 306 (citing Diod. 20.50.3) and "a body of Athenian soldiers" under Antigonos and Demetrios at Ipsos in 301 (citing *IG* ii^2 657.16-26).

the younger "king" (they assumed the title in that year) fought campaigns on Kypros, in Egypt, and on Rhodos before returning to Greece in 304 at the urgent request of the Athenians, who were under attack from Kassandros.

Diodoros' account of this struggle does not deal with fighting in Attike, but Plutarch's life of Demetrios says that he took the border forts of Phyle and Panakton that had been garrisoned by Kassandros, and returned them to the Athenians. Only undated passages in late sources mention events in what some modern commentators see as another theater of this conflict: the island of Salamis. Polyainos tells of Kassandros besieging Salamis at the same time as he defeated the Athenians in a sea battle, saying that he sent to Salamis without ransom all the "Salaminians" among those captured in the naval action, and that in consequence of this generosity they voluntarily surrendered to Kassandros. Pausanias, discussing the island, says that the Athenians drove out the Salaminians, having found them treacherous in the war with Kassandros, willingly surrendering. Moreover, he continues, the Athenians condemned to death Aischetades (**41**), general for Salamis at the time, and they promised to remember the treachery of the Salaminians.[44] It is clear that Polyainos and Pausanias are referring to the same situation, but are they referring to events of 304, in connection with which neither Diodoros nor Plutarch mentions Salamis at all? Some have thought not, and have put the developments described by Polyainos and Pausanias in the context of Kassandros' earlier invasion of Attike, in 318-317.[45] But Diodoros' rather detailed account of that campaign (as shown above) seems to indicate that, although Kassandros besieged Salamis, he did not succeed in taking it.[46] Another passage in Pausanias, it is true, can be seen as indicating that Kassandros seized both Panakton and Salamis before installing his "tyrant", Demetrios of Phaleron, in 317. But this passage (Greek quoted above) is highly condensed and not necessarily in chronological order; it is preceded by the statement that Kassandros reigned as king, which was manifestly not true earlier than 306 or later. Re-

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[44] Diod. 20.98.2, 100.5f, 102.1-103.7; Plut. *Demet.* 23.1f; Polyain. 4.11.2; Paus. 1.35.2.

[45] In the margin beside the Loeb translation of Paus. 1.35.2, W.H.S. Jones has inserted "318 B.C.". Ferguson, *HA* 117 n.2 discusses prior scholarship favoring the earlier date; he prefers 304, as does Kahrstedt (1931) 160 n.1. Billows, *Antig.* 169 does not mention Salamis in his description of events in 304, and does not cite Pausanias or Polyainos. Green, *Al.to Ac.* 50, however, agrees with Ferguson, whom he cites, along with both late authors and Plutarch.

[46] Recall also the indecisive discussion (above) of *IG* ii^2 1260 and its possible implications.

gardless of when Kassandros took Salamis, Ferguson is blatantly misleading when he asserts that in 304 Demetrios Poliorketes "recaptured Phyle, Panacton, and Salamis, and handed them back to the Athenians".[47] The evidence is very ambivalent, but post-fourth century Salamis seems to have been, at least during some periods and to some extent, treated as nominally independent from Athens, perhaps as a sort of close ally rather than a possession.[48]

The precise date(s) of the cessation of Athens' recognized control of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros cannot even be guessed at, in the total absence of literary and datable epigraphic evidence. The Athenians became estranged from Demetrios, and after the battle of Ipsos in 301 he was even refused admittance to the city. Having built up his forces again somewhat, he invaded Attike in 295; Plutarch says that he seized Eleusis and Rhamnous and ravaged the countryside, and he ultimately starved Athens itself into surrendering. Although his reaction to Athens' "betrayal" of a few years earlier was not as harsh as the Athenians feared it might be, he did proceed to occupy Mounychia and all of Peiraieus, and he set up a garrison on the Mouseion hill within the city itself, prior to departing. Soon (294) he was able to seize the throne in Makedon, taking

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[47] Ferguson, *HA* 117f and 118 n.1, citing only Plut. *Demet.* 23, which indeed says this of Phyle and Panakton, but says nothing about Salamis.

[48] Unless *IG* ii^2 3206.4-6 is to be dated post-fourth century, it can be said that late decrees from Salamis in the *Corpus*, and Attic decrees that refer to the governing body on the island, refer always to the Salaminians or to the *demos* of the Salaminians, never to the Athenians on Salamis. Yet names connected with Salamis routinely bear demotics in such decrees: *IG* ii^2 1006.31; 1008.78; 1011.18, 55f, 83; 1225.4, 22f; 1227.29f, 41; 1228.8f, 14f, 21; 2800.1, 3f; Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 100-109 no.18.44f. Note, incidentally, that *IG* ii^2 1226 has been removed from *IG*'s "klerouchic Decrees" category by more recent scholarship, and is therefore omitted from this list; see Osborne, *Nat.* D86 (=*IG* ii^2 1226 + 716) and p.184. *IG* ii^2 1260 is an Attic decree that reports (line 19) of a general for Salamis: "(the) Salamin[ian]s [crowne]d him" (see Greek above); editorially dated 307-304 in the *Corpus*, its actual date is unknown. Woodhead's discussion of another Athenian inscription of the period of the "Four Years' War" makes no mention of this text: see [H.J. Dell (ed.),] *Ancient Macedonian Studies...Edson* (Thessaloniki 1981) 357-367. *SEG* 19.118 has improvements for *IG* ii^2 1225 and further literature; a translation of Meritt's 1938 text appears in Burstein, *Tr.Doc.* 3.13. Polyain. 4.7.5, a passage clearly datable to the 290s, when an alienated Demetrios was besieging Athens, says that *he* had taken Salamis (and Aigina) during this struggle. *IG* ii^2 657.35f (archon-dated to 283/2) indicates that the Athenians still lack control of "the Peiraieus and the forts"; Austin, *Hell.World* 43 n.7 (citing literature) says "they may in fact have remained in Macedonian hands till the Chremonidean War...and even later". Still, an Athenian inscription of Roman imperial times appears to assume Athenian jurisdiction over the temple of Aias on the island (*IG* ii^2 1035.32; cf. Paus. 1.35.3) and Salamis is mentioned in an unclear context in another similarly late Attic inscription (*SEG* 24.143.18). It is to be hoped that the dissertation of Martha Taylor, at Stanford, on the history of Salamis will clarify many of the troubling points raised by the scanty sources.

advantage of struggles between the surviving sons of Kassandros (who had died in 297). In this new role he visited Athens at least a couple of times prior to his expulsion from Makedon in 288. When he resorted to Athens again as a refugee in 287, he found the city in revolt and put it under siege, but he was persuaded to lift the siege and soon departed for Asia and his last series of adventures, dying there as Seleukos' "honored" prisoner in ca. 283 B.C.[49] No extant source says that Demetrios seized any of the northern Aegean islands during the period of his uneasy relations with Athens. On the other hand, it is clear that a priority with him throughout was the building up of his fleet and the control of the sea, so his seizure of any or all of them would not be cause for surprise.[50]

Whether or not Demetrios had seized Lemnos, Imbros, and/or Skyros, it is believable that they would have been taken over by Lysimachos, who was dominant in Thraike since Alexandros' death, in much of Asia Minor since Ipsos, and in Makedon itself within a few years of Demetrios' departure.[51] Seleukos, after defeating and killing Lysimachos in 281, seems to have "freed" Lemnos and/or to have returned it to Athenian control for a while.[52] But it was probably lost again in the Chremonidean War of the 260s, and thereafter continuous domination by various Antigonid kings of Makedon is inferable. One concrete event is the return of Lemnos (along with Delos; some scholars would add Imbros and Skyros) to Athens by the Roman Senate after the Romans' dismantling of the

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[49] Plut. *Demet.* 30-46 provides a clear and believable chronology of the activities of Demetrios from 301 through 287 B.C., but offers no information about Salamis, Lemnos, Imbros, or Skyros. The seizure of Eleusis and Rhamnous and the occupation of Peiraieus, Mounychia, and the Mouseion hill are described in sec.33f. Plut. *Pyrr.* 12.4f tells of Pyrrhos' appearance in Athens in 287 and of his attacking Demetrios' unspecified Ἑλληνικαῖς φρουραῖς. Errington, *Hist.Mac.* 155 interprets this as meaning that Pyrrhos could not take "the Piraeus, some forts in Attika, and the three bastions of Demetrias, Chalkis, and Korinth". Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos* (Princeton 1978) 2-4 publishes an Attic decree of 270/69 honoring Kallias, which refers to several of Demetrios' conflicts with Athens; see translations in Austin, *Hell.World* 44 and Burstein, *Tr.Doc.* 3.55, both with useful notes.

[50] See Plut. *Demet.* 43.3; one of his shipyards was at Peiraieus. Ferguson, *HA* 149f, in the context of Demetrios' negotiations with Athens in 287, says that "Salamis, Scyros, Imbros, and Lemnos passed out of Athenian control", citing no source but arguing from Demetrios' control of the sea. Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4 says that in 295/4 "insulas illas in potestate sua habuisse pro certo habeo".

[51] Plut. *Demet.* 35.3 tells of Lysimachos' seizure of Demetrios' cities in Asia, apparently in 294; this would provide one occasion for also seizing the islands, but many others might work equally well. Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4 puts Lysimachos' seizure of the islands in 287/6.

[52] Phylarchos ap. Athen. 6.254f-255a; *IG* ii^2 672. See citations and discussions of Ferguson, *HA* 155f; Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4; Sherk, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 271; and especially Bugh, *Horsemen* 209 (citing new fragments) and 216f.

Makedonian kingdom in 167/6.[53] I leave more precise and detailed tracing of developments during Hellenistic and Roman times to others.

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[53] Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4 cites Polyb. 32.21, which mentions only Delos and Lemnos, but Fredrich himself suggests that "Imbrus et Scyrus, quae minoris momenti sint, ab auctore aut excerptore omissae sunt"; he cross-references Vitruv. 7.7.2. "Paulo post" this restoration, Fredrich dates *IG* ii^2 1224, with its decree of the *demos* of Athenians in Myrina, describing the observation of a thanksgiving for the restoration by the Roman Senate "[of the formerl]y possessed islands" to the Athenian *demos* (lines *abc*6-8). Ferguson, *HA* 315f and 323 discusses the same sources in a similar vein, although putting a bit more emphasis on the uncertainty of the inscription's date (p.323 n.1). Tracy, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 261-266 suggests re-dating it considerably after the settlement, in the period ca. 148/7-135/4.

CHAPTER TWO

PERSONNEL OF THE FOURTH CENTURY ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS

In the present chapter I discuss settlers by groups and categories, beginning with collective references to Athenians and to others. Next I attempt some generalizations from cumulative specifics, i.e., I draw some conclusions from quantifiable information in my database of attested and possible settlers. Finally, I look at specific sources and specific names from the respective settlements, discussing the kinds of information they can reveal and the kinds of problems they may raise. Prosopography *per se* (suggestions about who is identifiable with or connected with whom), as it relates to individual settlers, is largely confined to Appendix B. Nonetheless, I continue my practice of providing cross-references to Appendix B entries via **bold** numbers in parentheses, and the subject matter of this chapter inevitably increases such cross-referencing greatly. My intent, in fact, has been to use the number of *every* primary entry in a source-related context here.

2.1 *Athenians as a Group*[1]

Passing over the disputed restoration of "klerouchs" in the late-sixth century "Salamis decree" and the extant phrasing of various fifth century sources, it is indisputable that fourth century *Attic* sources, both epigraphic and literary, sometimes refer to Athenian settlers as "klerouchs".[2] An Attic decree of the 380s, "[re]solved by the *demos* about the [klerouchs l]iving on [Lemnos ---]", repeatedly men-

[1] Many of the brief phrases quoted here appear also in various sections of Chapter 1. Repetition seems preferable to massive cross-referencing of sources. I do employ such cross-referencing for longer quotations and detailed source discussions.

[2] Figueira, *A&A* 48-53 Table 1: "ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΟΣ and Related Terms" provides citations of fourth century sources, as well as sources from earlier and later periods. One citation I am unable to decipher is "*AE* [1977] #349" (p.50), which does not match anything I could find in the indicated yearly volume of the Greek archaeological journal whose title is normally so abbreviated.

tions "the klerouchs" there in its fragmentary text.[3] A decree dated to 362/1 deals with Athens' sending out "the klerouchs to Pot[eidaia ---]" who have been requested,[4] while another mid-fourth century Attic inscription appears to bear the title "[Klerou]chs to (toponym lost)".[5] Aischines, in a trial of 345, refers to a potential witness (**105**) as absent because he is "in Samos with the klerouchs",[6] and the Attic historian Philochoros is said to have reported on a dispatch of "klerouchs" to that island in 352/1.[7] In a speech of 341, Demosthenes refers to "the klerouchs" recently sent to the Chersonesos.[8] It is not surprising, then, to find contemporary non-Athenian sources employing the same terminology. Philip of Makedon (if he is indeed the author of the letter within the Demosthenic corpus ascribed to him) speaks of "the klerouchs" when referring to certain Athenians in the Chersonesos.[9] An inscribed decree of the Samians who returned to their island after the expulsion of the Athenian settlers there apparently praises its honorand for his usefulness "in the w[ar] against the klerou[chs ---]".[10] More ambiguous as to source (because of Athenian domination of the island) is the klerouchic reference in a fourth century dedication on Delos.[11]

The striking omission (especially given the above-mentioned restoration in texts of the Salamis decree) is any fourth century reference to dwellers on Salamis as klerouchs. Even one passage which,

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[3] *Agora* XIX.L3 = *IG* ii² 30, as improved by Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) no. 23, whose text and line numbers are retained: 4 ([--- δεδ]όχθαι τῶι δήμωι πρὸς τὸς [κληρόχος ο]ἰκο͂ντας ἐν [Λήμνωι ---]), 13 (τοῖς κληρόχοις), 20 ([--- τοῖς κλη]ρόχοις), 22 ([--- τ]ῶν κληρόχων), 33 (τὸς κληρόχος), 42 (τῶν κληρ[όχων ---]), 47 (τὸς κληρ[όχος ---]). The restoration of "Lemnos" in line 4 is amply justified by the complete extant toponym in lines 15 and 40 and its certain restoration (the first three or four letters are extant) in lines 5, 7, 48, 50, 51.

[4] *IG* ii² 114(=Tod 146).9: τὸς κληρόχος ἐς Ποτ[είδαιαν ---]; see below on the question of who requested the dispatch.

[5] *IG* ii² 1952*a*.1: [κληρο͂]χοι εἰς [---]; see App. A for discussion about the lost toponym; a trace of the first letter is preserved. Also see Sec.1.3 above and Sec.2.4 below.

[6] Ais. 1.53: οὗτος μὲν ἄπεστιν ἐν Σάμῳ μετὰ τῶν κληρούχων.

[7] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 154: οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σάμον ἀποσταλέντες κληροῦχοι. See trans. (with a bit more context) in Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.77.

[8] Dem. 8.6: τοὺς κληροῦχους.

[9] [Dem.] 12.16: τῶν μὲν κληρούχων . Diod. 16.34.4 also refers to the Athenian settlers in the Chersonesos as κληρούχους, but the late date of this source deprives it of independent significance. When Str. 14.1.18 refers to the sending of 2000 klerouchs to Samos, the same caution is doubly appropriate.

[10] Habicht, *AM* #2.8-10, adopting the revised restorations of Badian, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 289-294: περὶ τὸμ π|[όλεμον τὸμ] πρὸς τοὺς κληρού||[χους ---]. See *SEG* 26.1022.

[11] Coupry, *Inscriptions de Délos* VII no.104-5.A13: τοῖς θάψασι τὸν κληρο͂χο[ν]. See also Vartsos *AK* 155f; Roussel, *Délos Col. Ath.* 34.

at first glance, might seem to have that implication — the provision in an above-cited Attic decree that certain conditions for Lemnian klerouchs were to be "[just a]s for those on Salam[is]"[12] — may only indicate recognition that Athenians settled so close to Athens would presumably lose virtually none of their citizen rights and responsibilities, as a way of stressing that the same was to hold for the klerouchs on Lemnos. There is no clear evidence for genuine "political" organization among the Athenians on Salamis prior to the island's separation from Athens toward the end of the fourth century. Probably there was little beyond the authority of the island's archon.[13] Athenian-citizen settlers interested in political participation could presumably participate in Athens.[14]

Since klerouchs, it is agreed, retained their Athenian citizenship, it is also unsurprising to find references in both Demosthenes and Aischines to "citizens" (*politai*) living in the Chersonesos,[15] and to see Demosthenes refer to Athenian "citizens" on Lemnos and Imbros.[16] The "citizen men" of a passage in Hypereides appear to be residents on Lemnos.[17] Hegesippos condemns Philip for taking away the property of "the Athenians settled in Poteidaia",[18] and a fourth century Attic inscription mentions "Athenians" in the Chersonesos.[19] Less precise Attic usage, but compatible with the phrasing so far cited, would include Isokrates' reference to "those cultivating in the Chersonesos"[20] and fourth century inscriptional

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[12] *Agora* XIX.L3.34: [καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα – – –].

[13] Chosen by lot, *Ath.Pol.* 54.8 tells us. The *genos* of the *Salaminioi* also had an archon as its chief official: *Agora* XIX.L4a.69f, 73-75. The two inscriptions that might seem to provide evidence of legislating within an assembly on Salamis in the fourth century employ differing terminology, and the fourth century dating of each can be, and has been, questioned: see *IG* ii^2 1260.19 (*Salaminioi* crown the Athenian general for Salamis) and 3206.4-6 (dedication by the *demos* of Athenians in Salamis).

[14] Cf. the converse point, for the more distant settlements, made by Hansen, *D&D* 105 n.186.

[15] Dem. 23.103: τοῖς Χερρόνησον οἰκοῦσι τῶν πολιτῶν; Ais. 2.72: ἐξέλειπον δὲ Χερρόνησον ἡμῶν οἱ πολῖται.

[16] Dem. 4.34: πολίτας ὑμετέρους. See below for the problematic reference to a *polites* on Imbros (**37**) in Dem. 23.12. A passage generally rejected as spurious, Dem. 18.[115], refers to residents on Imbros as τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον.

[17] Hyp. 1.17: πολίτας ἄνδρας (Hypereides' speeches numbered as in OCT and Loeb eds.; Teubner and Budé differ).

[18] [Dem.] 7.18: Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες. See also [Arist.] *Oikon.* 1347a.18: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ οἰκοῦντες (although the fourth century reference of this passage is not undisputed: see Sec.3.13 n.9 below).

[19] *IG* ii^2 228.15f: πετὰ Ἀθηναί[ων ἐν Χ]lερρονήσωι.

[20] Isok. 5.6: τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ γεωργοῦντας.

references to "those in Salam[is – – –]" and "those in Lem[nos – – –]",[21] as well as "those in My[rina – – –]".[22] One fragmentary source refers to the sending of "2000" to Samos, but uses no noun with the number.[23]

Organized bodies of fourth century settlers consistently refer to themselves as "Athenians", or (since much of the relevant evidence takes the form of public decrees) "the *demos* of Athenians" in the specified place, sometimes shortened to simply "the *demos* in X", when their status as Athenians is unambiguous. A well preserved and dated inscription found at Delphoi begins as follows:

> Gods, Fortune. In the archonship of Ktesikles at Athens (334/3), and in Samos of Neokles, the *demos* of Athenians in Samos ded[ica]ted a fine gold crown to A[p]ollon....[24]

An honorary decree of the fourth century klerouchs in Myrina on Lemnos can be safely restored to read (in part):

> [...Si]nce Perkon both in the for[egoing tim]es supplied many n[ecessities to the *d*]*emos* of the Athenians i[n Myrina an]d now in connection with the war, sav[ing certain of the] citizens, etc....[25]

References to groups of klerouchs as "Athenians", "the *demos* of Athenians", etc. are extant or reasonably restorable in fourth century inscriptions from Hephaistia, Imbros, and Skyros, as well as Samos and Myrina.[26]

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[21] *Agora* XIX.L3.34 (τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα – – –]), 51 (τοῖς ἐν Λήμ[νωι – – –]). See above caveat, however, about the phrase referring to Salamis.

[22] *IG* ii² 550.9: τῶν ἐμ Μυ[ρίνηι – – –].

[23] Herak.Lemb., Aristot.fr. 611.35; see discussion in Cargill, *GRBS* 332. Note also *IG* ii² 672.14: τῶν ἐν τεῖ νήσωι κατοικούντ[ων – – –].

[24] *SEG* 18.200.1-11 (the less well preserved remainder, lines 11-15, deals with the weight of the gold); the key phrase (lines 5-7) is Ἀθ|ηναίων ὁ δῆμος | ὁ ἐν Σάμωι. Neokles is **988** in App. B. Analogous phrasing appears in two other, more fragmentary, dedications at Delphoi from the klerouchs on Samos: *SEG* 18.201.5f (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ[ηναίων ὁ | ἐΣ]άμωι οἰκῶ[ν – – –]; see App. A for arguments about readings) and *SEG* 18.202.6f ([ὁ δῆμο]ς ὁ Ἀθηνα|[ίων ὁ ἐ]ς Σάμωι). Apparently the references to "the *demos* in Samos" in *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212, lines 6f and 10, have the same meaning. Line 13 may have another reference to [– – – τῶι δ]ήμω[ι – – –], although the editor of the still-unpublished text (see App. A.) does not see the *omega* I believe I see.

[25] *IG* xii(8) 3.2-6, key phrases in lines 4f ([– – – τῶι δ]ήμωι τῶι Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐ[ν || Μυρίνει – – –]), 6 ([– – – τινὰς τῶν] πολιτῶν); see also the largely restored phrasing in lines 12f ([– – – τὸν δῆ]μον τὸν | [Ἀθηναίων – – –]). Perkon: **1095**.

[26] *Myrina*: *IG* xii(8) 4.1f (ὁ δῆ|[μος ὁ] Ἀθ[ηνα]ίων ὁ ἐ[ν Μυρ]ίνει οἰκῶν); 5.7f (τὸν δῆμον τὸν | [Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρίνει – – –]); 6(? date doubtful).6f ([– – – τὸν δῆμον | τ]ὸν Ἀθη[ναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρίνει..]). *Hephaistia*: *IG* ii² 1222 (my line divisions, *IG*'s readings; see App. A) is probably correctly categorized by Kirchner among "Decreta Cleruchorum", i.e., as a copy set up in Athens of a decree of [– – – Ἀθη|ν]αίων τῶν ἐν [Ἡφαιστίαι κατοικούντων ---] (lines 1f), but the inscription is so fragmentary that we cannot rule out the possibility that *part* of it might be an *Attic*

When fourth century Attic inscriptions report the dedication of crowns, etc., by groups of settlers, the dedicating agency is often "the *demos* in X".[27] Something may seem anomalous in the two Attic inscriptions, editorially dated to the fourth century, that refer to dedications by "the *demos* in *Lemnos*", rather than the *demos* in Myrina and/or Hephaistia, since it is obvious that at least in some part of the fourth century each of the Lemnian settlements has its own assembly and produces its own decrees. One of the two inscriptions might easily be explained away, since its text is heavily emended and the stone is apparently lost.[28] The other inscription, however, is clearly the dedication of a crown, and its fourth century date (although not Kirchner's too-late 307/6) is inescapable because another crown dedication on the same stone is from "the *demos* in Samos".[29] In dealing with Attic inscriptions, one can never rule out mere imprecision, i.e., that a crown from the *demos* of either Myrina or Hephaistia was 'casually' inscribed as being simply from Lemnos. Perhaps, alternatively, separate crowns from each were conflated. This particular crown is the last of a preserved array of twelve crowns (four rows of three crowns each) at the bottom right of its stone, which is broken away at the top but preserved at the bottom. Maybe there was only *room* for one Lemnian dedication,

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resolution; see also the total restoration in line 6 ([...ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἡφαιστίαι); *SEG* 40.746 cites a recently discovered fragment from Hephaistia (no date in the *ed. prin.*) that mentions Ἀθηναίων in an unclear context. *Imbros*: *IG* xii(8) 46.1 ([ἔδ]οξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ [τῶι δήμωι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἴμβρωι]). *Skyros*: *IG* xii(8) 668 (known only from Cyriacus of Ancona's copy; possible fourth century date based only on identification suggested for honorand, **884**), lines "1f" (*IG*'s text gives a line number to a totally restored phrase at the top, in a "line" of which nothing is extant: [– – – δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι | τῶν Ἀθηναίων] τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν Σκύρωι), cf. "4f" (where the honorand is praised for his goodwill εἴς τε τὸν δῆ[μον || τὸν Ἀθηναίων] καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Σκύρωι, as if two different entities are referred to). *Samos*: *Heraion* Inv. J24 (see App. A) has Ἀθη[– – –] and [– – –] Ἀθηναιος [– – –], both in fragmentary and unclear contexts; G. Dunst infers a grant of Athenian citizenship, but this seems questionable (see Sec.3.8 n.13 below).

[27] *IG* ii^2 1437.20 (ὁ δῆ[μ]ο[ς ὁ] ἐν Σάμωι); 1440(see *SEG* 36.208 additions).A24 ([– – – ὁ δ]ῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμωι); 1443.89 (same, totally preserved), 91f (ὁ [δῆμος] ὁ ἐ[ν] Σ|[άμωι – – –]), 97 ([..ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Χερρον]ήσωι), cf. Kirchhoff's two more restorations of references to this *demos* in lines 101 and 103, mentioned in *IG*'s apparatus, but not accepted in its text); 3203.1f ([ὁ] δῆμος | ὁ ἐν] Ἴμβρωι); 3204.1f (Greek below); 3207.20f (ὁ δῆμος | ὁ ἐν Σάμωι), 28 (Greek below); *Agora* XVI.68 (=Agora Inv. I 5212: see App. A) side A (ὁ δῆμ[ος] | ὁ ἐν Σάμ[ωι]), side B (ὁ δῆμος |ὁ ἐν Ἡφαισ[τίαι]).

[28] *IG* ii^2 3204.1f is restored ὁ δ⟨ῆ⟩μος | ὁ ἐν ⟨Λή⟩μνω[ι], but the *apparatus* shows that line 2's last two words were read on the stone by an earlier editor as ΕΝΙΔΥΜΝΩ. Kirchner's comment, "Lapis ad decretum pertinere videtur", seems to concede some uncertainty about the actual nature of the inscription.

[29] *IG* ii^2 3207.28 (ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Λήμνωι), cf. 20f (Samos) and see Sec.1.5 n.7 above. My autopsy notes of May 7, 1985 indicate that the inscription is faint, but that *IG*'s text is accurate.

and the use of the general geographical term seemed preferable to inclusion of one town's name and exclusion of the other. A related issue would be the identification of the crown's proposer (lines 29f), Timodemos of Acharnai (**1237**). Was he perhaps the introducer of a composite resolution in the assembly of *Athens*, and therefore an Attic resident rather than a settler? This suggestion may seem far-fetched, and may in turn seem to create unnecessary doubts about the provenance of the *Samian* dedication's proposer (**453**) as well. But the alternatives are either to posit a joint *demos* of Myrina and Hephaistia, or a mutual agreement between the assemblies of the two Lemnian towns that the crown should be attributed to them jointly, or perhaps a date for the inscription so early in the century that Myrina still lacks full governmental machinery.[30] I do not claim to be able to solve the problem with any certainty, only to recognize its existence.[31] An Attic inscription with dedications from the Athenian *demos* on Salamis and the same on Imbros is also problematic. Kirchner dates the inscription before 318, but the earlier study of Max Wagner had put it in the late third century. Early or late (I suspect the latter), it is the only extant reference to any Athenian *demos* on Salamis.[32]

Given the commonness of references to fourth century klerouchs as "Athenians", editors and commentators have generally read important implications into the presence of *different* terminology in certain apparently fourth century inscriptions from territories known to have had Athenian settlers. One inscription from Myrina on Lemnos is editorially dated to the years 404/3-394/3 (a period Fredrich believes to have preceded the establishment of a fourth century klerouchy in this location) because in it the local political entity is repeatedly referred to as *Myrinaioi* rather than as *Athenaioi* in

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[30] The last possibility is raised in connection with the possible reference to an archon simply "in Lemnos" in an Attic inscription of 387/6, *Agora* XIX.L3.5. But see discussion in Sec.3.4 below.

[31] See Sec.1.10 n.39 above for my arguments against accepting such general "in Lemnos" terminology in another reported text — one I suspect may even be non-existent.

[32] *IG* ii^2 3206.4-6; see Wagner 54 (Greek and German passages both quoted in Sec.1.10 n.2 above). Late decrees use terminology comparable to that of the fourth century documents; citations by location follow. *Myrina*: *IG* xii(8) 9.1f; 10.1; Accame, *Ann.* #3.3f. *Hephaistia*: *IG* xii(8) 15.3f (cf. 5f; see below on date); 26*b*.1; 43(? N.D. in *Corpus*).2; Accame, *RFIC* 69 (1941) 179f, lines 2f; Susini, *Ann.* #19.5. *Imbros*: *IG* xii(8) 57.3; 64.1f; 65.1; 78.2; 216.4f (from Samothraike, with Imbros reference). *Skyros*: *IG* xii(8) 666 + Supp. p.172, line 7. *Attic copies*: *IG* ii^2 672.5, 12f, 14, 26f, 29, 30f, 36, 37 (cf. 31f, 33f); 1223.3f, 13, 20; 1224.*abc*5, 6, 12, 15, 21, 21f, 30-32.

Myrina.[33] Similarly, because of the same usage, another inscription from the same place is editorially dated to sometime after 318, i.e., after what Fredrich interprets as the year the Makedonians interrupt Athenian control on Lemnos.[34] Other commentators treat such inscriptions as documents of the klerouchic state, seeing the variation in phrasing as permissible Greek practice.[35] An inscription from Hephaistia, the other klerouchic town on Lemnos, is restored in the *Corpus* in ways that would encourage the latter opinion, i.e., both "the [*demos* of Athenians in Hephaistia]" and "[the *demos* of Hephaistian]s" appear, apparently with reference to the same entity.[36] But this inscription is too fragmentary (as my brackets here indicate) and too uncertain in date to be genuinely helpful.[37]

Whether the variant phrasing at Myrina is conclusive for dating or not,[38] it apparently says nothing at all about the *heritage* of the persons to whom it refers: Lemnos after the end of the fourth century Athenian hegemony continues to show many examples of persons bearing Athenian demotics — who indeed, as documented

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[33] *IG* xii(8) 2.2f (τὸν δῆμον [τ]ὸ̣ν [Μυρινα]|ίων), 3 (Μυρ[ι]ν̣[αίοις]), 8 (Μυριναί̣ων), 10f (Μυρινα|ῖοι).

[34] *IG* xii(8) 7.17 ([..ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυριναίων..]), 19 ([– – – τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Μυριναίων). Cf. discussion of the "318" date in Sec.1.10 above (the issue is unimportant here). See also the late fourth century entry in Attic treasure lists of a crown given by Μυρ[ιν|αί]ω[ν] ὁ δῆμος (*IG* ii² 1485.18f, also 1486.12f). *SEG* 38.142f cites suggestions for combining each of these lists with others: see Sec.1.10 n.35 above.

[35] *Agora* XV index, p.422, s.v. Λύκων (Φρεάρριος), cites *IG* xii(8) 7 as "a decree of the klerouchs of Lemnos", for example.

[36] *IG* xii(8) 15.3f (τὸν [δῆμον τῶν 'Αθηναίων | τῶν ἐν 'Ηθαιστίαι.]), 5f ([– – – ὁ δῆμος | ὁ 'Ηφαιστιέω]ν); treated above (n.32) as a post-fourth century inscription.

[37] Neither Fredrich nor the original publisher of the inscription says anything about its date, and the stone is apparently now lost, according to both Segre, *Ann.* p.291 and Susini, *Ann.* p.318. But the lettering of the majuscule of the *ed. prin*, de Ridder, *BCH* 17 (1893) no.3, p.128, which seems to be the source of *IG*'s majuscule (no independent consultation, photo, or squeeze is cited), appears to be post-fourth century. Its *sigmas* have horizontal first and fourth strokes, in contrast to those of de Ridder's no.1 (p.127), which several editors have dated to the fourth century: *IG* xii(8) 31; S. Reinach, *RA* 3.6 (1885) 91; G. Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren* (Berlin 1984) no.O 49; *SEG* 35.244. Kirchner is more confident of a late fourth century date for the extremely fragmentary *IG* ii² 569, but its reference to τῶι τε δήμω[ι τῶι 'Αθηναίων καὶ τῶ|ι δή]μωι τῶι ἐν 'Ηφαιστί[αι – – –] (lines 5f) seems to *contrast* entities in Athens and on the island. Similarly in the mid-second century inscription *IG* ii² 1223.3f ([– – – πρὸς τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν 'Αθηναίων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν 'Η|[φαιστίαι οἰκοῦντας – – –]), although ambassadors chosen [.ἐξ 'Αθ]ηναίων ἁπάντων in line 20 are chosen in Hephaistia and sent to Athens.

[38] It may be relevant for the inscription seen as *late* fourth century, *IG* xii(8) 7, yet irrelevant for the one seen as *early*, *IG* xii(8) 2. Athens apparently really did lose control of Lemnos for some years prior to 307, but the absence of Athenian control from 404/3 to 394/3 may be doubted: see Sec.1.3 above.

above, often still refer to themselves collectively as "Athenians".[39] Whether citizenship within the *poleis* of late-fourth century independent Lemnos was extended to *non*-Athenians is a question our sources cannot answer. It is, in fact, only an assumption that no such extension occurred during the time of the fourth century klerouchic states themselves.[40] Similar assumptions and uncertainties apply elsewhere.[41] Although the term "Samian" must generally refer to non-Athenians, there is some small possibility for ambiguity, I believe, during the period of the fourth century Athenian-citizen klerouchs.[42]

Changes in what we might call the "constitution" during period(s) of independence are possible, even without changes in the definition of membership in the citizen body. Could a state run by klerouchs, a mere fraction of the Athenian citizenry, appoint a *proxenos*, for example, as "the *demos* of *Myrinaioi*" does in the earlier of the two "independent Myrina" inscriptions cited above?[43]

2.2 Non-Athenians, Considered Collectively

At least in some of the settlements, natives of the occupied territory apparently lived alongside the Athenian settlers. Non-Athenians from elsewhere sometimes seem to have been present also. And there were slaves. The sources do not always permit us to differentiate these groups precisely, even when there is fair certainty that the person in question is not an Athenian.

Much discussion in connection with the *fifth* century Athenian settlements has been devoted to the Athenian settlers' relations with the populations present before their arrival, whether the Athenians extensively supplanted these or left them substantially in place when they moved in. Certain assumptions (e.g., that Athens would not assess Athenian klerouchs tribute) have led to the inference that

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[39] Late references to "Hephaistians" also occur, however: *IG* xii(8) 28.13f; 40.4; *SEG* 28.718, "line 6" (actually line 4, omitting two totally restored at the top); Millet, *BCH* 29 (1905) 57, line 6.

[40] Figueira, *A&A* 255 seems to suggest some extension of Athenian citizenship on Lemnos during the *fifth* century, something he sees as having happened on Salamis even earlier (pp.147f); even the "barbarian" Dolonkoi are seen as having been absorbed into the archaic Athenian settlements in the Chersonesos (p.137).

[41] A third century inscription, *IG* xii(8) 51, apparently refers to local citizens as "Imbrians" in lines 2 (mostly restored) and 3 (entirely restored), although officers named in lines 14-16 bear demotics.

[42] See Cargill, *GRBS.*

[43] *IG* xii(8) 2.6-9: δεδόχθαι τ[ῆι β]|ουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι πρό[ξε]|νον Μυριναίων εἶναι αὐτ̣[ό]|ν. But see Sec.3.8 below.

substantial numbers of pre-Athenian inhabitants must have remained in several klerouch-occupied areas. Little discussion has been devoted to such pre-existing populations in a fourth century context; the issue of who paid tribute, for example, cannot arise, since tribute was no longer assessed. Questions about whether and where such "native" populations existed, and about their numbers and their relations with the Athenian klerouchs, are still appropriate in the fourth century, however. But such questions are more easily asked than answered.[1]

The only discussion in print at this writing that relates to an Attic inscription of 374/3, found in the Athenian agora in 1986, seems to posit a fifth century-style gouging of taxes out of subject allies by Athenian tax collectors. But the excavator, T.L. Shear, Jr., subsequently made it clear to me that the "imperial tone" seemingly attributed to this inscription in his tentative published description was overstated. The inscription is to be published by R.S. Stroud.[2] It has sixty-one well preserved lines and refers to a levy (in grain, not in money) upon the Athenian klerouchs, perhaps in some way comparable to wartime *eisphorai* (in money) levied on citizens in Attike, in a period of similar wartime necessity (in this case the intermittent war of 377-371 with Sparta).[3] Incidentally, no doubt, non-citizen residents, as in the case of the Attic *eisphorai*, would also be taxed. If the primary payers were not Athenian klerouchs, this tax would force us to infer the presence of large oppressed non-Athenian populations on these three islands in the fourth century, something for which meaningful supporting evidence is lacking.

No clarification is provided by the apparent reference to an honorand's goodwill toward the *demos* of Athenians and (the?) Lemnians(?) in a fragmentary and ambiguous late-fourth century

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[1] Recall, for example, the phrasing of Andok.3.12, discussed in Sec.1.3 above.

[2] Shear, *ASCSA Newsletter* (Spring 1987) 8, e.g., calls Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros "important members of the Second Athenian Confederacy" (cf. Cargill, *SAL* 36f), and continues: "the Athenian law maker does not concern himself in the least with how the tax farmers are to raise their prescribed shares from the people of the islands. The farmers are plainly free to extort the grain by whatever means they choose...". A personal conversation with Shear in November 1989 showed me that his views had modified. The inscription is briefly referred to in *SEG* 36.146. I did not see a text of it until January 1993, when Stroud kindly sent me a prepublication copy of his version.

[3] Cf. Hyp. 1.17, which seems to indicate that Athenian citizens resident on Lemnos paid the wages of Attic cavalry stationed there. Recall also the questions raised in Sec.1.2 above in relation to Iphikrates' operations in the Chersonesos (Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.35). Consider also the possible actual *eisphora* among Athenians at Poteidaia (below).

Attic decree.[4] Nor is it provided by an Attic reference of the same period to silver brought from Lemnos and Imbros,[5] nor by the rubric "Lemnians" in an Attic list of mercenary soldiers dated around the end of the century.[6] Casual use of "Lemnians", "Imbrians", or "Skyrians" to mean Athenian settlers on Lemnos, Imbros, or Skyros seems quite possible. It may even have been a sort of "correct" usage, with reference to people of Athenian descent, in periods (e.g., certain years near the end of the fourth century) when these territories were detached from Athens' control. Although such terms theoretically could refer to surviving non-Athenian populations on these three islands, it seems questionable that they normally or usually do so. Therefore such persons in my database are treated not as "non-Athenians" but as "doubtful Athenians".

An inscription from the Kabeiric sanctuary near Hephaistia, editorially dated by letter forms to the second half of the fourth century, is broken away at the top, but the concluding lines are well preserved. It honors a Methymnaian (**1474**, name mostly lost) who has been elected *boönes*, i.e., official buyer of oxen for sacrifices, who is to be crowned "by the *isoteleis* and by the *demos* of the initiated". The editor, S. Accame, identifying the *isoteleis* as "the metics who do not pay the foreigners' tax, who pay therefore only the taxes of citizens", infers that the Methymnaian honorand was himself an *isoteles* metic.[7] If this reasonable interpretation is sound, and if the date of the inscription (as seems very possible) falls within the period of Athenian control, then this attestation of the presence of a favored class of *metoikoi* must be taken as demonstrating the existence at Hephaistia of metic status *per se*. Still, the metic status may have been assigned in Athens, rather than in the settlement by the settlers.[8]

An equally interesting source is the mid-fourth century inscription from Myrina which refers to the gift of a *chorion* by "the *demos*

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[4] *IG* ii² 492.5: [--- περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν 'Αθηναίων κα[ὶ] Λ[.]Μ[.| ---]. See Sec.1.10 n.40 above for fuller discussion and editorial suggestions.

[5] *IG* ii² 1492.133(=1492B.41): ἐγ Λήμνου καὶ Ἴ[μβρ]ου [ἀ]ργυρίο[υ ---]. See *SEG* 38.146 for recent literature relating to this text.

[6] *IG* ii² 1956.91: Λήμνιοι.

[7] Accame, *Ann.* #11.2-7: [..]ιστο[---] | Μηθυμναῖος βοώνης χει|ροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος | Νικίου Σουνιέως στεφα||νωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰσοτε|λῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν | τετελεσμένων; text, photo, and discussion on pp.89-91. This text is an inscription on the base of some dedicated object; most of its first line is missing.

[8] Wallace urges this last point. The reference in *IG* xii(8) 56.5 to some group of τῶν παροικο[ύντων ---] provides no clarification; this inscription from Imbros (perhaps now lost) is very fragmentary and apparently very late (with ligatures and other late letter forms, the majuscule indicates).

of Athenians living in Myrina" to certain "Chalkidians living in Myrina", who particularly thank and honor the Athenian *epimeletes* Theophilos (**673**).[9] This inscription has been re-printed, translated, and much discussed. The grateful foreigners are variously identified as refugees either from the peninsula of Chalkidike near Makedon, or from Chalkis on Euboia; the benefaction bestowed on them is seen as being as great as "lands in the colony of Lemnos, with rights equivalent to those of metics", or, conversely, as nothing more than a mere patch of ground for setting up the honorary stele itself.[10] I personally prefer Chalkidike as these foreigners' homeland, seeing them as victims of expulsion by Philip. Since they are clearly described as "living" or "dwelling" in Myrina, I believe it is possible that they were given (that is the meaning of *edoken*) land on which to live. In this case, however, their land ownership would hardly be a right equivalent to those of metics, since metics in Attike were not normally permitted to own land, so these Chalkidians in Myrina would then have to be metics of a privileged type (cf. the *isoteleis* at Hephaistia, above).[11] Probably a middle position, suggested to me by M.B. Wallace, is preferable to either extreme: taking a clue from the singular *chorion*, it might be concluded that the Chalkidians communally have been granted a precinct for building a temple or otherwise engaging in cultic activity.[12]

The above-cited Attic decree of 362/1 concerning the sending of klerouchs to Poteideia refers twice to the embassy requesting their dispatch, in identically restored phrasing translatable as "those coming on public authority [from th]ose o[ut] of [Poteidai]a".[13] It is

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[9] *IG* xii(8) 4, with key phrases in lines 2f (ἔΙ[δ]ωκεν χωρίον τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν), 6f (ΧΙαλκιδέες οἱ ἐν Μυρίνει οἰκοῦντες), 11f (τοὺς Χαλκι[δ]Ιέας τοὺς Μυρίνει οἰκοῦντας). On the basis of the majuscule I correct the misprint οὐκοῦντας in *IG*'s line 12.

[10] The text appears as Michel 160, a trans. as Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.81. Cousin and Durrbach, *BCH* 9 (1885) 55-57, no.3 see the Chalkidians as perhaps coming from Euboia, and suggest that they are granted "une place pour des honneurs destinés à l'épimélète"; S. Reinach, *RA* 3.6 (1885) 89 says they received "des terres dans la colonie de Lemnos, avec des droits équivalents à ceux des métèques"; Harding cites more recent literature.

[11] Figueira, *A&A* 105 n.4 interprets in a similar way a Herodotean passage that deals with settling Aiginetan fugitives in Attike and uses the verb ἔδοσαν (Hdt. 9.106.3).

[12] Cf. *IG* ii^2 337 (=Tod 189 = Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.111), a fourth century Attic decree granting merchants from Kition in Kypros χωρίου ἔνκτησιν (lines 36, 40f) for building a temple to Aphrodite, and referring to a similar privilege having been given to Egyptians for building a temple of Isis (lines 42-45).

[13] *IG* ii^2 114.5f (οἱ ἥκοντες δημοσίαι [παρὰ τ]ῶν ἐ[κκ ΠοτειδαΙί]ας), 10f (same phrase, all restored except οἱ ἥκοντε–); Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.58 translates the phrase "those who have come at public expense [from] the men *from* [Potidae]a" (Harding's brackets and his italics indicating partial restoration).

generally inferred that the odd phrase here rendered "those out of Poteidaia" refers to native Poteidaians, among whom the requested klerouchs are to settle,[14] although it is possible that the persons requesting the klerouchs — or some of these persons — were themselves klerouchs sent out a few years earlier, when Timotheos captured the city in ca. 364-3.[15] In any case, the population of Poteidaia was partly Athenians and partly others, as is made clear by the differential treatment of the city's inhabitants practiced by Philip when he captured the city in 356, Athenians being treated more leniently.[16]

The Attic *demos* does not appear to be praising fellow Athenians, in a fragmentarily preserved decree that editors generally date shortly after the decree relating to the dispatch of the klerouchs. This latter decree apparently refers to "[– – – the *presbe*]*is* of the Potei[daians – – –]" and commends "the cit[y, because it has persisted in j]oining in preserv[ing Poteidaia] for (the) [A]thenians [– – –]".[17] A recent discussion of this inscription by D. Whitehead suggests that the *Corpus*' restoration of a reference to "[Charid]emos and those w[ith him]" after the first mention of the *presbeis* may be incorrect, and may conceal a reference to the leader of the Poteidaian ambassadors (**1494**), named, e.g., Hephaistodemos or Megistodemos or Themistodemos.[18] Another scholar's recent re-

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[14] Tod 146 comm. calls them "the pro-Athenian element"; Alexander, *Potidaea* 87 refers to them (twice) simply as "the Potidaeans". Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 303 describes the invitation as "auf Wunsch der Poteidaiaten". See also Figueira, *A&A* 27.

[15] Isok. 15.108, 113. Tod 146 comm. (q.v. for other sources), although apparently attributing the invitation of 361 to pro-Athenian Poteidaians (see preceding note), nonetheless calls the invitees "an additional body of cleruchs"; see also Hansen, *D&D* 70 and 106 n.205. If [Arist.] *Oikon.* 1347a.18-26, with its apparent reference to an *eisphora* among Athenians in Poteidaia, is historical, and if it refers to an event of the fourth century rather than the fifth, then the Athenians at Poteidaia in the fourth century had a separate corporate existence from the Poteidaians.

[16] Fourth century Attic literary sources tend to emphasize the expulsion of the Athenian settlers (e.g., Dem. 6.20), and often just refer loosely to Philip's taking of Poteidaia (e.g., Dem. 2.14; 4.35; 6.17; 10.12, 64, 67; 23.107, 116), but the group Hegesippos calls "the Athenians settled in Poteidaia" (see Greek in preceding section) may be different from, or only part of, those he calls τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ (as the Loeb trans. of [Dem.] 7.10 indeed implies). Diod. 16.8.5 says that Philip spared and repatriated the Athenian "garrison" in Poteidaia, but "sold the city into slavery" (τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουράν..., τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενος).

[17] *IG* ii^2 118.6f ([– – – οἱ πρέσβε]ις τῶμ Ποτει|[δαιατῶν – – –]), 8-10 ([– – – ἐπαινέσαι] μὲν τὴμ πόλ[ι|ν ὅτι διετέλεσεν σ]υνδιαφυλάτ||[τοσα Ποτείδαιαν Ἀ]θηναίοις ε[– – –]); see also 14-16 (an almost totally restored commendation for *presbeis* from Poteidaia).

[18] Whitehead, *AHB* 3 (1989) 102-106, esp. p.105 and n.17, restoring lines 6-8, *exempli gratia*, as [– – – οἱ πρέσβε]ις τῶμ Ποτει|[δαιατῶν Ἡφαιστόδ?]ημος καὶ οἱ μ|[ετ' αὐτô – – –]. Whitehead also questions the consensus interpretation as to date and several other matters. *SEG* 39.70 cites and discusses Whitehead and other literature related to this text.

interpretation of an inscription found by Robinson in 1938 sees it as a decree of the Poteidaian *boule* and *ekklesia* of the period 359-357, honoring a Makedonian (**1048**).[19]

A complicating factor in discussing fourth century Poteidaia (as is often the case elsewhere) is that there had been Athenian settlers in *fifth* century Poteidaia. It is not impossible that the city's population, prior to the sending of any new fourth century klerouchs (whether there was one expedition or two), included some of their descendants.[20] If so, we do not know how Philip categorized such persons in deciding who would be sent to Athens and who would be sold into slavery. No extant oration accuses him of enslaving *Athenians* in Poteidaia, however, so his definition in this case must have been the same as his opponents'. Philip's expulsion of Athenians from Poteidaia, at any rate, eliminates the confusion for dating and interpretation that can be caused (as on Lemnos, etc.) by Attic-style names and/or phrasing on late inscriptions. The city of Poteidaia was re-founded by Antipatros' son in 316/5, and renamed for himself: Kassandreia.[21] The same very late fourth century list of mercenaries that includes the ambiguous category of "Lemnians" (see above) also has the category of "Kassandreians", with five names.[22]

Discussion of the population of the Thraikian Chersonesos involves more than one kind of complexity. Usually one is dealing with a single *polis*, such as Poteidaia or the one-town islands of Imbros, Skyros, and Samos. Nor do the two towns of Lemnos offer any real complication, since no extant source of the fourth century or earlier seem to indicate different population elements in Myrina and Hephaistia. But the Chersonesos is a region of several towns (eleven or twelve, ancient sources say) of different sizes and with different degrees of organization, having different mother cities and different histories. Although Athenian orators were capable of defining the entire peninsula as Athenian territory,[23] such claims were disputed,[24] and even the orators never asserted that the entire *population* of the region was Athenian. Manifestly, it had always been a mixture of Athenians, other Greeks, and Thraikians — if not from

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[19] Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5, pp.55-61. The appearance of τῆι ἐκ[κ]λ[σ]ίαι in the enactment formula, instead of the Athenian-style τῶι δήμωι (line 8), is said to parallel the usage of Poteidaia's mother city, Korinth. The reinterpretation is based on a squeeze of a now-lost stone, and much about it is tenuous.

[20] Beister 411 considers this factor in discussing the request of 361. Hatzopoulos sees the occasional Ionicisms of the inscription just cited as evidence for Athenian influence.

[21] Diod. 19.52.2f and 61.2; Billows, *Antig.* 243 n.8 incorrectly cites the same chapters and sections of Book *18* for this foundation.

[22] *IG* ii^2 1956.111-116.

[23] Dem. 9.16, 35; 23.1, 166f, ?170, 181, 208; 8.66; [7].41; Ais. 2.72f, 82.

[24] Dem. 5.25; 6.30; 9.35; 10.60, 65, 68; [7].39-44; cf. [12].3, 11, 16f.

the perhaps legendary Athenian foundation of Elaious, at least since the Athenian Miltiades (**948**) had brought in settlers upon request by certain non-Greek inhabitants.

There certainly were fourth century Athenian klerouchs, but apparently they settled within the territories of certain Chersonesite *poleis* and not in the territories of others. A couple of the locations that received klerouchs are known, but others are doubtful, and even the total number of separate Athenian settlements is unknown. Sestos was presumably the destination of many of the Athenian klerouchs sent out in 353/2 "to the cities" of the Chersonesos.[25] Interpretation of the available sources is complicated by the apparent dispatch of *additional* Athenian settlers to the region, their exact destination(s) unspecified, in the late 340s.[26] See, in general, the discussion in Sec.1.7 above.

The phrasing of certain Attic references to the population of various Chersonesite places provides our best evidence for the general situation in the peninsula. A treaty between Athens and the Thraikian kings Kersobleptes, Amadokos, and Berisades (editorially dated to 357) is very fragmentary as printed in *IG*, Tod, and *SV*, of unknown line length and broken away on all sides, although a recent addition (unpublished as yet, and not seen by me) may render the text a bit more certain. Within the published portion, there appears to be a reference to "[--- the] Greek [citie]s i[n the Chersonesos ---]", which may be the same plural entity said "to be [f]ree and autono[mous, being allies to (the) A]thenians", but no city is specified in the extant wording (including restorations) of the *Corpus*' text. A reference to Athenian *archontes* in the region is entirely restored, and perhaps doubtful.[27]

An Attic treasure list of the 340s, already cited in connection with crowns dedicated by klerouchs on Samos and (apparently) by those in the Chersonesos itself, includes several other tantalizingly

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[25] Dem. 23.149-160, esp. 158; Diod. 16.34.3f. The reference to plural *oikistai* in the Chersonesos in *IG* ii^2 1613.297f (dated 353/2) supports the implication of Diodoros' phrasing.

[26] Dem. 8.6 and *hyp*. 2; [Dem.] 12.16.

[27] *IG* ii^2 126.13f ([--- τὰς δὲ πόλει]ς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας τὰς ἐ[ν Χερρονήσωι|ι ---]); 16f ([--- ἐλε]υθέρας εἶναι καὶ αὐτονό[μους συ|μμάχους οὖσας Ἀ]θηναίοις); see also Tod 151, *SV* 303, and trans. and bibliography in Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.64; the date is based on Dem. 23.170-173. I have not seen a new fragment (not described) joined to the published text by the EM director, D. Peppas-Delmousou, and I am unaware of its publication. I have elsewhere expressed strong doubt about editors' restoration of φόρους (line 8) paid to Athens, a phenomenon otherwise unattested in the fourth century; see Cargill, *SAL* 127 n.36, 143 n.27. The restoration of *archontes* is in lines 11-13: πράττειν Ἀθηναίου[ς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόν|των τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐ]πὶ τῆι δυνάμει ὄντας [κατὰ τὸ δυνατ|όν ---]. This text is among several cited at *SEG* 38.723.

fragmentary references to entities within the peninsula: "[– – – the *dem*]*os* of [E]laious[i]ans"; "[A]l[o]pe[k]onn[esians] and [(lost ethnic) and Ma]d[y]tians and (garbled ethnic) [a]nd [(lost ethnic or two)]"; and "the *demos* of Cherson[esites from Agora]" (twice, for two crowns given). Here too a recent find makes the *Corpus*' text out-of-date, but publication is again lacking, so I must deal with what I have.[28] "Chersonesites" is an unclear term in fourth century sources, as it had been in those of the fifth. An Attic decree honoring the Elaiousians in 340 proclaims:

> And the same things are to be for the Elaiousians, jus[t as] the *demos* resolved for the Chers[one]sites, and the general Cha[res] is to be in charge of them in the same [mann]er, so that (the) [Ela]iousians, retainin[g] their own territory, may dwell properly a[nd jus]tly with (the) Atheni[ans in (the) Ch]ersonesos. Also invite th[e Ela]iousians to *deipnon* in [the pry]taneion tomorrow.[29]

Here "Chersonesites" apparently could mean the citizens of another independent allied town (some believe that Agora was also called "Chersonesos"), or it could refer to *all* the non-Athenians dwelling in the peninsula, or it may be a phrase sufficiently inclusive to incorporate even "(the) Athenians in (the) Chersonesos". One factor that encourages suspicion of imprecise language is the invitation to *deipnon* ("dinner") of the Elaiousians (presumably only their ambassadors in Athens), an invitation usually extended to Athenian citizens, whereas the normal invitation to non-Athenians is to *xenia* ("hospitality").

Demosthenes, in a speech of 330, calls for the reading of documentation concerning "crowns from those in (the) Chersonesos".[30] The decree which follows in the MSS is bracketed by editors as spurious. Considering some of the language of the Attic inscriptions just discussed, however, I am more willing to believe that the document quoted might be genuine. If it were, it would be the *only* extant political document deriving from the fourth century Chersonesos. The decree within the MSS of Demosthenes says:

> Of Chersonesites those inhabiting Sestos, Elaious, Madytos, (and) Alopekonnesos crown the *boule* and the *demos* of (the) Athenians with a gold crown of 60 talents, and establish an altar of Gratitude and of

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[28] *IG* ii^2 1443.94. See App. A for Greek, textual problems, and reference to the newly-found fragment.

[29] *IG* ii^2 228.8-18: εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἐλαιουσίοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπ[ερ] ‖ ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισται τοῖς Χερρ[ονη]|σίταις, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Χά[ρητα] | ἐπιμεληθῆναι αὐτῶν ἐν τῶι [τρόπ]|ωι, ὅπως ἄν ἔχοντε[ς Ἐλα]|ιούσιοι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀρθῶς κ[αὶ δικ]‖αίως οἰκῶσιν μετὰ Ἀθηναί[ων ἐν Χ]|ερρονήσωι. καὶ καλέσαι το[ὺς Ἐλα]|ιουσίους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον εἰς [τὸ πρυ]|τανεῖον εἰς αὔριον.

[30] Dem. 18.92: λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

> (the) Athenian *demos*, because it has been partly the cause of the greatest good (things) for (the) Chersonesites, rescuing (them) from Philip and restoring their fatherlands, their laws, their freedom, (and) their temples. And in all ages after this, they shall not omit being grateful and doing whatever good they can. These (things) they resolved in a common *bouleuterion*.[31]

The list of cities in this document is less inclusive than the string of ethnics (preserved and lost) in the above-cited Attic treasure list, and a certain "mixing of types" is apparent, which has probably encouraged editors to reject the document. But both Demosthenes in his own introductory phrase ("from those in [the] Chersonesos") and the document's language itself ("of Chersonesites those inhabiting Sestos, etc.") seem to show some consciousness of mixture; both quoted phrases may be essentially geographic in nature, designed intentionally to blur political niceties. In 340 the distinction between Elaiousians and Athenians in the Chersonesos had been sufficiently reduced (see above) to prompt some modern scholars to suggest that the status of the former had been approximated to that of klerouchs.[32] Why should it not be possible, a few years later (in the crisis of a war with Philip), for several entities within the Chersonesos to confer "in a common *bouleuterion*" and to refer to themselves all as "Chersonesites"?[33]

In relation to Samos, the conventional scholarly line is that the Athenian klerouchs expelled *all* the native Samians (eventually, if not initially).[34] Good reasons exist for doubting this. One is the attested grant of Athenian citizenship to many Samians (and pre-

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[31] Dem. 18.92 (bracketed): Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστόν, Ἐλαιοῦντα, Μάδυτον, Ἀλωπεκόννησον, στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἄν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.

[32] Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 178, agreeing with Osborne. Figueira, *A&A* 238 n.20 appears to disagree with the suggestions offered here about the Chersonesos, although I admit to uncertainty about the implications of his note as a whole. *SEG* 40.145, in reporting several recently discovered inscriptions from Rhamnous, cites a discussion by R. Osborne that emphasizes the breakdown, here in Attike itself, of "all lines of distinction", including "most notably that absolute divide between citizen and non-citizen". If in Attike, why not in the Chersonesos?

[33] The surprising sixty-talent value of the crown, like almost any number in an ancient literary source, can be explained (or explained away) in various ways, not only via the whimsical dismissal of the Loeb editors, C.A. and J.H. Vince (Demosthenes vol. 2, p.77 n.*a*): "perhaps the forger of these documents was generous in disbursing other people's gold".

[34] Earlier opinion is summarized in Cargill, *GRBS*; now add Shipley, *Samos* 141-143, 158 and Figueira, *A&A* 241-244.

sumably their descendants) at the end of the Peloponnesian War, which would seem to be convincingly supported by the gravestone of "Heragoras (son) of Herodotos, Samian", buried in Attike, whose two sons and grandson all bear the Athenian demotic Kephisieus.[35] Other reasons concern individual Samians apparently on the island with the klerouchs: see Sec.2.8 below.

Discussion within Sec.1.1 above makes it clear that the "Athenian-ness" (or lack of it) of persons called *Salaminioi* is a problem at all periods, including the fourth century. As has also already been mentioned, there is only one extant inscribed reference to "the Athenians in Salamis", i.e., to dwellers there in the kind of phrasing routinely used to describe Athenian klerouchs elsewhere, and that reference itself is doubtful as to date.[36] Yet clearly there were Athenian citizens on Salamis in the fourth century; many persons with demotics show up on the island in both literary and epigraphic sources. Were the fourth century "Salaminians" — or some of them — someone else? Should the continued existence of a distinct and self-conscious ethnicity be accepted, in an island so long under Athenian control and so close to Attike? The sources are confusing, and a factor adding to the confusion is the above-mentioned existence of an Athenian *genos* (with two branches) known as the *Salaminioi*, which seemingly (at least by this time) has nothing to do with persons living on the island.[37] Although *IG* ii^2's collection of epitaphs puts *Salaminioi* among foreign ethnics, and although later collections and reference works follow suit, I am convinced that the "ethnic" *Salaminios/ia* may sometimes, even routinely, be applied to Athenian citizens.[38] Although I treat Salaminians as "doubtful" Athenians in my database, just as I treat persons bearing the local "ethnics" of the other settled territories (except Samians), in the

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[35] *IG* ii^2 6417, editorially dated to 390-365, i.e., prior to the sending of any klerouchs, but presumably only so dated because of inferences drawn from this odd combination of "cognomina"; see Cargill, *GRBS* 323 and n.7. Shipley 130f dates this inscription to the late fifth century or early fourth century, mistakenly refers to "three sons" of Heragoras, and omits Heragoras from the list of Samians in Athens in his Endnote 1. I have been persuaded by D.M. Lewis to abandon my suggestion, *GRBS* 324f, that Aisimos (*PA* 311) is likely to have been another enfranchised Samian; the Athenian attestations of "Aisimides" show that the root name is not as rare in Attike as I had supposed. Shipley 304 cites Lewis on this point in his critique of my argument (Lewis wrote to each of us separately).

[36] *IG* ii^2 3206.4-6; see Sec.1.10 above.

[37] *IG* ii^2 1232; *Agora* XIX.L4a and L4b. See Sec.1.1 above.

[38] I am generally in agreement with the position of Figueira, *A&A* 146f, quoted in Sec.1.1 n.11 above. I become less convinced, however, when Figueira defines these Salaminians more specifically as "citizens outside the deme system" (p.148; cf. 160).

case of the Salaminians I am even more strongly tempted to think of them really as "probable", perhaps even sometimes "certain" Athenians. In my Appendix B, therefore, I do not shrink from suggesting familial connections with Athenians for persons called "Salaminians".

Nonetheless, post-fourth century sources virtually never[39] refer to any dwellers on Salamis collectively as "Athenians". Even though many names of persons living there continue to bear Athenian demotics, and even though a continuing political connection with Athens is sometimes obvious,[40] the citizens of the island are almost invariably called "Salaminians", and their resolutions are decrees of "the *demos* of Salaminians".[41] Salamis provides the most obvious examples, but the point can be made generally: late attestations of "native" ethnics of territories occupied during the fourth century by Athenian klerouchs are, if anything, even less meaningful than such "ethnics" in fourth century sources. There is no reason at all to suppose that, in Roman times, a modifier such as "Myrinaian", "Hephaistian", "Imbrian", or "Skyrian", much less "Salaminian" (all of which are attested[42]) is a necessary, or even likely, indicator of non-Athenian descent.

In considering evidence for the presence of persons whose origin is *neither* Attike nor the klerouch-occupied territory itself, we are on safer ground. Fourth century and later attestations are cited in connection with specific territories (below). In late periods, particularly under the Roman Empire, it is never surprising to find any ethnic anywhere, and the territories that had been occupied during the fourth century by settlers from Athens are typical in this regard. Late-attested non-local "ethnics" are found on Lemnos, Imbros, and Salamis: see appropriate sections, below. Slaves are presumably to be found wherever Athenians are found, but their presence

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39 *IG* ii² 3206 has already been mentioned as the probable exception, depending on its date. *IG* ii² 2867, a late-second century dedication found on Salamis, seems to provide another: [---] | τοῦ δήμου | τοῦ 'Αθηναίων | ἀνέθηκεν | γυμνασιαρχῶν || Ζωίλος Εὐκλέους | Σφήττιος (**573**). Alternatively, however, it may refer specifically to an action by the Attic *demos*, in contrast to that of Salamis, probably analogously with *IG* ii² 1955.14-16. Or the stone may simply have been moved from the mainland to the island.

40 *IG* ii² 1008.75-88 and 1227 (both late second century), for example, are dated by the archon ἐν ἄστει, as well as the one ἐν Σαλαμῖνι; in other late sources the eponymous archon, not so clearly specified, seems to be that of Athens.

41 See Sec.1.10 n.48 above for full documentation.

42 Probably, anyway: the attested "Myrinaians" (**1167**, **1305**) need not be from Myrina on *Lemnos*, while the "Hephaistian" (**560**) is not himself so called, but is said to be from the *polis* of the *Hephaistiaioi*.

in the overseas settlements is poorly documented.[43] Individual attestations (including doubtful ones) are similarly mentioned below.

2.3 Individuals, Considered Statistically

The database from which Appendix B is derived enables me to offer some generalizations about settlers in the territories under discussion. I allot an entry, a "record" in database terminology, to each person attested at any period of heavily-Athenian population in Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, Samos, etc., if the attestation could at all possibly imply presence in the territory. The principles implied in assigning categories, dates, etc. to persons in the database are outlined in some detail in the introduction to Appendix B. In brief, each entry is described in the database as to source, location, date, "Athenian-ness", sex, and role(s) attested. Source problems are described, and suggestions as to possible identifications or relatives/ connections (my own and those of various editors) are offered. Cross-references to entries in several major catalogues of Athenian names[1] are provided as well.

Of 1579 total records whose sequence is reflected in Appendix B's numbers,[2] 1157 primary entries remain after the elimination of secondary entries — cross-references for patronymics, variant readings, etc. All calculations below are based on these 1157 persons.

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[43] Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 96 contends that for political-military reasons, the number of overseas *kleroi* worked by slaves (or indeed leased out to anyone) would be quite limited; in general the klerouch would work the land himself, Schmitz insists. Nielsen *et al*, *GRBS* 30 (1989) 419 contend that, among Attic epitaphs datable to the fourth century, certain names are reserved for slaves, and that, moreover, "the epithet χρηστός and the greeting χαῖρε are never used for citizens, very rarely for metics, and the occurrence of either term is a strong indication that the inscription commemorates a slave". The applicability of the quoted conclusion to fourth century gravestones in Athenian settlements need not be doubted, although it is not clear whether the statement applies to *late* epitaphs, either in Attike or in the settlements.

[1] M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol.II: *Attica* (Oxford 1994) is *not* cross-referenced; I did not encounter it at all until late summer 1994, and then only for a quick glance at Christian Habicht's personal copy.

[2] The highest actual number in the Appendix is **1554**; entries added during final revision (mostly from newly discovered inscriptions) are inserted alphabetically within the sequence and numbered in the style "**141A**". The alternative was the re-doing of literally thousands of cross-references, in the text and within the Appendix itself. Although I became aware of Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* (1988) only when I encountered its citation in *SEG* 40 (published 1993; see its no.292), I was gratified to find that the names from all the sources cited in Schmitz's App. II for "klerouchs" at Poteidaia, Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, Samos, and Salamis were already in my Appendix.

Table 1 shows their distribution by basic category and location. Some 626 of the persons attested fall into the two basic categories symbolized in my database by "4" (certain or likely fourth century residents in a settlement) and by "?" (possible fourth century residents, but some uncertainty exists as to the date and/or the residency). I lump these two categories together when drawing inferences about the possible fourth century population. Its distribution is shown in Table 2. Similarly, for inferences about "late", i.e., post-fourth century, personnel in the same territories, I count altogether 438 names in the categories symbolized by "L", "D", and (most of) "X". The introduction to Appendix B is more precise, but, roughly speaking, these categories mean, respectively, late Athenians, late persons of doubtful "Athenian-ness", and late persons for whom "Athenian-ness" is excluded or for whom there is no reason to suppose it (I delete a few "X" names that are not late). Table 3 gives the distribution of such late primary entries.

The great bulk of attested names (1006 of the 1157, i.e., 86.9%) are associated with Lemnos, Imbros, Samos, and Salamis. Among Lemnian-connected names, more than two times as many are attested for Hephaistia as for Myrina. The proportions of the fourth century hold up in later periods, except on Samos — just as we would expect, given the domination of post-322 sources there by the restored Samian exiles. Almost no figures derived from ancient Greek evidence can be safely treated as statistically reliable, but the figures that arise from my database are at least reassuringly unsurprising. Probably the Athenian presence in the Chersonesos was larger than my Tables would seem to indicate, but that region is very poorly excavated; presumably many inscriptions of Athenian settlers there are still undiscovered. The Adriatic *apoikia* of 325/4 was undoubtedly a large-scale undertaking, and we might expect the attestation of more than a single name (the *oikistes*, **950**) in connection with it. But its unknown location precludes the use of local evidence, and in any event the settlement may have been short-lived. The proportion of certain Athenians among the attested names in the database is notably higher in the fourth century than later (58.1% vs. 40.4%), while the proportion of demonstrable non-Athenians grows (from 2.9% to 9.1%). Again, this is what we would expect, with the weakening of Athenian power.

Women are visibly present in the Athenian settlements, although in a lower proportion in the fourth century than later (10.1% vs. 27.6%). A preponderance of male settlers might be expected in the early period of a settlement (consider the history of the western United States). The only *new* settlement from which a sizable

TABLE 1. BASIC CATEGORIES IN DATABASE

LOCATION	E	4	?	L	D	X	TOTALS	%w
2 or more	1 (1m, 0w)	——	4 (4m, 0w)	——	——	——	5 (5m, 0w)	0
Adriatic	——	——	1 (1m, 0w)	——	——	——	1 (1m, 0w)	0
Unknown	1 (1m, 0w)	——	22 (22m, 0w)	——	——	——	23 (23m, 0w)	0
Uncertain	——	15 (15m, 0w)	——	1 (1m, 0w)	9 (7m, 2w)	——	25 (23m, 2w)	8
Poteidaia	1 (1m, 0w)	2 (2m, 0w)	16 (15m, 1w)	——	——	1(1m, 0w)	20 (19m, 1w)	5
Chersonesos	13 (11m, 2w)	3 (3m, 0w)	11 (8m, 3w)	——	2 (2m, 0w)	1(1m, 0w)	30 (25m, 5w)	16.7
Lemnos(n.o.s.)	8 (6m, 2w)	7 (6m, 1w)	18 (17m, 1w)	2 (2m, 0w)	16(14m, 2w)	1(1m, 0w)	52 (46m, 6w)	11.5
Myrina	20 (19m, 1w)	5 (5m, 0w)	13 (13m, 0w)	18(18m, 0w)	14(11m, 3w)	2(2m, 0w)	72 (68m, 4w)	5.6
Hephaistia	17 (17m, 0w)	15 (13m, 2w)	62 (59m, 3w)	35(30m, 5w)	22(14m, 8w)	7(5m, 2w)	158 (138m, 20w)	12.7
Lemnos TOTAL	45 (42m, 3w)	27 (24m, 3w)	92 (88m, 4w)	55(50m, 5w)	52(39m, 13w)	10(8m, 2w)	282 (252m, 30w)	10.6
Imbros	——	52 (47m, 5w)	95 (93m, 2w)	38(31m, 7w)	101(64m, 37w)	22(20m, 2w)	308 (255m, 53w)	17.2
Skyros	11 (6m, 5w)	2 (2m, 0w)	7 (7m, 0w)	11 (7m, 4w)	13 (8m, 5w)	2(1m, 1w)	46 (31m, 15w)	32.6
Samos	1 (1m, 0w)	80 (77m, 3w)	25 (23m, 2w)	——	1 (1m, 0w)	1(1m, 0w)	108 (103m, 5w)	4.6
Salamis	15 (14m, 1w)	67 (45m, 22w)	103 (85m, 18w)	40(29m, 11w)	76(50m, 26w)	7(2m, 5w)	308 (225m, 83w)	26.9
TOTALS	88 (77m, 11w)	248 (215m, 33w)	378 (348m, 30w)	145 (118m, 27w)	254 (171m, 83w)	45 (35m, 10w)	1157 (963m, 194w)	
	12.5% w	13.3% w	7.9% w	18.6% w	32.7% w	22.2% w	16.8% w	
	E	4	?	L	D	X		

TABLE 2. POSSIBLE 4C RESIDENTS

LOC	Cert.Ath.	Prob.Ath.	Dbtfl.Ath.	Non-Ath.	TOTALS	%w
>1	4 (4m, 0w)	———	———	———	4 (4m, 0w)	0
Adr	1 (1m, 0w)	———	———	———	1 (1m, 0w)	0
Unk	22(22m, 0w)	———	———	———	22 (22m, 0w)	0
Unc	15(15m, 0w)	———	———	———	15 (15m, 0w)	0
Pot	8 (8m, 0w)	3 (2m, 1w)	4 (4m, 0w)	3 (3m, 0w)	18 (17m, 1w)	5.6
Chr	7 (7m, 0w)	———	6 (3m, 3w)	1 (1m, 0w)	14 (11m, 3w)	21.4
Lem	18(18m, 0w)	7 (5m, 2w)	———	———	25 (23m, 2w)	8
LMy	13(13m, 0w)	———	5 (5m, 0w)	———	18 (18m, 0w)	0
LHe	43(43m, 0w)	26(25m, 1w)	6 (3m, 3w)	2 (1m, 1w)	77 (72m, 5w)	6.5
Tot	74(74m, 0w)	33(30m, 3w)	11 (8m, 3w)	2 (1m, 1w)	120 (113m, 7w)	5.1
Imb	58(55m, 3w)	7 (4m, 3w)	81(81m, 0w)	1 (0m, 1w)	147 (140m, 7w)	4.8
Sky	2 (2m, 0w)	2 (2m, 0w)	4 (4m, 0w)	1 (1m, 0w)	9 (9m, 0w)	0
Sam	85(84m, 1w)	7 (6m, 1w)	10 (8m, 2w)	3 (2m, 1w)	105 (100m, 5w)	4.8
Sal	87(83m, 4w)	12 (5m, 7w)	64(35m, 29w)	7 (7m, 0w)	170 (130m, 40w)	23.5
TOTALS	364 (356m, 8w)	64 (49m, 15w)	180 (143m, 37w)	18 (15m, 3w)	626 (563m, 63w)	
	2.2% w	23.4% w	20.6% w	16.7% w	10.1% w	
	c	p	d	n		

4C NAMES: 58.1% Certain Athenians
2.9% Definite Non-Athenians

TABLE 3. POSSIBLE LATE RESIDENTS

LOC	Cert.Ath.	Prob.Ath.	Dbtfl.Ath.	Non-Ath.	TOTALS	w%
>1	———	———	———	———	———	0
Adr	———	———	———	———	———	0
Unk	———	———	———	———	———	0
Unc	10 (8m, 2w)	———	———	———	10 (8m, 2w)	20
Pot	———	———	———	———	———	0
Chr	———	———	2 (2m, 0w)	———	2 (2m, 0w)	0
Lem	9 (9m, 0w)	2 (2m, 0w)	8 (6m, 2w)	———	19 (17m, 2w)	10.5
LMy	24(24m, 0w)	1 (0m, 1w)	7 (5m, 2w)	———	32 (29m, 3w)	9.4
LHe	41(35m, 6w)	6 (4m, 2w)	9 (5m, 4w)	8 (5m, 3w)	64 (49m, 15w)	23.4
Tot	74(68m, 6w)	9 (6m, 3w)	24(16m, 8w)	8 (5m, 3w)	115 (95m, 20w)	17.4
Imb	36(32m, 4w)	44(11m, 33w)	57(51m, 6w)	23 (20m, 3w)	160 (114m, 46w)	28.8
Sky	9 (7m, 2w)	3 (1m, 2w)	11 (6m, 5w)	3 (2m, 1w)	26 (16m, 10w)	38.5
Sam	———	———	1 (1m, 0w)	———	1 (1m, 0w)	0
Sal	48(36m, 12w)	5 (4m, 1w)	64(39m, 25w)	6 (2m, 4w)	124 (81m, 43w)	34.7
TOT	177 (151m, 26w)	61 (22m, 39w)	159 (115m, 44w)	40 (29m, 11w)	438 (317m, 121w)	
	14.7% w	63.9% w	27.7% w	27.5% w	27.6% w	
	c	p	d	n		

LATE NAMES: 40.4% Certain Athenians
9.1% Definite Non-Athenians

number of names is attested, Samos, does indeed show the expected heavy male preponderance in the fourth century, but since virtually no clearly identifiable late Athenians are attested there, no pattern of change as a new settlement becomes well established can be traced. Newness will not explain, however, the fourth century proportions of the database for Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and Salamis, none of which were in any sense "new" settlements in the fourth century. I see no reason, in fact, to infer a markedly higher female proportion in the actual population of post-fourth century Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and Salamis from the change in the proportions of attested individuals. Rather, I attribute the increased attestation of women to two other factors:

(1) changes in the kinds of documents available, and
(2) the general increase in "visibility" of women in the post-classical period.

A higher proportion of the fourth century documents relating to the settlements are "state" documents, often political in content, and it is obvious that every inscribed list of *proedroi*, *bouleutai*, treasurers, ambassadors, etc. will include only male names. Cultic documents and epitaphs represent a greater proportion of the post-fourth century evidence, and in such documents women's names occur with some frequency. As for the increased-visibility factor, a survey of the 63 women in my database's possibly-fourth century categories shows that, with only three exceptions,[3] all the possible women settlers are attested as deceased (i.e., in epitaphs) and/or as someone's relative. Among the 121 later-attested women, however, cultic roles are quite frequently indicated, and economic roles are also attested more often. The two kinds of roles are frequently combined, e.g., when someone frees a slave at a cult center, or contributes money to a temple, etc. I assign some role(s) other than deceased or relative to 43, i.e., to 35.5% of these later women.

A few statistics may be presented about roles within the database in general, with the caveat that these role assignments represent my own interpretations, far from infallible. Some entries' roles are in fact queried in the database itself, although the statistics here lump certain and speculative roles together. The role codes here are the ones used in Appendix B. I follow some rough notion of precedence in assigning codes, attempting to indicate each entry's main or primary role as attested and, if warranted, a secondary role. Every

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[3] These are a female name on a loom weight (**239A**) and a female creditor mentioned with her *kyrios* on a *horos* from Lemnos (**1493**), both of whom may well be post-fourth century anyway, and an unnamed priestess(?) called "the Euangelis" in connection with the Temple of Hera in Samos (**1549**).

person gets at least one role code; only 31 entries seemed to me to require the designation of a third role. It is to be understood that the statistics here refer to *any* role assigned, not necessarily only to the primary one. For 90 primary entries, I could come up with nothing specific, and in the database I characterize these persons' role simply as "DK" (don't know). "DK" is only assigned if no other role is. Perhaps this category's five women could just as easily be designated "Rel" (relative), given the inevitable Greek assignment of each woman a *kyrios*, although the *kyrioi* are unattested in these particular cases.

By far my largest role category is "Bur" (buried), i.e., in most cases the name appears as that of the deceased on a gravestone. There are 410 such entries (282 men, 128 women), each of them given "Bur" as their primary role. I take the person's death as at least the most definitive thing about him or her, whether or not it is the most important. Conversely, my second-most-frequent category, "Rel", with 207 examples (124 men, 83 women), is treated as the primary role only if no other code is assigned (**217** is the only exception: see entry for explanation); more often it is the secondary role. Perhaps surprisingly, the next-most-frequently assigned role is "Mys", i.e., *mystes*, initiate at Mysteries, mostly those of the *Megaloi Theoi* on Imbros or at the Kabeirion near Hephaistia on Lemnos. A great many of the 122 names thus classified (only two of them female) are treated as doubtful, since the names appear on lists that lack headings, although such a classification is not unlikely. Other cultic/religious roles — sometimes hard to define precisely, and sometimes hard to differentiate from economic roles — are also frequently assigned. I count twelve priests and two priestesses (coded "Pri") and 78 makers of dedications ("Ded", 65 men, 13 women), and I classify 89 (57 men, 32 women) as vaguely cultic ("Cul"). Some of my 81 honorands ("Hon", only one is female) are honored by cultic assemblies or commended to various deities in epigrams. Economic activities (code "Eco") frequently have cultic dimensions; I assign this code 91 times (57 men, 34 women). A few of the 16 entries (two of them female) receiving a code of "Oth" (other), i.e., doers of something specific that is not covered in my codes, might possibly be shoehorned into one or another of the categories discussed so far.

The remaining codes are all military and/or political in nature, and therefore appear only in connection with male entries. A good many of these assignments, too, are guesswork, and queried in my database. Since the various offices are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, here I merely list codes, their meanings, and the number of entries assigned each role. Military codes assigned include:

27 "Str" (*strategoi*, generals)
6 "Hip" (*hipparchoi*, cavalry commanders)
21 "Kt" (knights, *hippeis*, cavalrymen)
15 "Mil" (military: other or unspecified or unable to tell which of the above)

Political roles assigned are:

41 "Arx" (*archontes*, archons — some possibly Attic, but none certainly so)
25 "Mov" (movers, *rhetores*, proposers of resolutions)
53 "Pro" (*proedroi*, presiding committeemen in *boule* and *demos*)
9 "Epi" (*epistatai*, chairmen, normally of the *proedroi*)
31 "Amb" (ambassadors, *presbeis*)
27 "Trs" (treasurers, *tamiai*, of various kinds)
34 "Mag" (magistrates occupying offices not given their own codes, or not clearly assignable to the above categories)

— and again some of the 14 men classified as "Oth".

The sections that follow on individuals attested in connection with particular settlements focus on general discussion of sources and source problems, illustrating more or less how various names and groups of names enter my database and why they are classified as they are. With few exceptions,[4] no real prosopography is attempted in this chapter; it is reserved for Appendix B. Even rapid computer searches of the database can be revelatory, however, for example on the question of the possible economic statuses represented among the settlers. My database has 60 entries with citations in J.K. Davies' *Athenian Propertied Families*, whose names are restricted to members of "trierarchic" families, i.e., those wealthy enough to have the leitourgy of outfitting a warship imposed upon them. This statistic becomes perhaps even more meaningful when one recalls that Davies' cutoff date is 300 B.C., whereas 438 of my 1157 primary entries (37.9%) are quite likely to be post-fourth century, and so would be listed in *APF* only by chance (e.g., as someone's descendants), no matter how rich they were.

[4] E.g., editorially ignored connections between names in inscriptions from the same locations and/or published in the same collections are occasionally mentioned.

2.4 Individuals: Adriatic, Unknown and Uncertain Locations, Poteidaia, Chersonesos

The only attested name of anyone voyaging to the Adriatic *apoikia* of the mid-320s is that of the *oikistes*, Miltiades of Lakiadai (**950**). Perhaps the familial connection with his great archaic homonyms led to his selection for this honorific post. The marriage connections established through his daughter (see Sec.1.8 above) also bespeak aristocracy. We know nothing about the anonymous *epoikoi* who accompanied him.[1]

A person associated with Sokrates, Eutheros (**491**), was clearly a fifth century klerouch, but it is impossible to know whether or not he lived in one of the territories that were settled in the fourth century.[2]

The second edition of the Attic *Corpus* includes the composite fourth century text called *IG* ii^2 1952, with its fragments *a*, *b*, and *c*, which is labelled "Catalogus Cleruchorum".[3] The heading atop fr. *a* shows that this description is justified for that fragment's names, which are listed by *phylai*, subdivided into demes. The specific settlement to which these klerouchs are being sent is unknown, however, because the crucial toponym has been lost from the heading. Scholarship subsequent to the publication of the *Corpus* has shown that the similar tribe-and-deme lists of fr. *b* and fr. *c* (including a newer fragment, not in the *Corpus* text, that adjoins *c*) do not belong to the same inscription as fr. *a*. Since many kinds of Attic lists (lists of *bouleutai*, for example) are in tribal order, subdivided by demes, no strong reason exists to suppose that fr. *b* and fr. *c+* (or either of them, if they derive from two separate additional stones, instead of one) constitute lists of klerouchs. Since the possibility that they are klerouchs is not entirely *disproved*, either, I include the names of fr. *b* and fr. *c+* in my database,[4] but their category is always "?" and their location is indicated as "Unk(nown)". Prosopographical observations about these sets of names may be quite moot, since they need not have been settlers at all; in Appendix B, I occasionally associate or compare better-attested names *with them*.

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[1] *IG* ii^2 1629.18f and *passim* (Miltiades), 224f (*epoikoi*).

[2] Xen. *Mem.* 2.8.

[3] See Sec.1.3 n.10 and Sec.2.1 n.5 above for discussions of this text and historical issues associated with it, and App. A for textual issues and relevant literature. The forms of all names in my database and my text reflect my conclusions in the Appendix, as do my line numbers for fr. *c+*.

[4] Names from fr. *b*: **80**, **175**, **191**, **239**, **309**, **394**, **434**, **514**, **727**, **863**, **1019**, **1117**, **1271**, **1321**, **1409**, **1463**; from fr. *c+*: **424**, **648**, **762**, **887**, **933**, **1405**, **1430**. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 338 n.12 excludes fr. *c* as a source for his App. II, yet includes fr. *b*.

The names of fr. *a*[5] warrant fuller discussion there, however. I indicate a location of "Unc(ertain)" for each of them in my database, but in fact the possibilities can be greatly narrowed. Published scholarly observations and autopsy have convinced me that a trace of the first letter of the settlement's name must belong to some letter having as its left-most stroke a vertical upright, whose top end has no stroke adjoining it from the right (see App. A). The only attested fourth century settlements whose names begin with such letters are Hephaistia (on Lemnos), Imbros, and Krithote (in the Chersonesos). Based on my own observation of the inscription, I believe that Hephaistia is the most likely of the three. Therefore I look upon this fragment's names as very possibly names of fourth century settlers on Lemnos. In fact, however, the extra-Attic names most readily connectable with names on this list come from Imbros, on two lists of *mystai*(?).[6] Making the short journey from Lemnos to Imbros for initiation into the mysteries there would of course be quite easy; nothing would prevent names of Imbrian initiates from being names of Lemnian settlers.

The *kleroucharchontes* of *IG* ii^2 1609 (**492, 521**) may be grouped with the names of fr. *a* of *IG* ii^2 1952, as apparently fourth century Athenian settlers of uncertain destination. As in the case of those names, some limits can also be put on possibilities as to their destination(s). Since *IG* ii^2 1609 is probably to be dated to 370/69 (before fourth century settlements are known to have been established at Poteidaia, in the Chersonesos, on Samos, or in the Adriatic), and since no fleet would need to be sent to Salamis, their magistracy must have been associated with Lemnos, Imbros, and/or Skyros. See fuller discussion in Sec.3.4 below.

A very late (160-180 C.E.) inscription from Samothraike lists "Athenians" initiated, which would not concern me except for the fact that the first Athenian listed (**1198**) is described as "the *strategos* from the *asty* of Athenians in Imbros". This phrasing suggests the possibility that the entire group of initiates came with him from Imbros. But the geographical specification could just as easily apply to him alone. The other initiates need not be from Imbros; indeed they need not be from anywhere outside Attike. Therefore I put "Unc(ertain)" in their location field in my database.[7]

Literary sources and fourth century public resolutions associated with Poteidaia, both local and Attic, are adequately described

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[5] Nos. **18, 96, 306, 530, 531, 714, 715, 728, 889, 1295, 1448, 1452, 1456.**

[6] *IG* xii(8) 84 and 85. See discussion in Sec.2.6 below.

[7] *IG* xii(8) 216.2-6, Greek and further discussion in Sec.2.6 below. Other names: **25, 53, 247, 471, 549, 710, 775, 1218, 1317, 1337.**

above.[8] From Poteidaia (perhaps) comes the gravestone of Theognetos (**642**), editorially dated to the late fifth century, whose likelihood of an Athenian connection may have been increased by Andronikos' improvement of D.M. Robinson's text, producing the patronymic "Pe(i)raio(u)?", which could be seen as evoking the port of Athens.[9] Robinson was willing to give a fourth century date to the names with patronymics and demotics on a dikast's ticket, but the ticket was actually found at Olynthos; its movement there from Poteidaia is only an inference from the names' "Athenian-ness" itself. Attic-style *dikasteria* are not demonstrably operative among klerouchs anywhere in any fourth century period of Athenian control (see Sec.3.9 below), so the ticket, even if in the possession of an Athenian klerouch in Poteidaia, probably was made in Attike and was to be used in the trial courts in Athens. The names erased on the ticket that ultimately was assigned to Aristophon (**205**) are certainly the names of *Attic* jurists, even if Aristophon finally took the ticket from Athens to Poteidaia.[10] Robinson dates another Athenian, [E]pichares son of [Anti]ochos (**457**), to the fourth century, but his gravestone (like the dikast's ticket) was found in the vicinity of Olynthos, rather than Poteidaia. Another gravestone, that of [P]olyxenos son of [M]eixias of Sounion (**1107**), is also from Olynthos, and seems to be ambiguous as to date, either fifth or fourth century.[11]

A. Romiopoulou's eight gravestones from Poteidaia, hurriedly excavated when uncovered during the building of a road in 1973, bear ten names, six of them (**557, 712, 732, 837, 1046, 1206**) with demotics; a seventh (**337**) can be confidently supplied with one. The demotics sometimes take odd forms — *Lamptrathen* rather

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[8] See Secs.1.6 and 2.2. Relevant names are **1048**, **1241**, **1407**, **1494**.

[9] *SEG* 24.573: Θεόγνητος Περαίο (Robinson had read HPAIO). Certainty is not implied: Wallace reminds me that Amisos was later renamed Peiraieus, while many areas could be called Peraia. Stroud cites examples of the name from Thera and from Tenos: *IG* xii(3) 762 and *IG* xii(5) 882.9, respectively.

[10] Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) 57 no.10 is fundamentally revised in the version of Kroll, *ABAP* no.7 (pp.113-116 and figs.13-16), who eliminates Aristophon's supposed patronymic and therefore Robinson's speculations about the identification of the "father". Kroll does not even comment on the ticket's possible connection with Poteidaia, speculating instead only on how it might have come from Athens to Olynthos. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 337 n.4 sees the ticket as not necessarily referring to a klerouch, and excludes Aristophon from his App. II.

[11] Robinson 59 no.12 and 58 no.11, respectively. Both Robinson and the editors at *IG* i³ 1515, where it is reprinted, date Polyxenos' epitaph to the Peloponnesian War period, but I see no reason to rule out a fourth century date — especially since Robinson himself suggests possible fourth century Attic connections (repeated in *IG* i³) for the deceased.

then Lamptreus, *Pallenethen* rather than Palleneus[12] — and a further unusual feature is that three of the epitaphs give the *phyle* of the deceased, in addition to his demotic.[13] One name (**911**) is poorly preserved and misread (see Appendix A); one, standing alone without patronymic or other modifier, is that of a woman (**1306**); another person is identified by his ethnic as a Kyzikene (**1030**).[14] Romiopoulou herself cautiously dates the gravestones to either the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century. Scholarly opinion, ratified in 1994 by fasc.2 of *IG* i^3, is strongly inclining toward the fifth.[15] I see no necessity, however, to explain away (as Romiopoulou does) the connections that literary sources would encourage between the presence of a Kyzikene among Athe-

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[12] Whitehead, *Demes* 73-75 describes the norm and variants, not citing these particular examples.

[13] Figueira, *A&A* 67 says that this "unusual feature...was probably a peculiarity of colonial nomenclature. Perhaps it was meant to emphasize continued membership in an Athenian tribe, and thereby citizenship". Jones, *Pub.Org.* 226 cites another example of the practice, on fifth century Melos, saying that it is "only rarely encountered in Athens itself" (no Attic citations), and concludes: "Possibly the explanation is to be sought in the artificiality of the extension of nominally territorial nomenclature to foreign soil, where recall of the many phyle-deme affiliations would have proved difficult". I suspect mere idiosyncrasy, considering the existence of numerous inscriptions in overseas settlements that supply demotics but not *phyle* affiliations. Can something attested only in Attike itself, Melos, and Poteidaia — and not, e.g., in the much more fully documented Lemnos, Imbros, or Samos — be seen as a peculiarly colonial phenomenon?

[14] Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) 190-198, nos.1-8 (each illustrated by a photo bearing the same number, figs.1-8). The names of nos. 1, 2 (three names), 3, and 4 have demotics; the patronymic of no.5 matches the name of the deceased (with demotic) of no.4, so it is inferred that the former is the son of the latter, and of the same deme. These clearly Athenian epitaphs are reprinted as *IG* i^3 1510-1514, but nos.6-8 are not. Some of Romiopoulou's inscriptions are discussed in App. A, notably no.7. The odd demotics occur in nos.2 (*IG* i^3 1511) and 3 (*IG* i^3 1512). In no.1 (*IG* i^3 1510) the *phyle* (Aigeis) follows the conventional name-patronymic-demotic formula; no.4 (*IG* i^3 1513) gives the *phyle* (Oineis) prior to the other three elements; no.3 has the name, patronymic, *phyle* (Antiochis), and then demotic. The woman is in no.8, the Kyzikene in no.6.

[15] Romiopoulou p.194; see Robert, *BÉ* (1976) 458. Graham, *CMC*^{2} Addendum no.48 (1983) says that Romiopoulou's gravestones "very probably date to the period of the first Athenian occupation of the city", i.e., to the fifth rather than to the fourth century. Jones, *Pub.Org.* 265 applies this conclusion to Robinson's gravestones as well (calling the fifth century settlement an "*epoikia*", an unattested term). Although he accepts a fourth century date for the dikast's ticket published by Robinson (now Kroll, *ABAP* no.7), he sees no reason to suppose that it was actually used in "the cleruchy", i.e., the fourth century settlement (pp.267 and 290 n.1). Objects found in the tombs of the area that yielded Romiopoulou's gravestones seem generally to be described by editors as being of the late fifth century. Catling, *AR* (1981/2) 37 cites "A. Despoini" at *AD* 29 (1974) Chronika "677" as reporting Romiopoulou's finds, but the *AD* entry (at B3.677, to be precise, illustrated in pl.488a-c) appears to be by Romiopoulou herself. Figueira, *A&A* 67 also dates Romiopoulou's epitaphs to the fifth century.

nians in Poteidaia and the activities of Timotheos in both Kyzikos and Poteidaia in the 360s.[16] The script of the epitaphs would permit a mid-fourth century date; I therefore adopt the very long date-range "429-356" for all of these names in my database, to be on the safe side.

Tod places another name on an epitaph from Poteidaia, Heropythos (**615**), in the second half of the fourth century. The epitaph lacks a patronymic and, with no demotic or ethnic, it is impossible to tell whether the deceased was an Athenian or a native.[17] A recently discovered epitaph from Poteidaia, editorially dated to the fourth or third century, is that of a foreigner (**1022A**).[18] The only name bearing the ethnic *Poteidaeus* among the gravestones in *IG* ii^2, that of one Aischines Dionysodoros (**43**) of *IG* ii^2 10109, dated by its letters to the mid-fourth century, probably belongs to a native, although an expelled Athenian klerouch cannot absolutely be ruled out.

H.T. Wade-Gery and his fellow *ATL* editors suggest that Phrynon (**1363**), founder of the early Athenian settlement at Sigeion in the Troad, also founded Elaious in the Thraikian Chersonesos.[19] Building upon this interpretation, G.L. Huxley has reinterpreted a papyrus fragment dealing with the early history of Lesbos, in which an exile there seems to be compared with "Onomakles the Athenian" (**1069**), who may in turn be somehow connected with Alopekonnesos in the Chersonesos: "it is possible that the Athenian was driven out from Elaious to his neighbours in Alopekonnesos...".[20] From a tomb in the necropolis of Elaious comes a very tantalizing graffito consisting of four archaic letters on a cup (**707**), reported on in 1915 and never (as far as I know) critically discussed since.[21] The letters could be seen as the begin-

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[16] Romiopoulou, *AAA* pp.194, 196-198; see esp. Diod. 15.81.6. Nep. *Timoth.* 1.3 refers to Kyzikos only, but many sources document Timotheos' activities at Poteidaia during this period.

[17] *SEG* 2.414; Tod interprets ἡρῶι preceding the dative name as an early example of the practice of describing the dead indiscriminately as "heroes".

[18] *SEG* 39.628: Νικόμαχος Τεισαμένου Μηκιστεύς. French, *AR* (1992-93) 55 reports the discovery of numerous tombs at Poteidaia in excavations of 1985-86 and 1990, but says nothing about inscriptions.

[19] See argument, including Wade-Gery's emendation of an obscure source, in *ATL* III.289 n.75 and critique in Graham, *CMC*^{2} 33 n.5. Figueira, *A&A* 133 and n.5 discusses sources and provides recent literature.

[20] Huxley, *JHS* 107 (1987) 187f, discussing improvements for *P.Oxy.* 3711.31-36, in which M.W. Haslam had recently interpreted line 31's 'Ονυμακλέης ωθ̣[.]ν̣[.]ος as meaning Onomakles 'Ωθάναος, i.e., ὁ 'Αθηναῖος (quotation from p.188).

[21] Note the comment, e.g., of Jeffery, *LSAG* (1961) 365: "No archaic inscriptions, Attic or other, have yet been found in any of the towns on the Chersonese, except for...coins...".

ning of the name Isag[oras].[22]

The activities of the elder and younger Miltiades (**948, 949**) and their relatives (**590A, 939A, 1171A**) in the Chersonesos are well-attested in the literary sources (see Sec.1.1 above). Recent studies have suggested the possibility that the mother (**551**) of the Athenian politician Themistokles may have come from non-Athenian (although perhaps Greek) stock within the Chersonesos, either from Kardia or Agora.[23] If Themistokles' non-Athenian mother was a woman of the Chersonesos, it follows that his father Neokles (**990**) met and married her while he was one of the Athenians in the Chersonesos under the leadership of the younger Miltiades.

Considering the duration of an Athenian presence in the Chersonesos, evidence about individual settlers there is scarce in the extreme.[24] Almost all the Athenians who can be associated with the fourth century Chersonesos are commanders or officials sent out from Athens, e.g., the generals Chares (**1395**) and Diopeithes (**387**) and the unnamed *oikistai* (**1548**) mentioned in a mid-fourth century naval list.[25] Debate exists as to whether "the *archontes* in the Chersonesos" (**1545**) and "the *archon* of Krithote" (**1546**), both mentioned anonymously by Demosthenes, are similarly sent out, or are residents chosen locally as eponymous magistrates.[26] Polykrates (**1103**), accused by Philip of introducing a resolution that has led to war between Philip and the Athenian klerouchs in the Chersonesos, is probably the mover of a decree in the *Attic* assembly, not a settler introducing a klerouchic decree.[27] Aristomachos of Alopeke (**189**) is, presumably non-technically, called an "ambassador" from the Thraikian dynast Kersobleptes and the mercenary commander

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[22] Chamonard et al., *BCH* 39 (1915) p.179, object X.45. The appearance of the letters is reported as IςΛΛ or, the other way up, VVςI. I suggest a possible restoration of Ἰσ⟨α⟩γ(όρας?). The alternative reading might be Λυσι-.

[23] Figueira, *A&A* 140 summarizes the discussions of Bicknell, *Historia* 31 (1982) 161-173 and Lewis, *ib.* 32 (1983) 245.

[24] Herakleitos Cherronesites of *IG* i³ 1301 (**610A**), buried in Athens in the mid-fifth century, is apparently connected by Lewis with the "Athenian colonists" sent to the Chersonesos, either with one or the other Miltiades or with Perikles. But the mid-fifth century "name" of *IG* i³ 417.2 (**1267**) is probably not a name at all, and even if it is a name, it is probably of Attic, rather than Chersonesite, provenance.

[25] Chares is very well attested, notably in *IG* ii² 228.11; *SV* 303; Dem. 23.173+; and Diod. 16.34.4. Diopeithes is mentioned in Dem. 8 *passim* and other sources. The *oikistai* appear in *IG* ii² 1613.297f.

[26] Dem. 23.159, 161; see Sec.3.4 below. Cf. also the *archontes* in the Hellespont, mentioned in *IG* ii² 133.24f.

[27] [Dem.] 12.16; see Sec.3.8 below. Perhaps Develin implicitly disagrees; he does not list Polykrates among movers of Attic decrees in 341/0 or 340/39.

Charidemos (**1407**, in the latter's pre-citizenship period).[28] Given Aristomachos' geographical context and demotic (both *PA* and *APF* suggest Attic identifications for him), he could be an Athenian klerouch in the Chersonesos, but there is no positive evidence to support such a suggestion.

Either Diodoros' source exaggerates Chares' thoroughness in wiping out the people of Sestos in 353/2 (discussed in detail in Sec.1.7 above), or some residents departed prior to his arrival, I infer from the "Sestian" Naosinikos (**981**), honorand of a decree of the returned Samians.[29] Given the spelling of his name and the Samian connection, it seems very unlikely that the ethnic as used here could possibly be applied to an Athenian klerouch from Sestos — or that such a person would assist the Samian exiles. Unlikelihood of klerouchic status also attends the apparently Chersonesite names[30] among the *Corpus*' fourth century epitaphs in Attike, e.g., a Sestian family and two other Sestians (three women and two men in all),[31] and Apollonides son of Dionysodoros (**130**), called "Chersonesite".[32] It is not impossible that one or more of the women may have married Athenian klerouchs. Any or all of the Sestians may have been captives, enslaved when Chares destroyed and re-settled their town — or, conversely, persons ransomed or otherwise saved from the disaster by Athenian benefactors. But all could have been free foreigners who had migrated to Attike earlier.[33] If "S[est]ia[n]" is indeed the proper restoration of the ethnic of Philiskos Lykou (**1303**), apparently voted Athenian *proxenos* and *euergetes* in 354, he clearly represents the sort of pro-Athenian Sestian who would have been spared by Chares; Athenian officials

[28] Dem. 23.13f, 110.

[29] *SEG* 26.1022 = Habicht, *AM* #2.2, 15f: [N]αοσίνικος Φιλοξένου. Figueira, *A&A* 52 n.b discusses this inscription and editors' differing interpretations of it.

[30] *IG* ii^2 8961: [Στ]ρατονίκη | [Καρ]διανή is omitted, along with all Kardians, from my database.

[31] *IG* ii^2 10262 (side by side): Ἀριστοδίκη, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀθηναΐς (relationships unclear), with a common ethnic (line 2) of Σήστιοι. *IG* ii^2 10263 (Μοσχίων | Σήσστιος) and 10264 (Κηφισοδώρου Σηστία). Names: **30**, **149**, **174**, **965**, **978**.

[32] *IG* ii^2 10505: Διονυσοδώρου | Ἀπολλωνίδης | Χερρονησίτης (*sic*: the patronymic seems to have been added above, after initially having been omitted).

[33] This statement is even more likely to be true for the names from Madytos (**733**, **1472**) on a fifth century Attic casualty list: *Agora* XVII.1.34-36 ([Μαδ]ύτιοι || [ἐν Καρ]δίαι· Καλλία[ς |....]ν) and for the Kardian on an epitaph described as post-fourth century, *IG* ii^2 8960 (Εὔφρων | Εὐκράτου | Καρδιανός). The "Chersonesite" (**252**) in a second century Attic list of contributors, *IG* ii^2 2332.163, is irrelevant to this discussion.

in the region of the Hellespont are specifically instructed to look out for his wellbeing.[34]

The only names of possible fourth century settlers in the Chersonesos that may derive from the region itself seem to be those of Antikrates son of Hekataios and his wife Herainna, daughter of Antagoras, who is commemorated by his dedicatory inscription. But everything about this evidence is doubtful: the stone's point of origin is uncertain, as is its date,[35] and there are neither demotics nor ethnics in the husband's and father's names.[36]

Admittedly, in sum, not a single name of a *certain* fourth century Athenian resident is attested for any of the mainland settlements — the Adriatic *apoikia*, Poteidaia, or the Chersonesos.

2.5 Individuals: Lemnos

A few names of possible pre-fourth century residents on Lemnos are known from literary sources, beyond the obvious example of Miltiades the younger (**949**), already mentioned in connection with the Chersonesos. Herodotos tells us that Antidoros "the Lemnian" (**102**), who deserted from Xerxes' navy to the Greek side, was rewarded with a *kleros* on Salamis.[1] Aristotle mentions an "Apollodoros the Lemnian" (**126**) who wrote on farming.[2] Diogenes Laertios cites Aristotle in saying that "a certain Antilochos, a Lemnian" (**108**), was a critic of Sokrates. Kirchner apparently be-

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[34] *IG* ii² 133.2f: Φιλίσ[κ]ωι Λύκου αὐτῶ[ι] | καὶ ἐ[κ]γ[ό]νοις Σ[ηστ]ίω[ι]. Only ['Ε]πὶ [Καλ]λ[ιστράτου ---] is extant in the archon-dating formula (4), but much of the secretary's name (5f) is extant. Philiskos' service to the *demos* (11f) was μηνύσας τ[ὸν τῶν Βυζαντίων στόλ(?)]|ον, and the resolution concludes (22-27) with these instructions: [..ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] | δὲ Φιλίσκου τὸν λι[μενόφρουρον(?) τὸν 'Α]|θηναίων ἐν 'Ελλησπόν[τωι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχ]|οντας τοὺς ἐν 'Ελλησπ[όντωι, 'Αθήνησι δ]|ὲ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἀεὶ βο[υλεύουσαν καὶ] | τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἄ[ν μὴ ἀδικῆται]. See *SEG* 22.91 for bibliography on this inscription.

[35] *SEG* 24.655 cites Bakalakis and Peek in dating the inscription to the fifth or fourth century and saying "*Originis incertae*, in Chersoneso Thracio ut videtur inv(enta)", but Hansen, *CEG* 728 apparently leans more toward the late fifth century and provides an apparently definite extra-Chersonesos find-spot: "in paeninsula Σ̲ (quae *Yasché ada* vocabatur) ad *Limnothalassam* haud procul a *Xylagana* reperta". I therefore omit the inscription's names from my database.

[36] The husband's patronymic recalls the Kardian Hegesistratos Hekataiou, honored in a late-fourth century inscription from Epidauros: *IG* iv² 1.49; see Habicht, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 105f and Robert, *BÉ* (1972) 276. The patronymic is, however, attested in Attike and the name Antikrates itself seems to be common there (17 in *PA* and its supplements).

[1] Hdt. 8.11.3 prompts much speculation by calling him both Λήμνιος and one of τῶν σὺν βασιλέι 'Ελλήνων.

[2] Arist. *Pol.* 1258b.39f.

lieved that Antilochos was *not* an Athenian klerouch, since he was given no entry in *Prosopographia Attica*.[3]

Some additional individual names appear in pre-fourth century inscriptions. A dedication at Hephaistia by an Athenodoros bearing an Athenian demotic (**38**) is given a fifth century date by its editor, S. Accame.[4] An early security *horos* from Hephaistia bears the name of Euthydemos (**499**), whose demotic is unintelligible in the garbled published texts of the inscription; in fact his deme must have been Hagnous or Rhamnous (see App. A).[5] Another security *horos* from Hephaistia, dated by its editor, M. Segre, to the second half of the fifth century, could just as easily be fourth century (see below).[6] A few letters (**1485**) on a fifth century bronze fragment from Lemnos may or may not belong to a name or names.[7] The fifth century gravestone of a woman named Mnesarete (**953**), who died in Attike, seemingly indicates that she had come (back?) from Myrina.[8]

The large majority of pre-fourth century Lemnos-connected names are found, however, in three inscribed lists. Two are from Attike and are of Peloponnesian War date or earlier: one of the two is headed "Lemnians from Myrina" and divided into *phylai*;[9] the other has "Lemnians" as a subheading under the tribal heading "Hippothontis".[10] The names listed on an even older inscription from Hephaistia are also separated into Attic tribal divisions.[11]

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[3] D.L. 2.46: τις...'Αντίλοχος Λήμνιος. Contrast Kirchner's treatment of a person whom Plutarch calls "Athenodoros the Imbrian": see Sec.2.6 below.

[4] Accame, *Ann.* #10.2.

[5] *SLC* 190A = *SEG* 34.882*bis*.5-7.

[6] Segre, *Ann.* #12 = *SLC* 105; see Fine, *Horoi* p.40 and *IG* i³ p.927 comm.

[7] Segre, *Ann.* #19.1f.

[8] *IG* i³ 1325: Μνησαρέτη | Φιλινίδο(υ) | ἐγ Μυρίνης. The editors comment: "E cleruchis Lemniis Philinides fuerit...".

[9] *IG* i³ 1164, with nos. **2**, **64**, **87**, **204**, **216**, **235**, **304**, **404**, **550**, **670**, **744**, **983**, **1060**, **1073**, **1092**, **1166**, **1258**, **1324**, **1360**. Figueira, *A&A* 255 calls these "probably non-citizen colonists" (see also his p.11 n.16).

[10] *IG* i³ 1165, with nos. **300**, **408**, **552**, **927**. Figueira, *A&A* 255 believes that these are Athenian citizens; *IG* i³ says "cleruchi esse videntur".

[11] *IG* i³ 1477 = *IG* xii Supp. 337, with nos. **73**, **402**, **508**, **832**, **861**, **1043**, **1262**, **1279**, **1428**, **1429**, **1480**, **1499**, **1509**, **1514**, **1524**. Jeffery, *LSAG* 299f and 307 calls this whole pillar (her catalogue item 59) a casualty list, dates it "*c.* 500-490?" (*IG* i³ will later suggest ca. 500-480?), and — although admitting that it "is apparently of local stone" — tends to infer from the similarity of letter forms that the Attic mason of several Attic inscriptions did the work, which she believes "would mean that these are not the names of Miltiades' own Attic settlers..., but of Athenians from the mother-city, who died on a campaign on Lemnos". Figueira, *A&A* 253f finds this argument suspect; I agree. Is it a change of position, or merely a hedging into vagueness, when *IG* i³ (one of whose editors is Jeffery) reports "de Atheniensibus qui Miltiadem in Lemni expugnatione adiuvabant occisis cogitat Jeffery"?

Names perhaps of the fourth century are attested in Myrina mostly in resolutions of the local assembly. The *epimeletes* Theophilos son of Meliton of Alopeke (**673**), honored by certain "Chalkidians living in Myrina",[12] is not necessarily *epimeletes* in Myrina specifically. Another fourth century decree from Myrina honors "Sa[uri]as(?) the *epimeletes* in Hephaistia" (**1140**).[13] The memorial of [Na]usikydes (**979**), from Myrina, may be of early-fourth century date, but may also be of the fifth century.[14] Another inscription from Myrina, very fragmentary, may or may not be a gravestone; its date is indeterminate.[15]

Names possibly of the fourth century that are associated with Hephaistia are considerably more numerous. The only resolutions in which any such names are extant, at least when the resolving body is definitely indicated, are those of the assembly of *initiates* at the Kabeirion. Other cultic documents supply some names, as do epitaphs, and quite a few are mentioned on security *horoi*. The most intriguing collection of names from Hephaistia is a list without extant heading bearing sixteen names (no patronymics or demotics). Between the seventh and eighth names is a blank line (the published text has *vacat* here, but counts the blank area as "line 8"). In this spot, the editor, Segre, believes that he can see indecipherable traces of letters from a tribal heading, and he suggests that therefore the inscription may be a catalogue of klerouchs, implying that they arrived shortly after the establishment of the King's Peace of 386.[16] The basic suggestion is plausible, although unprovable. The unmodified nature of these names makes identifications or connections for them entirely speculative, and Segre refrains from offering any — commenting only, rather, on the particular rarity of some of the names (**523, 1418, 1201**) in Athens.[17]

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[12] *IG* xii(8) 4.9f.

[13] *IG* xii(8) 5.6. Other names from this inscription are **44**, **495**, **1402**. See Sec.3.5 below for fuller discussion both of this text and of the text cited in the preceding note. The honorand (**1095**) of *IG* xii(8) 3 is probably not a settler, but the demotic-bearing proposer (**1384**) is. See also the poorly preserved name (**456**) of *IG* xii(8) 6.1f and the apparent non-settler honorand (**886**) of *IG* xii(8) 7.9f and 17.

[14] *IG* i³ 1506 = *IG* xii Supp. 338, early-fourth century date according to the *ed. prin.*; cf. Jeffery, *LSAG* 300 and n.3, who opts for the last quarter of the fifth century. Perhaps she is the source of the epitaph's even earlier date of "450-425?" in *IG* i³.

[15] *IG* xii(8) 14, with only four extant letters (**1519**).

[16] Segre, *Ann.* #10 and p.305 comment; Robert, *BÉ* (1949) 135 reports Segre's description without indicating disagreement.

[17] Segre p.304, commenting on the names of lines 3 (Εὐλάδης), 9 (Χαρτικ[λέης]), 10 (Σώιν[ομος]). The other names are **19**, **115**, **206**, **233**, **339**, **343**, **439**, **444**, **842**, **1016**, **1120**, **1297**, **1327**. My "unmodified" is an overstatement, if indeed the list was originally subdivided by a tribal heading: names 1-7 would be from one *phyle* and names 8-16 ("lines 9-17") from another, presumably the one imme-

Accame's collection of inscriptions from the Kabeirion near Hephaistia includes many names, often with demotics, of various periods ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the third century C.E. A problem with any cult center frequented by visitors is that names found inscribed there need not be those of residents,[18] and in fact actual transport of inscribed stones from elsewhere, to be set up in the sanctuary, cannot always be ruled out. I tend (see Sec.3.10 below for the argument) to see the "assembly of the initiates" (*demos ton tetelesmenon*), source of several inscribed resolutions found at the shrine, as a large subset (excluding uninitiated citizens) of the klerouchic assembly of Hephaistia. This interpretation seems consistent with the resolutions' routine references to Attic-style officers and the appearance within the texts of demotics where one would expect them in decrees of the Athenian *demos*. Accame's no.1 actually has no indication of the resolving agency, beginning baldly with the name of the proposer; the subject matter is cultic, however, the bestowing of honors on a board of five *hieromnemones* and their secretary (all with patronymics and demotics). The resolution is dated via reference to an archon, on the above interpretation presumably that of Hephaistia.[19] Accame's no.2 is explicitly a resolution of the *demos* of the initiates, passed in an *ekklesia* of the initiates.[20] Other resolutions of the initiates are dated by Accame, relying on letter forms, to the fifth,[21] fourth,[22] and third[23] centuries. Two other inscriptions among those dated to the third century by Accame are too fragmentary to make it clear with what assembly they are associated, but their find spots would tend to encourage the belief that they too derive from the initiates of the Kabeirion.[24] Other inscriptions published by Accame, those which preserve any names or

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diately following in the traditional tribal order. But I think it is quite uncertain that there ever was such a tribal heading in "line 8", although I have not seen the stone myself.

[18] Accame, *Ann.* #6, for example, is full of Athenian names, but they are explicitly persons from Athens on a mission to the Kabeirion (omitted therefore from my database).

[19] Names: **65, 74, 276, 463, 587, 935, 984, 1026.**

[20] Names: **107, 151, 228, 274, 555, 809, 1001, 1031, 1075, 1260, 1332, 1527.**

[21] Accame, *Ann.* #7; the only name even partially extant is **628.**

[22] Accame, *Ann.* #11; names: **1007, 1474.**

[23] Accame, *Ann.* #3 (names **84, 150, 295, 312, 1486**); #4 (names **17, 183, 1138**).

[24] The beginning of Accame, *Ann.* #5 is missing; its first extant line mentions "the *boule*", but the *psephisma* is to be inscribed by "th[e secretary of the *de*]*mos*" and set up in the Kabeiric sanctuary (lines 4-7); only part of the honorand's patronymic and his demotic are preserved (**1460**). Accame's #13 is a dedication, rather than a resolution, but a dedication apparently of some group of demotic-bearers who have been "[crowned b]y the *demos*"; parts of names survive: **1434, 1444, 1483.**

parts of names, are all post-fourth century and all seem to relate to dedications[25] or slave manumissions.[26]

Security *horoi* from Hephaistia, mostly given fourth century dates by Segre and others and mostly accessible in Finley's *Studies in Land and Credit*, provide several names in my database.[27] See Sec.3.12 below for discussion of these *horoi* as an economic phenomenon.

Epitaphs from Hephaistia include a tombstone, editorially dated to the mid-fourth century, that commemorates the daughter of someone called a "Gergisian" (**261**). The editor, G. Susini, believes that the ethnic is more probably connected with Gergis in the Troad than with a like-named city in Africa.[28] Other gravestones are that of Neomenes (**991**) and his brother (**1219**), published by Segre,[29] and several texts in *IG* xii(8).[30] The inscribed text on a funerary lekythos bearing the names of Lampon (**834**) and his apparent wife Kallistrate (**747**) appears in *both* the Lemnian collection under Hephaistia and the Attic *Corpus*. The theory behind the latter (and later) inclusion is that the stone originated in Attike, and a more precise date (mid-fourth century vs. fourth century in general) is suggested.[31] The very late epitaph of Magnesia (**896**), printed erroneously in the Supplement to *IG* xii, is corrected in Appendix A.[32] Magnesia now belongs among foreigners attested on post-

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[25] Accame *Ann.* #12 (names **69**, **970**); #17 (**301**); #20 as improved by Follet (**1179**); #25 (**1454**).

[26] Accame, *Ann.* #14, with several texts of different periods (names **52**, **124**, **486**, **708**, **745**, **785**); #15 (**943**, **1451**, **1453**, **1495**); #16 (**27**, **922**, **1152**, **1272**).

[27] See above for a couple of doubtful fifth century attributions. *Horoi* generally dated to the fourth century are *SLC* 10 (names **4**, **751**, **915**, **1493**); 103 (**272**); 104 (**1015**, **1083**, **1459**); 105 (discounting Segre's date: **478**, **1003**, **1437**, **1440**); 106 (**918**); 107 and 108 (same stone: **1015** again, **234**); 110 (**1370**); 115 (**443**); Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a (**282**, **526**).

[28] Susini, *Ann.* #4 (Βενδιδώρα | Μητροφάνου | Γεργισίου), discussion on pp. 324f (with notes). Susini does not mention the possibility, but a form of the same ethnic may appear in an undated fragment within his own group of inscriptions. His #13.2 reads [– – –]εργι[– – –]. Note, incidentally, the severe strictures of J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* (1958) 395 against Susini's publication of such small fragments, lamenting the waste of "good paper". Wallace finds Susini's dating of Bendidora's epitaph artificially precise.

[29] Segre, *Ann.* #14.

[30] *IG* xii(8) 31 (**83**); 32 (**942**); 33 (**611**); 35 (**635**, **1513**); ?37 (**1131**); 38 (**752**); 42 (**982**, **1358**).

[31] *IG* xii(8) 30 = *IG* ii^2 11946. The inscription itself is in the Louvre (Susini, *Ann.* p.318 agrees with Kirchner on this). Kirchner reports that the stone's "originis Atticae esse probat Michon". I have been unable to consult Michon, "*Monum. Piot.* XII 1905, 186" directly, but Wallace has checked it for me in the library of the American School at Athens; he says that he finds Michon's argument convincing, i.e., that the lekythos "was found in Attica under conditions which ruled out recent arrival from Lemnos". Nonetheless, I find it surprising that an inscription from Attike should mistakenly be attributed to Lemnos. The converse would seem to be much more likely, as inscribed stones might be expected to gravitate toward the capital, either for its museums or prior to their conveyance abroad. See Sec.2.7 below for my comments on just such an inscription, from Skyros.

[32] *IG* xii Supp. 339.

fourth century Lemnos, as an Alexandrian. Another Alexandrian (**52**) is attested, as well as persons from Tenedos (**199**), ?Sinope (**611**), Smyrna (**330, 755**), and one bearing the ethnic *Phygeleus* (**1353**).[33] An undated loom weight, recently discovered, has a woman's name (**239A**) inscribed.[34] No other late names from inscriptions found on Lemnos seem worthy of specific mention,[35] but late names from both Hephaistia (**560**) and Myrina (**1167=1476?, 1305**) may be attested at different spots around the Aegean.[36]

Attic sources, literary and epigraphic, provide many names of possible settlers on Lemnos of the fourth century and after. Sources for Athenian officials sent out to Lemnos (and elsewhere) are cited in appropriate sections of Chapter 3, where problems associated with many of these sources are also discussed.[37]

One of the most fascinating literary testimonia concerns Kallippe daughter of Pistoxenos, described as a "Lemnian woman" (**741**) in an oration of Isaios. Her case can provide useful information even if, as has sometimes been asserted or implied, she is a fictional character invented by persons seeking control of the fortune of her alleged Athenian husband, Euktemon of Kephisia (**520**). Her father, who supposedly died during the Sikilian expedition, is not given a demotic, but even the speaker who questions her existence refers to her hypothetically as a "citizen woman".[38]

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[33] Accame, *Ann.* #14bII.2f; *IG* xii(8) 26.*a*1; ?33.2-4; Susini, *Ann.* #5.1f (two names); Segre *Ann.* #15.1-3.

[34] *SEG* 40.746: Ἀρχίππη.

[35] Names not cited above (see App. B for sources) are: **88**, **123**, **220**, **237**, **288A**, **299**, **465**, **649**, **704**, **752**, **810**, **899**, **941**, **942**, **952**, **1005**, **1068**, **1131**, **1141**, **1171**, **1329A**, **1359**, **1385**, **1454**, **1471**, **1478**.

[36] Hephaistia: Millet, *BCH* 29 (1905) 57, lines 1 and 6: Εὐφρόσυνος (wife's name **1283**). Myrina: *IG* xii(3) 43.10 Σόλων Μυριναῖος on a statue base in Telos, perhaps the same sculptor as the [---] Μυρινα[ῖος] of *IG* xii(1) 105 on another base in Rhodos, both inscriptions dated by their editors to the second century B.C. See also Φιλιστὼ Μυριναία on another Rhodian inscription: Konstantinopoulos, *AD* 18 (1963) A.23 no.41.

[37] Here I supply only the relevant source citations and App. B numbers. Possibly fourth century: *SEG* 30.114 (**1033**, **1277**); ?*SEG* 3.117 (**498**, **847**); *IG* ii^2 ?569 (**48**); 1672 (**49?**, **317?**, **885?**, **958**, **1145**, **1202?**). Later: *IG* ii^2 672+ (**716**, **831**, **1552**); *SEG* 28.718 (**147**, **693**, **925**).

[38] Isaios 6.13 (Λημνίαν...Καλλίππη...Πιστοξένου θυγάτηρ... ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἔφασαν ἀποθανεῖν στρατευόμενον), 25 (γυναικὸς ἀστῆς), 64f (skepticism, including the question ποῦ τέθαπται;). Davies at *APF* p.563 seems sympathetic to the idea that Kallippe really existed (likewise his stemma of p.565) and attempts (p.531) to remove the awkward apparent reference (sec.1) to Euktemon's *grandson* serving in the Sikilian expedition. In contrast, neither *PA* 5798 (with citations and stemma) nor the extensive discussion of the court case in Sealey, *Women and Law in Classical Greece* (Chapel Hill 1990) 17-19, 25, 35 mentions Kallippe at all, even to deny her existence. Figueira, *A&A* 69 n.49 cites the Isaios passage in support of the statement that "Some latitude had to be given to Athenians living abroad in upholding their citizenship"; the reference seems to be, however, only to allowing them extra time in gathering their evidence.

Whether Euktemon in fact presented a putative son of his by a Lemnian second wife to his phratry is questionable; we do not know what arguments he employed, or even who he claimed to have been the boy's mother. To phrase it another way: if Kallippe is an invention, we do not know whether

(a) she had been invented by Euktemon himself as a "legitimate" mother for a child actually borne by Euktemon's freedwoman Alke (fathered by him or by another), to spite the children of his divorced first wife, or whether
(b) she was invented only belatedly, after Euktemon's death, by those seeking control of his estate through guardianship of his supposed offspring (two sons) by Kallippe.

With regard to Kallippe's legal status, it does not matter whether she is real or fictional. What is quite clear is that in discussing her the speaker treats "Lemnian" status and "citizen" status as compatible, and treats the child of a "Lemnian" woman as eligible for registry with his Athenian father's phratry.

Another speech of Isaios, of which only the title and a couple of small fragments survive, refers to a will which one Archepolis (**231**) is said to have made on Lemnos. He is somehow associated with two men named Archippos and Aristogeiton. Fredrich, in his introduction to *IG* xii, quotes another literary source that calls an Archepolis a "Lemnian" and describes him as an unscrupulous "treasurer" on the island.[39] Neither *IG* xii nor *PA* 2378 nor *APF* identifies Isaios' Archepolis with Chion's, but the two sources' putative dating (first half of the fourth century) matches, and the connection seems attractive.

Nikomachos Pe(i)raieus (**1023**) is memorialized in a verse epitaph in Athens which indicates that he came from Lemnos and was devoted to caring for livestock. Kirchner, in both *PA* and *IG*, dates his death to the period 404-387, during which time the Athenian klerouchs were supposedly expelled from Lemnos, but Graham correctly points out that "the inscription cannot be dated sufficiently precisely, and he could have died on a visit".[40] Moreover, the ex-

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[39] E.S. Forster (tr.), *Isaeus* (Loeb Classical Library 1962) pp.447 and 463: Lost Oration no.4 (Loeb numbering), entitled Πρὸς Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ Ἄρχιππον περὶ τοῦ Ἀρχεπόλιδος κλήρου. Its fr.3 (from the *Souda*) includes the phrase ἑτέραν διαθήκην ἐκόμισαν, ἣν ἔφασαν Ἀρχέπολιν ἐν Λήμνῳ διαθέσθαι. *APF* p.474 suggests certain identifications and connections. Fredrich, *IG* xii Intro., p.3, quotes Chion, *Letter* 7: Ἀρχέπολις Λήμνιος· φαῦλος καὶ ἀτέκμαρτος ἄνθρωπος καὶ στασιαστὴς πρὸς πάντας .... οὗτος ταμίας τε ἐν Λήμνῳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰς ὁμοίας μετιὼν ἀρχὰς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς ἀνεστρέφετο (editor's ellipses).

[40] *IG* ii^2 7180 (=*CEG* 475); *PA* 10959; cf. Graham, *CMC*^{2} 186 and nn.1f (with a translation of the epitaph in n.1). Clairmont's date of after 387, reported in *CEG*, is also obviously over-precise.

pulsion itself is doubtful (see Sec. 1.3 above), and a fourth century klerouch could presumably move back to Athens voluntarily. Another gravestone in Athens is that of a fourth century family "from Hephaistia" (**241, 596, 812**), perhaps the town on Lemnos, in which case the people may be former klerouchs, although their monument is placed among those of foreigners (no demotics are provided).[41] Other Lemnos-associated names in Attic inscriptions are too numerous for individual discussion here.[42]

2.6 Individuals: Imbros

Imbros, with 308 primary entries, is as well represented in my database as any settlement (Salamis also has 308 and Lemnos has 282: see Table 1 above). None of the names from Imbros, however, is necessarily of a period earlier than the fourth century. Even the Imbrian connection of Miltiades the younger (**949**), although often inferred and believable, is not directly supported by any source. One possibility is sufficiently remote that I categorize it "X" rather than "E": five letters in a fifth century epigram from Imbros, not treated as a name or part of a name by Fredrich, were so treated by Peek and Jeffery (**1233**), but more recent collections of epigrams have reverted to Fredrich's position.[1]

An epitaph found in Athens and published in 1958 provides one possibly fourth century name: "Mikines from Imbros" (**946**).[2] A

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[41] *IG* ii^2 8826: 'Αρχὼ Δημητρίο(υ). | 'Ηδίστη Κριτίου θυγάτηρ | ἐξ 'Ηφαιστίας. | Κριτίας | ἐξ 'Ηφαιστίας.

[42] Possibly fourth century: *Agora* XIX.L3 (names **634, 1542**); *ib.* P4 (**672, 717, 720, 906, 1432**); *IG* ii^2 492 (**129**); 550 (**229, 698, 1281, 1433**); 1222 (**1109, 1323, 1422, 1536**); 1956 (**1216, 1217**); 3207 (**1237**). Later: *IG* ii^2 1051 (**336, 614, 620, 646, 795, 811, 836, 1232, 1446, 1455, 1461, 1538**); *IG* ii^2 1053+ (**250, 476, 665, 926, 1149, 1445**); 1223 (**236, 445, 750, 1354, 1435**); 1224 (**119, 319, 957, 1225, 1259, 1288, 1462**); 9209 (**817**); 9974 (**595**); 9975 (**584, 907**). No names of settlers — or even of tax farmers or any Attic officials sent out — are mentioned in the well preserved inscription of 374/3 found in the Athenian agora in 1986 (cited at *SEG* 36.146), which concerns a tax in kind on grain from Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros.

[1] *IG* xii(8) 90.1: [– – –]TIANO becomes an oblique form of the name Τιανός in *GVI* 916 and *LSAG* 307.60; Pfohl 178 and *CEG* 79 abandon the conjecture; the epitaph's text at *IG* i^3 1507 begins with [– – – ....]τιανο and the issue is not even raised.

[2] *SEG* 19.283:: Μικίνης | ἐξ "Ιμβρο(υ). I suggest a fourth century date based on the rather poor photograph of the *ed. prin.*, Charitonides, *EA* (1958) p.117 no.118, fig.197. Now *IG* i^3 1350, in reprinting the inscription, suggests a late-fifth century date (ca. 425-400?). Of Mikines, *IG*'s comm. says "fortasse unus e cleruchis Atticis Athenas reversus". Wallace, on the other hand, doubts that Mikines is an Athenian citizen.

couple of Attic officials are associated with Imbros in a fourth century literary context that editors have bracketed as spurious. Demosthenes in his *Crown* oration refers to repeated honors voted to the *strategos* Nausikles for spending his own money in military contexts (unspecified); the bracketed decree that follows (with a fictitious archon, "Demonikos Phlyeus") says that Nausikles, as hoplite general, was crowned because, when storms prevented the sailing of "the official paymaster" Philon with pay for 2000 Athenian hoplites on Imbros, he paid them from his own resources. Develin is probably right in simply dismissing "the fake decree" and its Imbrian connection entirely, although Nausikles son of Klearchos of Oe (**977**) is well attested in mid-fourth century military and diplomatic events,[3] and Philon (**1346**) is a name attested on Imbros. "Athenodoros the Imbrian" (**37**) of several literary sources (active ca. 360 B.C.) may be identifiable with the Athenodoros (**34**) honored in an inscription from Imbros, although Fredrich's late-fourth century date for the inscription tends to create a problem, implying a surprisingly long political-military career.[4] Athenodoros of the deme of Hestiaia (**36**), mentioned in another fourth century Imbrian inscription, could be a further identification for either or both, although I am not aware that any commentator has suggested this.[5]

In general, names of possible fourth century settlers on Imbros that do not occur in Attic sources are to be found almost exclusively in inscriptions appearing within *IG* xii(8), published in 1909 — even though later editors sometimes mistakenly categorize some of the same texts as "unpublished".[6] Apparently, no new Greek inscrip-

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[3] Dem. 18.114 (Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται), [115] (στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἴμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε). See *AO* p.309, in a context of 352/1; neither *PA* 10552 nor *APF* pp.396f mentions Dem. 18.[115] among their many references, although both cite 114. See further discussion of the passage in Sec.1.10 n.1 above.

[4] Plut. *Phok.* 18.4 (τὸν Ἴμβριον Ἀθηνόδωρον), cf. Dem. 23.12 (ὁ δὲ δὴ γένει πολίτης Ἀθηνόδωρος), treated as an Athenian by Kirchner (see *PA* 280 for other sources, e.g., Ain.Takt. 24.10, and arguments). The unmodified name appears as the honorand in *IG* xii(8) 48.9; see discussion of this inscription in Sec.1.10 above and its nn.27f.

[5] *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*7.

[6] Bodnar and Mitchell (eds.), *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys* (Philadelphia 1976) 35 nos.2 and 3 treat *IG* xii(8) 110 and 115 both as "unpublished", and their assertion is uncritically accepted by both *SEG* 26.1025f and Robert, *BÉ* (1977) 8. On the other hand, *SEG* 28.719 correctly points out that Kyparisses, *Thrakika* 1 (1978) 247-251 has full or partial texts of *IG* xii(8) 70, 76, 79, 102, 123, and 125 (not identified as such by Kyparisses!), but that these texts are not preferable to those of

tions have been found on the Turkish-controlled island of Imbros for several decades. The decree honoring Athenodoros is one of two attributed to an independent Imbros of the period Fredrich saw as encompassing 318-307, a situation apparently inferred from certain formulas that appear in the texts, and from others that do not.[7] The inference is not strictly necessary (see Sec.2.1 above), and indeed the possible identification of Athenodoros has been (for chronological reasons) cited against the theory.[8]

Names, often with patronymics and demotics, appear in several dedicatory inscriptions from Imbros that may be of fourth century date.[9] Nikodoro[s] (**1014**), who makes a dedication to Hermes on Imbros, could be the archon Nikodoros (**1015**) of two *horoi* on *Lemnos*, especially if the latter is the local eponym rather than (as some editors believe) the Attic archon of 314/3.[10] Twenty of the twenty-one names on a fourth century Imbrian dedicatory inscription bear demotics, a factor which encourages the suggestion of identifications and connections. The *other* name, however (the only one without a demotic), and the restorations made before and after it, are most important for dating and interpreting the text. The twenty names with demotics, listed in ten groups of two under tribal headings, have been crowned by the *demos*, and they dedicate some-

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IG; some are in fact decidedly inferior. The only useful contribution of Kyparisses' article might be its reporting of new *locations* for certain inscriptions. Even these may be doubtful, however: *IG* xii(8) 125, for example, is no longer on Imbros at all, but in the Myrina Museum on Lemnos, something I discovered quite by chance and at second hand, when I employed Diane Harris to examine certain stones there in 1989 (see App. A). Her autograph copy of the Museum's Inventory book lists several inscriptions "from Imbros" by Inventory numbers in Myrina (and former numbers from their period in the Mytilene Museum on Lesbos), but unfortunately the Inventory numbers are not cross-referenced to numbers in *IG* or in any other publications, and she had no time (or instructions from me) to check the Imbrian stones themselves. Brief excerpts of the contents of some inscriptions are provided sporadically in the Inventory book (omitted entirely in many cases, however), and Harris' copying of these enables me to recognize (tentatively) the following Imbrian texts there: *IG* xii(8) 73 (? Inv.2174), 80 (? Inv.2064), 92 (Inv.2150), 111 (Inv.2153), and the aforementioned 125 (Inv.2152). I have no clue, however, for other inscriptions described in the book as being from Imbros, but without indication of their content (Inv.2154-7, 2070, and another on p.50 of the book without Myrina Museum number, called "Imbros no.64"). Presumably also, some stones in the Museum are from Imbros without the book mentioning that fact — indeed it is not mentioned for *IG* xii(8) 73 and 92, but the book's indication of their content provides my clue.

7 *IG* xii(8) 48 (other names: **117**, **345**, **1000**, **1292**, **1547**). The other such inscription is *IG* xii(8) 47 (**429**, **441**, **538**, **690**, **699**, **740**, **869**, **929**).

8 Tréheux, *BCH* 80 (1956) 465 and n.8.

9 In addition to the inscriptions specifically discussed here, such dedications are *IG* xii(8) 67 (names **14**, **15**); 68 (**1330**); 76 (**908**); 77 (**386**, **1393**, **1396**).

10 *IG* xii(8) 69.1, cf. *SLC* 104 and 107 = *IG* xii(8) 18.7 and 19.1.

thing to the Twelve Gods, but are they in fact (as restored in *IG*'s text) [*Bouleutai hoi epi*] *Aristodemo(u)* [*archontos*],[11] i.e., the entire membership of a twenty-man *boule* of Imbros in the year of the *Attic* archon Aristodemos, 352/1 B.C.? Even if Aristodemos (**168**) is an archon, need he be an Attic archon rather than the local Imbrian eponym? As Fredrich's commentary makes clear, a few of the names of this inscription might be difficult to look up in *PA* because of errors imposed on Kirchner by the *ed. prin.*[12] Elpon of Prasiai (**421**), one of Pandionis' names in the list, must surely be either father or son in the entry [E]lpon Elp[onos] Prasieus (**422**) on an apparently fourth century inscription among Imbrian gravestones in the *Corpus'* collection.[13]

A family gravestone on Imbros has five names (**92, 1250, 1386, 1387, 1390**) that might be of the fourth century, all with patronymics and demotics (or fathers' demotics), plus a fragmentarily-preserved name (**1531**) added at a later time.[14] A less complex family gravestone bears the epitaphs of Chariades Chariou Kettios (**1397**) and his parents Charias Euxitheo(u) Kettios (**1401**) and Hagnylla Chariado(u) Kephisieos (*thygater*, **22**).[15] I am surprised that no one seems to suggest any possible connection between this family and the family of a Charias(?) on another Imbrian gravestone (**1400**) that may also be fourth century, although doubtful readings within the name may have something to do with this.[16]

Diodoros of Peiraieus (**353**) of another Imbrian epitaph has too common a name for any Attic connections to be convincing, although in reality it is only such connections that suggest a possible fourth century date, since the text exists only in Cyriacus of Ancona's copy. In any event, it is noteworthy that the combination of his name with that of his father, Philophron (**1343**), appears to be repeated on another gravestone from Imbros (**344, 1342**).[17]

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11 *IG* xii(8) 63; see Sec.3.7 below for Greek and further discussion.

12 A comparison of *IG*'s majuscule with the text and majuscule of de Ridder, *BCH* 18 (1894) 505f shows ample justification for comments such as "Kirchner falsis lectionibus deceptus est" in connection with four of the names: **45**, **178**, **351**, **909**.

13 Line *a*11, cf. 99.5f (Fredrich compares, without specific suggestion). Names on *IG* xii(8) 63, in addition to those of Aristodemos and Elpon and the misread names: **36**, **110**, **185**, **328**, **544**, **662**, **738**, **757**, **783**, **850**, **876**, **1175**, **1181**, **1419**, **1421**. Additional name(s?) on *IG* xii(8) 99: **930**, **1457**.

14 *IG* xii(8) 100: Χαιριγένης | Ἀγασίου | Ἰκαριεύς, | Τιμοστράτη || Κτησίου | Παιανιέως, | Ἀνδρόκριτος | Διοδώρου | Ἀφιδναῖος, || Χαίρυλλα | Χαιριγένου | Ἰκαριέως, | Χαιριγένης | Ἀνδροκρίτου || [Ἀ]φιδναῖος, | [– – –]σικρος | [– – –]ους.

15 *IG* xii(8) 101.

16 *IG* xii(8) 117 memorializes Χαρία[ς] | Χαρισθένου and his wife(?) Sostrate (**1210**); traces in *IG*'s majuscule make all the underdotted letters seem quite plausible and likely to me.

17 *IG* xii(8) 110, cf. 118 — where in the latter case *IG*'s majuscule indicates that

Cyriacus is also our only source for another Imbrian epitaph, also therefore dated only conjecturally, that of a woman called Philo(u)mene (**1339**), who is not necessarily of Athenian background. Her patronymic was probably originally "Hermesianaktos", but miscopying by Cyriacus seems to have led to further miscopying by later editors in correcting him.[18]

A woman called "Milesian", buried on Imbros (**29**), is manifestly neither a native Imbrian nor an Athenian settler (even if her name does happen to be "Athenaïs"), whatever problems exist (as always) for dating her funerary monument to the fourth century.[19] A family gravestone on Imbros, dated by letter forms to the beginning of the third century, seems to commemorate a man bearing the ethnic "Olynthian" (**522**), his son (**459**, with patronymic but no ethnic), and a woman (**827**) who is probably the wife of the son (or, less likely, the son's daughter). If the father in fact had lived and was buried on the island, he may well have been resident during the period of Athenian control. It may be that the non-use of the ethnic with the son's name is significant, perhaps indicative of the family's attempt to blend in with the Athenian-descended population; if he had possessed a demotic, presumably it would have been inscribed.[20]

The remaining names of potential interest, i.e., from Imbros and possibly of fourth century date, come from two lists without headings,[21] perhaps names associated with the initiation rites of the island's cult of the *Megaloi Theoi*: *IG* xii(8) 84 and 85. The former has eleven well preserved names and traces of one or two others; where the text has the name Mandrias (**900**), the *ed. prin.* has "Andrias",

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the script of line 1 ([Δι]όδωρο[ς]) perhaps could be fourth century, but certainly not that of line 2 (Φιλόφρω[ν]).

[18] *IG* xii(8) 115, cf. Bodnar and Mitchell, *Cyriacus*... 35 no.3. Apparently Cyriacus wrote ΕΡΜΝΗΣ- (inserting a superfluous *nu*), but *IG*'s majuscule has this *nu* in place of the *eta* (ΕΡΜΝΣ-), leading to an *eta* in square brackets in the text (Ἑρμ[η]σ-); I prefer Ἑρμ{ν}ησιάνακτος. Another fourth century epitaph(?) is very fragmentary: *IG* xii(8) 91 (**1488**).

[19] *IG* xii(8) 136: Ἀθηναιὶς | Διονυσίου | Μιλ[η]σία. My guess at this particular inscription's possible fourth century date is based on the lettering of *IG*'s majuscule, which derives from that of Dürrbach, *BCH* 13 (1889) 431 no.3; neither editor suggests any date, and a later period cannot be ruled out. Cf., e.g., *IG* ii^2 9371-9375 (epitaphs of Milesians in Attike with similar names), all of which are editorially dated to Roman times, but only one of which (9374) seems to have similar classical-style letters.

[20] *IG* xii(8) 116 (the three names, each occupying two or three lines, are placed side-by-side): Ἐπιχάρης | Εὐκτήμονος. Κτησὼ | Ἐπιχάρου. Εὐκτήμων | Εὐδίκου | Ὀλύνθιος. Fredrich underdots the *mu* of the son's patronymic, but his own majuscule seems to indicate a certain reading. Wallace again finds the dating artificially precise.

[21] A third list, *IG* xii(8) 86, is too brief and fragmentary to provide much information, with only one readable name and three fragmentary ones extant (**167**, **1497**, **1518**, **1520**).

with no indication that any letter has been lost.[22] The latter inscription, despite the loss of many lines, has 63 entries in my database (fifteen of these rely only on the readings of Conze, copied in *IG*'s text but unsupported by Fredrich's squeeze).[23] Both lists are simply men's names, without patronymics, demotics, ethnics, or other modifiers.[24] In Fredrich's view, a few names of *IG* xii(8) 85 are definitely those of non-Athenians. That settlers on Imbros or on nearby Lemnos were routinely initiated at the mysteries of the Great Gods of Imbros seems very believable, and it is worthwhile to mention the notable frequency with which names possibly of fourth century date in my database, attested on these islands, Skyros, or of uncertain or unknown location, show up in these two lists.[25]

Some post-fourth century inscriptions from Imbros and the names associated with them have been mentioned above, in connection with earlier sources and/or names. Most of the others need

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[22] Line *a*5, cf. Dürrbach, *BCH* 13 (1889) 431f no.4. One must defer to Fredrich's squeeze, I suppose, but the difference is surprising, and might reward autopsy. Other names on *IG* xii(8) 84: **286**, **359**, **381**, **519**, **606**, **713**, **824**, **1041**, **1136**, **1347**, **1481**, **1496**.

[23] In line *a*26 (**1151**) the first letter was seen by Fredrich, but the remainder depends on Conze. My database includes entries for traces in lines *a*19f (**1506**, **1510**) that appear in *IG*'s majuscule but not in its text. I treat the entry of line *b*44 (**1344**) as a late addition, definitely post-fourth century, and therefore irrelevant in my discussion of potentially fourth century names.

[24] Other names of *IG* xii(8) 85: **32**, **46**, **77**, **82**, **99**, **100**, **111**, **118**, **145**, **157**, **202**, **267**, **268**, **285**, **360**, **428**, **440**, **477**, **542**, **601**, **632**, **701**, **721**, **724**, **769**, **782**, **798**, **839**, **867**, **892**, **893**, **902**, **1004**, **1018**, **1020**, **1037**, **1078**, **1085**, **1108**, **1121**, **1123**, **1155**, **1187**, **1188**, **1194**, **1207**, **1235**, **1236**, **1248**, **1264**, **1270**, **1274**, **1286**, **1294**, **1298**, **1299**, **1348**, **1366**, **1512**.

[25] *IG* xii(8) 84, line *b*6 Dionysios (**359**), cf. Imb. patronymic (**370**); *b*2 Euktemon (**519**), cf. Lem. (**520**) and Unc. (**521**); *a*7 Ischyrias (**713**), cf. Unc. patc. (**714**, **715**); *b*5 Philon (**1347**), cf. Imb. (**1346**) and Imb. patc. (**1352**). *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*35 Axiochos (**118**), cf. Imb. (**117**); *a*25 Aristoteles (**202**), cf. Imb. (**203**); *c*32 Dionysios (**360**), cf. Imb. patc. (**370**); *a*31 Exekestos (**428**), cf. Imb. (**429**); *c*34 Epigenes (**440**), cf. Imb. (**439**) and Lem. (**441**); *b*36 Kallias (**724**), cf. Unk. (**727**) and Unc. patc. (**728**); *c*27 Lykophron (**867**), cf. Imb. (**866**); *c*33 Nikias (**1004**), cf. Lem. (**1003**) and Lem. (**1007**); *b*37 Nikomachos (**1020**), cf. Lem. patc. (**1022**) and Lem. (**1023**); *b*27 Pythodoros (**1123**), cf. Sky. (**1124**); *a*37 and *a*40 Timodemos (**1235**, **1236**), cf. Lem. (**1237**); *b*34 Phainippos (**1264**), cf. Imb. (**1265**); *b*42 Philinos (**1294**), cf. Unc. patc. (**1295**); *b*32 Philon (**1348**), cf. Imb. (**1346**) and Imb. patc. (**1352**). Even this long series omits the numerous possibilities for the fragmentary names of *IG* xii(8) 85, such as *c*28 Atheno[—] (**32**), *b*22 Aristo[—] (**157**), *c*29 Kalli[—] (**721**), *b*25 Le[—] (**839**), *b*24 Pyth[—] (**1121**), and *b*23 So[—] (**1187**). Late but local: In *IG* xii(8) 85, neither the name of Themistios (**632**) nor that of Antiphanes (**111**) would prompt commentary, but the presence of ***both*** calls attention to a possible third or second century relative on Imbros, Themistios Antiphanou of Lamptrai (**633**).

not be discussed in detail.[26] A few mention "Imbrians".[27] A second century list consists of 28 *female* names, many of them followed by a *delta* perhaps representing an amount dedicated;[28] the very last (partially preserved) name, in line 29, seems to be male (**612**). One inscription, editorially dated by letter forms to around the first century C.E., has four lines of partially preserved male names (one per line) with patronymics and Athenian demotics (Steirieus in at least three cases, and probably in all four), followed by a fifth line printed in *IG* as "[T]imokleia (daughter) of Ktesibios, Im[brian]" (**1242**). It would appear that Timokleia's ethnic-Imbrian father is being contrasted with persons claiming origins in the Attic deme of Steiria, perhaps members of her husband's family. Still, despite Fredrich's insistence on the certainty of his reading, it is noteworthy that earlier editors saw line 5 quite differently: the Athenian-Imbrian contrast may be more apparent than real.[29] Late non-local ethnics attested on Imbros are associated with Olynthos (see above), Alopekonnesos (**1464, 1465**), ?Herakleia (**281**), Thraike (**1469, 1470, ?1468**), Halikarnassos (**1291**), Maroneia (**667**), Miletos (**1322, 1373, 527, 1475**),[30] and Tenedos (see below). A fragmentary late inscription appears to refer to the manumission of slaves.[31] The most intriguing late inscription possibly relating to slavery is a Roman-period gravestone that commemorates a man described as a "Tenedian" (**1319**) and his son (**568**), called a *demosios*, which Fredrich (citing Wilhelm) interprets as meaning "public slave".[32]

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26 *IG* xii(8) 51 (names **91**, **509**, **633**, **821**, **1503**); 52 (**722**); 53 (**875**, **1229**); 55 (**42**); 64 (**143**, **1045**, **1110**, **1502**, **1537**); 65 (**1135**); 66 (**1450**); 70 (**1300**); 71 (**871**); 72 (**259**, **350**); 73 (**460**); 78 (**207**); 79 (**553**, **993**); 80 (**125**); 81 + Supp. (**1357**); 82 (**244**, **838**); 87 (**431**, **487**, **1174**, **1329**); 88 (**54**, **799**, **934**, **994**, **1010**, **1128**, **1504**); 89 (**1**, **158**, **252A**, **280**, **288**, **308**, **331**, **406**, **469**, **470**, **684**, **694**, **813**, **1165**, **1176**, **1239**, **1381**, **1487**, **1490**, **1491**, **1529**, **1530**, **1533**, **1534**); 92 (**200**, **742**, **789**); 93 (**416**, **860**, **1002**); 94 (**1212**); 96 (**966**); 97 (**335**); 98 (**826**); 102 (**260**); 103 (**51**, **805**); 104 (**624**); 105 (**546**); 106 (**1116**); 107 (**1215**); 108 (**417**); 109 (**166**, **1226**, **1416**); 111 (**654**, **1056**); 112 (**678**); 114 (**784**, **793**); 119 (**1278**); 120 (**93**, **217**); 121 (**473**); 123 (**253**); 124 (**1183**); 125 (**739**); 128 (**1254**); 142 (**758**); 143 (**472**); 148 (**361**).

27 *IG* xii(8) 130-132 (names **9**, **828**, **1467**).

28 *IG* xii(8) 83: **152**, **177**, **226**, **455**, **502**, **513**, **619**, **647**, **657**, **743**, **748**, **843**, **844**, **845**, **881**, **1025**, **1036**, **1072**, **1150**, **1177**, **1178**, **1211**, **1246**, **1376**, **1377**, **1378**, **1489**, **1528**.

29 *IG* xii(8) 113.5 ([T]ιμοκλεία Κτησιβίου Είμ[βρίου]), with the comment "Vs. 5 lectio certa est"; cf. Kiepert, *Annali del Inst.* 14 (1842) 141 and especially Blau and Schlottmann, *Monatsberichte Berl.Akad.* (1855) 633 (ΣΤΗΣΙΒΙΟΥ..ΓΙΜ). Other names: **461**, **792**, **996**, **1153**.

30 *IG* xii(8) respectively 95; ?122; 126; 127; ?141; 133; 134 (**1473** has no ethnic extant, but one may be restored by analogy); 135, 137-139.

31 *IG* xii(8) 58.14f (no database entries).

32 *IG* xii(8) 140: Φιλομάφης | Εὐχαρίστου | Τενέδιος. | Ἔφεσος Φιλο||μάθου δημό|σιος χαῖρε.

Finally, it will be recalled that a late-second century C.E. list of initiates from Samothraike includes the Athenian general in Imbros (**1198**), along with eleven other Athenians (two of them women) who might be from the same place, but clearly need not be.[33]

2.7 Individuals: Skyros

Although Skyros is often joined to Lemnos and Imbros in both the sources and the literature, the settlement there is much less well documented, probably because the population was considerably smaller.[1] Of the 46 primary entries in my database associated with Skyros, eleven (23.9%) are apparently of pre-fourth century date, a proportion of early names exceeded only by the Chersonesos' 13 of 30 (43.3%). Pammon, a pre-conquest Skyrian (**1074**), helped guide Xerxes' fleet at Artemision.[2] A very early, probably pre-Athenian, dedication of one Silanodo[ros] or Silanodo[tos] (**1148**) has been found on the island.[3] A fragment bearing "Thes-" may be from an early Athenian dedication. Perhaps, however, the letters are not the beginning of the donor's name (**680**), but of the name of the Athenian hero Theseus.[4] A fragmentary inscription from Skyros, conjecturally dated to the late fifth century, ends with a list of dedicants — three men (**1221, 296, 901**), then five women (**271, 880, 746, 302, 1146**) — whose names seem to Fredrich to be those of slaves.[5]

Only one local inscription that is possibly datable to the fourth

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[33] *IG* xii(8) 216.2-6: οἵδε | Ἀθηναίων ἐμυήθησαν· | ὁ ἀπ' ἄστεως στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων τῶν || ἐν Ἴμβρῳ Σωκράτης Ἀρχελάου Πειραι|εύς, κτλ. The other names are all given a location of "Unc" in my database: See Sec.2.4 n.7 above.

[1] Figueira, *A&A* 179, with reference to the fifth century, would apply almost equally well to the fourth: "The colonists on Skyros are remarkable for their complete invisibility in the surviving documents.... Perhaps the contingent of Skyrian colonists was not large".

[2] Hdt. 7.183: Πάμμων Σκύριος.

[3] *IG* xii Supp. 518: Σιλανόδο[– – –], with the archaic alphabet not differentiating between *omicron* and *omega*.

[4] *IG* xii Supp. 517: the E of ΘΕΣ- (3-bar *sigma*) could represent either *epsilon* or *eta* in Attic script. The suggestion is the editor's.

[5] *IG* xii(8) 667.3-5 (Σωτήριχος | Δεινομένης || Μάνης), 6-10 (Βυστάκη | Λυσιδίκη | Καλλιστονίκη | Δεξίς || Σιγή). Fredrich says "Nomina antiquissimae adhuc inscriptionis (saec. V. exeuntis) servorum esse videntur". I have not been able to consult C. Fragiadakis, *Die attischen Sklavennamen von der spätarchaischen Epoche bis in die römische Kaiserzeit* (Athens 1988), cited at *SEG* 38.280.

century is the resolution of a governing body.[6] All the others appear to be epitaphs. One of them has the only attested fourth century name belonging to someone who is obviously both a resident of the island and of Athenian descent, Pythodoros son of Ameinias of the deme Auridai (**1124**).[7] Other epitaphs From Skyros lack demotics and sometimes even patronymics.[8]

Several fourth century Skyros-connected names are provided by Attic, rather than Skyrian sources (literary as well as epigraphical). Mnesistratos of Kytheros (**960**) is listed as bringing first-fruits from Skyros to Eleusis; he is specifically described as a *strategos*.[9] A speech in the Demosthenic corpus, Apollodoros' oration *Against Kallippos*, introduces Kephisiades (**760**), who is described quite clearly as a *metoikos* (several times) and as "dwelling in Skyros".[10] The court case arises over a sum of money left in the bank of Apollodoros' father Pasion by the merchant Lykon of Herakleia, with orders to pay it to his "partner" Kephisiades. When Lykon dies on a commercial journey, Kallippos, the Athenian *proxenos* of Herakleia, tries to claim the money instead. Although Kallippos disparages Kephisiades as a man of no account, and Apollodoros himself refers to Kephisiades as having no influence, it is safer to be guided by the scale of his business operations, the status of his Athenian defender Archebiades of Lamptrai, and Apollodoros' own resistance to the *proxenos*' claim.[11] Kephisiades was probably an affluent and respectable non-Athenian, holding metic status, who lived among the settlers on fourth century Skyros.

The actor Neoptolemos (**992**), denounced by Demosthenes as an agent of Philip, is connected with Skyros by a scholion to Demosthenes' speech *On the Peace*. Kirchner cites it to the effect that Neoptolemos is a "Skyrian" and perhaps a naturalized Athenian

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[6] *IG* xii(8) 668, whose only name is the honorand [L]ys[i]machides (**884**), a person some editors identify with an Athenian officer associated with Hephaistia on Lemnos (**885**); see *IG* ii^2 1672.278 and Secs.1.4 above and 3.3 below.

[7] *IG* xii(8) 669.

[8] See a name added to *IG* xii(8) 669 (**1044**); also *IG* xii(8) 670 (**240**); *IG* xii Supp. 522 (**985**); *SEG* 27.556 (**481**).

[9] *IG* ii^2 1672.275; his is the only name associated with Skyros (cf. the three names each for Myrina and Hephaistia).

[10] [Dem.] 52.3 (οἰκήτωρ μὲν ὤν ἐν Σκύρῳ), 9 (μέτοικον ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐν Σκύρῳ κατοικοῦντα), 25 (μέτοικος), 29 (ἄνθρωπος μέτοικος). Wallace believes that the term *oiketor* indicates that he is an actual settler, who should therefore have a *kleros*, and therefore the right of *ges enktesis*. If so, this metic would be of an honored type; cf. the attested *isoteleis* at Hephaistia (Sec.2.2 above).

[11] *ib.* 3 (κοινωνός), 9 (οὐδενὸς ἄξιον), 25 (οὐδὲν δυνάμενος), 3 (16 *mnai* and 40 *drachmai*), 21 (largeness of sum emphasized, and Archebiades' influence). See *PA* 2304 and *APF* p.69 on Archebiades' trierarchic family.

citizen (thus he has an entry in *PA*); Ellis and Milns describe him vaguely as having been born on Skyros.[12] It seems from the text of the speech itself that Neoptolemos owned property in Attike, so he was either a citizen or had been granted a privilege largely reserved for citizens.[13] Being "born on Skyros" would not, of course, exclude Athenian-citizen birth; Neoptolemos could simply have been of a klerouchic family — like the philosopher Epikouros, born on Samos.

In finalizing my database, I discovered that the apparent disappearance of one late family gravestone from Skyros can be explained: the stone found its way to Athens, where its inscription was subsequently re-published as an *Attic* text. The Skyrian publication is based on a copy, and no find spot is indicated for the Attic publication.[14] The published texts are incompatible in places,[15] and I have not seen the stone. Fredrich had not seen it either, however, whereas Kirchner cites a squeeze, so I accept *IG* ii^2's readings — but *IG* xii(8)'s Skyrian provenance. The preferred text itself is not without problems.[16] Fortunately, this uncertainty arises in connec-

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[12] Sch.Dem. 5.6: ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος Σκύριος ἦν καὶ τραγῳδίας ὑπεκρίνατο. Ellis and Milns, *The Spectre of Philip* 84 n.6 apparently draw their inference from the scholion. P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Recherche sur les Acteurs dans la Grèce Antique* (Paris 1976) 345, s.v., calls Neoptolemos "Originaire de Scyros", citing two scholia to Dem. 5.6 (the other is in fact irrelevant to this issue), in addition to other sources mentioning the actor. In connection with the *next* (homonymous) entry in her catalogue, Ghiron-Bistagne asks both "Ἀθηναῖος?" and "petit-fils du précédent?"; the only Attic source cited for him, *IG* ii^2 1132 (lines 38f, not specified) seems to have no such implications. I.E. Stephanes, *Διονυσιακοὶ Τεχνῖται* (Iraklion 1988) 321 no.1797 calls Neoptolemos "Σκύριος καὶ Ἀθηναῖος(;)", citing the same scholion and theorizing that "δρᾶ ὅμως καλλιτεχνικὰ καὶ πολιτικὰ στὴν Ἀθήνα, ὅπου πιθανῶς ἔχει πολιτογραφηθεῖ".

[13] Dem. 5.8: "he...converted into cash all the real property that he held here" (Loeb trans. of ἣν ἐνθάδ᾽ ἐκέκτητ᾽ οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας).

[14] Fredrich says of *IG* xii(8) 676: "Exscripsit Konstantinides 81 neque postea invenit". His text, spacing, and apparent line division are as follows:

Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου, Ζωσίμη Φα – – –
Χαρμόσυ[νος] Σκύριος,...νω[ν..]ων[ος].

Cf. Kirchner's text, spacing, and line division of "Mus. nat. ΓΛΥΠΤΑ 2587", at *IG* ii^2 10368:

Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου · φλ · Ζωσίμη · φλ· Χαρμοσύ-
Σκύριος. νη ἐκ Σφηττίων.

[15] Following Fredrich would eliminate the difficult-to-explain "· φλ·" that appears twice in Kirchner's text, but would also eliminate the female name Χαρμοσύνη and its Attic deme association (ἐκ Σφηττίων), in favor of a male Χαρμόσυ[νος], who would be the bearer of the ethnic Σκύριος, which in Kirchner's text belongs to Ζώσιμος.

[16] What in fact can · φλ · (twice) mean? Is it an abbreviated demotic (Φλυεύς), used in tandem with the ethnic *Skyrios*? Is it the abbreviated Roman gentilic Flavius/Flavia? Is it an abbreviated grandfather's name tacked onto the patronymic, on the Roman pattern "M. Tullius M.f. M.n. Cicero"? None of these alternatives works easily or convincingly, although I tend to prefer the first (demotic + ethnic).

tion with late names (**579, 582, 1414**), not in connection with fourth century settlers more fundamental to my study. I offer no comments here on other late inscriptions and their Skyros-connected names.[17]

2.8 Individuals: Samos

Of the 108 names associated with Samos in my database, 105 are definitely or possibly fourth century residents. Of these 105, 85 are certain Athenians and seven more are probable. Of only five women, conversely (although all are at least possibly of the fourth century), only two are certainly or probably Athenians. This heavily skewed sample reflects the fact that most of the sources for these names are official state documents. I count only thirteen names from epitaphs and eleven names from literary sources — and even one of the latter is seemingly from a literary report of an official resolution.

I cite the last-mentioned source first, since it provides the only Samian-connected name in the database mentioned in a context earlier than the very last years of the Peloponnesian War: a scholion to Aristophanes' *Wasps* identifies one Karystion (**759**) as a Samian informer awarded Athenian citizenship at the time of Perikles' war with Samos.[1] I include him in my name-list because of his Athenian citizenship. Most other Samians attested in Attike and elsewhere outside of Samos are excluded, since in the fourth century "Samian" is demonstrably a genuinely meaningful ethnic (unlike, in my opinion, "Lemnian", "Skyrian", etc.). Certain persons in Attike in the fourth century are definitely called Samians in Attic inscriptions. The Samian Archias, mentioned in two passages in an Eleusinian inscription of 329/8, need not have been resident in either Samos or Attike.[2] M.B. Walbank has admitted the unreliability of certain very complex restorations which had led him to see an Attic decree of 375-350 as honoring a Samian named

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[17] *IG* xii(8) 666 (**31**, **214**, **215**, **998**); 671 (**1526**); 672 (**1371**); 673 (**709**, **1436**); 674 (**128**); 675 (**626**, **655**); 677 (**1067**); *IG* Supp. 516 (**807**); 519 (**371A**); 520 (**627**); 521 (**1011**); 523 (**303**, **537**); 524 (**475**, **835**); 525 (**1252**, **1287**); Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *AD* 39 (1984) B.127 (**583A**).

[1] Sch. Aristoph. *Wasps* 283b: ἥν μαθόντες Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπό τινος Καρυστίωνος ἐφυλάξαντο καὶ Σαμίους μὲν κακῶς διέθηκαν, τὸν δὲ Καρυστίωνα ἐτίμησαν σφόδρα μετὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας ἠξίωσαν.

[2] *IG* ii^2 1672.64f, 93f; cf. Shipley, *Samos* 162 (where it is said that Samos probably *was* his home) and n.37.

[Pr]onous son of Thyion, not an Athenian citizen.[3] Most, at least, of the various *Samioi* and *Samiai* named on gravestones found in Attike presumably were living there at the time of their deaths.[4] A contributor, in passages dated to 326/5 in two Attic naval lists, described as "Meidon, Samian living in Peiraieus" is clearly revealed by this formula as a metic.[5]

A certain Eumachos (**525**) appears to be treated as a native Samian ambassador to Athens in an Attic decree of 405 B.C., and he has no entry in *PA*. Nonetheless, he is invited to the Athenian Prytaneion for the *deipnon* ("dinner") appropriate to citizens, rather than the *xenia* ("hospitality") normally offered to foreigners. Either the term is used non-technically, or Eumachos has already been awarded Athenian citizenship; its bestowal on pro-Athenian Samians is in fact the general subject matter of the inscription. Or could it be that imprecise phrasing and/or restoration have concealed the fact that he is actually an *Athenian* official who is escorting

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[3] *SEG* 37.70 reports the argument of Walbank, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 265-268, who combines *IG* ii^2 64 + 425 + 293 into a single text and employs restorations suggested by Chr. Habicht. In fact, *IG* ii^2 64 says only [..]ονο προξένο | Σαμίο καὶ εὐερ|γέτο *vacat*, while *IG* ii^2 425.1f (lines 4f of *SEG*'s combined text) has only [– – –]ον Θυίων[ος.|..5...]. Combining these to get a reference to [Πρ]όνο(υ)ς Θυίωνο[ς] Σάμιος (reading one more letter in the patronymic as certain) represented something of a leap of faith. Walbank, *AHB* 3 (1989) 52f subsequently recognized that *IG* ii^2 425 and 64 need not be parts of the same stele, and that *IG* ii^2 293 definitely is not (although he insists that it comes from a *copy* of the same decree). Nothing terribly fundamental is changed: Walbank still dates all the fragments to the period 375-350, and probably pre-366; he still sees Pronous of Samos as the honorand of *IG* ii^2 64 and sees the son of Thyion — whom he also believes to have been a Samian — as the honorand of *IG* ii^2 425, and still thinks that these two fragments *could* come from the same stele. The revision of Walbank's position is reported at *SEG* 39.69, where Stroud seems unfavorably disposed toward "the method of associating fragments — and publishing — before examining the stones", cross-referencing at no.112 a negative comment on Walbank's practice by J. Tréheux.

[4] *IG* ii^2 10223-10233: names (not in my database) all in Shipley's Endnote 1, "Samians in Attica, *c*.L5C-M4C", p.303, along with Moschos of *IG* ii^2 6431 (oddly cited by its number in the *first* edition of *IG*), Aphrodisia of *IG* ii^2 9870, Alexandros of *SEG* 22.188, and Silanion of *Agora* XVII.657 (= *SEG* 17.115, where the indications of line lengths are unwarranted). Shipley's list includes someone described as "Antistasis (fem.?), *IG* 2^2 1005 (4C)", a mistaken date and mistaken citation for *IG* i^2 1005, now *IG* i^3 1368 (other pre-fourth century epitaphs of Samians in Attike appear at *IG* i^3 1365-1367). The only other name Shipley lists is Theogenes, not from an epitaph, but mentioned by Herak.Lemb. (see trans. and discussion of the passage in Cargill, *GRBS* 332). The early-fourth century epitaph *IG* ii^2 13093 is reread and restored by Peek (see *SEG* 30.292) with reference to an unnamed Σά[μιος] (**1479**), but others question the restoration: see *CEG* 498 (therefore my database category of "X").

[5] *IG* ii^2 1628.366-368; 1629.887f. Shipley 161 n.36 oddly cites the latter passage as "line 859"; here he also discusses the doubtfully restored name [Σα]μίας of the fourth century Attic inscription *SEG* 19.149.201 as if the reading there were certain. Meidon's name is not included in the list of Endnote 1.

a group of Samians to Athens?[6] Poses (**1113**), explicitly called a Samian in the same inscription (although in an amendment of 403/2), also is apparently granted Athenian citizenship, among other honors. We do not know where he and his descendants were living during the fourth century, but the name begins to appear among those of Athenians in later centuries.[7] If Eumachos and Poses were in fact both Samians enfranchised as Athenians at the end of the fifth century, descendants of either or both may have been among the klerouchs of ca. 365-322, although there are no obvious attestations of their relatives among the known klerouchic names.

Dionysios son of Alphinos (**365**), whose tomb in the Kerameikos cemetery is marked by a well-known bull statue, is said by the epigram on his monument to have had "twofold fatherlands, one by nature, one by the laws". This phrase has caused Kirchner and others to see him as a returned klerouch, and to identify him with Dionysios of Kollytos (**367**), a klerouch attested on Samos in 346/5. The existence of an Attic Alphinos of Kollytos (or two) in the family of the orator Hypereides has been seen as encouraging the identification.[8] Would the Dionysios of this monument have ob-

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[6] *IG* ii[2] 1.33 refers to [Σαμίων τοῖς ἥ]κοσιν. Then lines 34-37 say: καὶ τὴν πορείαν παρα||[σκευάσαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὸς στρατηγὸς ὡ]ς τάχιστα καὶ Εὐμάχωι καὶ τοῖς | [ἄλλοις Σαμίοις πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ Εὐμάχο ἥκοσ]ι ἐπαινέσαι ὡς ὂσιν ἀνδράσιν | [ἀγαθοῖς περὶ τὸς Ἀθηναίος καλέσαι δ' Εὔμ]αχον ἐ[πὶ δ]εῖπνον ἐς τὸ πρυτανέον κτλ. Admittedly, the greater likelihood is that the reference is only to one group of "Samians who have come", under the leadership of a Samian named Eumachos, but perhaps it is just possible that *two* groups of Samians have come, one of them led by an Athenian general named Eumachos. Imprecise use of *deipnon* and *xenia* in this inscription is quite believable (see Cargill, *GRBS* 322 n.6); my suspicion about Eumachos' status is prompted, rather, by a reference to the Athenian general Eumachos at Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22. Also, at *AO* 1172 and pp.163 and 165, Develin (discussing *IG* i[3] 375) follows Bradeen and Fornara (see Fornara, *Tr.Doc.* 1.154 n.14) in substituting the name Eumachos for Euboulos (*PA* 5342) as a general stationed at Samos in 411/0 and 410/09. None of these scholars, however, suggests that the Eumachos of *IG* ii[2] 1 might be the same person, and Wallace also finds my suggestion unconvincing.

[7] *IG* ii[2] 1.[58], 64, 68, 73, 75; see discussion and late sources in Cargill, *GRBS* 328 n.18.

[8] *IG* ii[2] 11169.2f has the name of Dionysios, but the patronymic depends on an early editor's reading of no-longer-visible letters painted in the *naiskos* associated with the bull statue, as well as accepting Ἀλφίνο(υ) as a proper interpretation of the editor's "ΛΛ+INO". French, *AR* (1992-93) 10 and fig.5 describes recent repair work on the monument. The epigram also appears as *CEG* 593; the relevant verse (line 7) is δισσαὶ δ' αὖ πατρίδες σ' ἣ μὲν φύσει, ἣ δὲ νόμοισιν. Dionysios of Kollytos appears in Michel 832.2; see *PA* 4195 and 660a. *APF* p.520 argues that *PA* 660 and 661 are probably the same Alphinous of Kollytos; Davies' discussion says nothing about the klerouch. Hansen at *CEG* 593 does find the suggested identification convincing, and comments (p.82): "non intellego cur Dionysium frustra apud Davies quaesiverim". He further suggests that the wording of the epigram indicates that a Samian was chosen to write it. Habicht, *AM* 106 (1991) 239-242 discusses Dionysios' monument with great lucidity, convincingly refuting Davies' arguments, and concluding that there were indeed two men of Kollytos named

jected to being called a "Samian"?[9]

The innuendo of Aischines about the relationship between Demosthenes and "one Aristion *Plataikos*, the son of Aristoboulos the apothecary", who is said to have proved helpful to Demosthenes in communicating with Alexandros, becomes relevant because Harpokration's *Lexikon* describes Aristion as a *Samian* or Plataian; Davies calls him "Demosthenes' diplomatic agent Aristion of Samos". This is all rather confusing. The Plataians are believed to have been given a form of Athenian citizenship that (at least eventually) included membership in tribes and demes, but not in Athenian phratries; it is sometimes inferred that the Samians enfranchised in 405 were given the same status. If the Aristion (**155**) of Aischines' speech was indeed a native Samian, he was apparently an Athenian citizen.[10] Demosthenes is said by one late source to have cohabited with "a certain Samian woman" (**324**); elsewhere Demosthenes' wife's father is said to be named Heliodoros (**600**). Davies' inclination is to accept Heliodoros as a historical figure and (citing Blass) as a klerouch on Samos, in which case Demosthenes' "Samian" wife(?) would be an Athenian in terms of citizenship.[11]

Aischines refers to Antikles son of Kallias of the deme Euonymon (**105**) as being on Samos with the klerouchs in 345 B.C. Editors have suggested, among others, a brother (**728**, name mostly lost) listed among klerouchs bound for an uncertain destination.[12] Epikteto[s] Epikephisios (**453**), proposer of a crown inscribed on a

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Ἀλφίνος (this spelling, derived from the inscription, must be preferred over the MS-based Ἀλφίνους of *APF*, says Habicht). They were Hypereides' grandson and his uncle, the latter being the father of Dionysios the klerouch, who was therefore Hypereides' cousin (see stemma, p.241). Wallace suggests that the "twofold fatherlands" phrasing could describe Dionysios the Athenian commemorated in the epigram as an enfranchised Samian, but that such a person might indeed become a klerouch — the very sort of scenario my *GRBS* article envisions.

[9] A similar question might be asked about Nikomachos Peiraieus (**1023**), whose Attic gravestone (*IG* ii² 7180 = *CEG* 475) praises his klerouchic "homeland" of Lemnos. See Sec.2.5 above.

[10] Ais. 3.162: ἔστι τις Ἀριστίων Πλαταϊκός, ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου υἱός. Cf. Harpokration, s.v. Ἀριστίων, cited at *APF* p.138 and translated at Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.115, with other source citations. On Plataian status, see Figueira, *A&A* 149-154 and nn., with sources and bibliography. See also Heckel, *ZPE* 87 (1991) 39-41, esp. 40 n.2.

[11] Plut. *Dem.* 15.3 (Σαμίᾳ τινὶ συνῴκησεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης); [Plut.] *Mor.* 847C; cf. Athen. 13.592e-f; Ais. 2.149; Dein. 1.71. See full discussion at *APF* pp.138f, summarized by Cargill, *GRBS* 324. Wallace cautions me that it is not necessary to take all of these references as applying to the same woman, and he finds such politically motivated abuse generally unreliable.

[12] Ais. 1.53, cf. *IG* ii² 1952.*a*5.

stele in Athens, could be a klerouch on Samos, since the dedicating body is "the *demos* in Samos",[13] but see Sec.2.5 above for certain problems in connection with the seemingly obvious interpretation of this stone's inscriptions. Other Attic sources mention Athenian *strategoi* for Samos (**401, 1033, 1308**).[14] See Sec.3.3 below for discussion of these, and of extra-Attic sources that refer to other such generals (**398, 496, 1550**).[15]

Epikouros son of Neokles of Gargettos (**446**), founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy, is very firmly attested in literary sources as a member of a klerouchic family on Samos. His father (**988**), mother (**1379**), and three brothers (**160, 989, 1374**) are all named and discussed. His birth and death dates (342/1 and 271/0) are known, and even many of his movements between Samos, Athens (where he had ephebic training), and elsewhere are attested and dated.[16] The archonship (on Samos) of his father Neokles in 334/3, known from an inscription at Delphoi, is generally undisputed.[17] In addition to the one dated by Neokles' archonship, two other klerouchic dedications at Delphoi seem originally to have borne the names of archons on Samos and at Athens. Only the beginning (Timo-) of the name of one of the Samian archons (**1249**) is preserved, along with the beginning (Aris-) of that of the simultaneous Attic archon.[18] On the third dedicatory inscription at Delphoi, the end (-kritos) of an archon's name (**1505**) is preserved, but editors disagree as to whether this archon was that of Samos or of Attike.[19] The same stele seemingly has about two and a half letters of the name of one member (**1507**) of a board of *theoroi*. Its editor,

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[13] *IG* ii^2 3207.20-22.

[14] *IG* ii^2 1628.18, 28, 110; *SEG* 30.114.

[15] Hiller, *Inschr.v.Priene* 5.18; *Heraion* Inv. J24.7, 10f; Habicht, *AM* #1.3f.

[16] Diogenes Laertios' entire Book 10 is devoted to Epikouros; the full page of citations at *PA* 4855 draws on it and many other sources. For more recent bibliography, see Mette, *Lustrum* 21 (1978) 45-116. See further Cargill, *Nav.Hist.* 35. I believe that Figueira, *A&A* 69 n.49 may be overstating the evidence in referring to "the *duty* that the young cleruch return for service in the ephebate" (my emphasis). Admittedly, however, the arguments of Sekunda, *ABSA* 87 (1992) 315f have brought me closer to accepting this position; Epikouros' own case is Sekunda's key example.

[17] *SEG* 18.200.5, not among the many citations of *PA* 10640, because discovered subsequently; see, e.g., Shipley, *Samos* 161 and n.32. The certain date reflects the fact that the inscription is dated by the *Attic* archon also.

[18] *SEG* 18.201.2. Editors suggest two possible fourth century dates, to which I add a third: see App. A and Sec.3.4 below.

[19] *SEG* 18.202."5" (really line 1: only restorations precede), cf. *Syll.*^{3} 276B. Again, see App. A and Sec.3.4.

J. Bousquet, offers three alternative restorations consistent with his *stoichedon* 12 letter count, and other restorations are possible.[20]

Brief inscriptions from Samos, mostly epitaphs that are usually doubtful as to date, add more names. None of the short inscriptions found on Samos appears to be a security *horos*, in contrast to the many examples on Lemnos and scattered examples in other settlements. Epitaphs of one apparent klerouch (**1197**, name with demotic) and one Kyzikene (**898**, name, patronymic, ethnic), found on Samos, are treated by their nineteenth century editor in parallel with those of two men with patronymics (**1213, 776**) and a woman with her father's or husband's name (**780**), all five epitaphs said to be of fourth century date, based on letter forms. It is possible that all five people lived on Samos and died there during the time of the fourth century klerouchs, and that any or all of the three lacking explicit demotic or ethnic were of native Samian heritage (the father of one of them, for example, bore the common Samian name Heragores). But of course "fourth century" could include the early period of the regime of the returned Samian exiles, and exact dating of such inscriptions is impossible.[21] Two additional epitaphs of foreigners on Samos, a Milesian woman (**291**) and a man from Kolophon (**610**), may be of fourth century date.[22] An epigram on a stele found on Samos, tentatively dated to the fourth century by Peek, commemorates Aineas Demostratou *Athenaios* (**40**).[23] Other editors publish epitaphs of other possible klerouchs, i.e., names bearing Athenian demotics, from Samos (**414, 598**).[24] Sostra[tos] Telokle[ous] of Eitea (**1214**) is the name of an Athenian whose gravestone was found not on Samos itself but at Anaia in the

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[20] *SEG* 18.202."16f" (really 12f: see App. A). Bousquet, *BCH* 83 (1959) 153, text C, records θεωρω[ν...6...] in "line 16", then in "line 17" draws a trace in the first letter space that would have to be from *lambda*, *delta*, or *alpha*, followed by EM[.........]. The most likely letter in the first space is obviously *lambda*, since -AEM- would presumably not be found in any name, and names in *-demos* of the fourth century would have *eta*, not *epsilon*. Bousquet's alternative restorations (p.155) are "'Αρχε-, Βαθυ-, Φιλοπολέμου?"; *SEG* does not mention any of the suggested restorations in its *apparatus*.

[21] Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) 489f, respectively nos.18 (Σωκράτος | Λαμπτρέως), 15 (Μαιανδρίωι | 'Απολλοθέμιος | Κυζικηνῶι), 17 (Σωστράτωι | 'Επαμείνονος), 19 ([Κλε]αγόρης | 'Ηρα[γ]ορέω), 16 (Κλειδίκηι | Φωκύλο). Jacobsthal, *AM* 31 (1906) 416 n.1 seems to categorize all except the name bearing the demotic as fifth century. Shipley, *Samos* 149 and n.13 dates the Kyzikene to the fifth century, citing Jacobsthal, but the grammatical principle invoked seems less than decisive; Shipley 161 n.33 accepts the fourth century date for the man with the demotic.

[22] Clerc, *BCH* 7 (1883) 80 no."3" (really 2); Fabricius, *AM* 9 (1884) 261 no.4e.

[23] *CEG* 684.1, citing Peek, *GG* 67.

[24] *SEG* 1.377.1; Fabricius, *AM* 9 (1884) 260f no.4a.

Samian *peraia*. Whether or not he had been a klerouch on Samos is unknown; if so, he may have been driven out by the returning exiles.[25]

The archon (**1541**) used in dating a resolution of certain "soldiers" on Samos has a name that apparently includes nine letters in the genitive case, but it is wholly lost (twice) within the fragmentary extant lines. Moreover, he may well have been an *Attic* archon, and I am personally dubious of the editor's fourth century date, preferring the fifth century on the basis of content (see Sec.3.10 below).[26] A tribal decree of Pandionis preserves the end of the name of another archon (**1484**), I suspect the archon on Samos (where the inscription was found), although the Attic eponym cannot be ruled out. The editor dates this inscription to the klerouchic period, but comments that the script, if found in Attike, would be thought to be of 100 years later. Still, the "Athenian-ness" of the inscription's content does seem to require the fourth century date. Of the name of the proposer (**1447**), all that remains is a *sigma* (the final letter either of his name in the nominative or of his patronymic in the genitive) and the abbreviated demotic Kydathe(naieus).[27]

The honorand of a half-published decree of the klerouchic assembly, Diotimos Nikostr[a]tou Elaiousios (**391**), was probably from the Attic deme of Elaious (within Hippothontis); he is more likely to have been an Attic officer than a local klerouch.[28] Taking a quite different perspective, Kahrstedt seems to see *Elaiousios* as the ethnic of an honorand from Elaious in the Thraikian Chersonesos — which is perhaps not an impossibility, given that city's well-documented friendliness with the Athenians.[29] The name of the proposer of Diotimos' honors appeared in a mostly-lost line 1 of the inscription (line 2 begins with *eipen*); Dunst reads three letters

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[25] Keil *JÖAI* 11 (1908) Beiblatt, col.164 no.7. Keil dates the epitaph to the Hellenistic period, but his own facsimile convinces me that Habicht, *AM* p.168 is more accurate in suggesting a mid-fourth century date, which Shipley, *Samos* 155 n.2 and Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 338 n.14 accept; a date just beyond 322 would not be troublesome. Habicht, Shipley, and Schmitz all cite the inscription without mentioning the Athenian's name; cf. Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 187 n.41.

[26] Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 34f no.4.5 and 12.

[27] *ib.* 36-38, no.5.7: [– – –]ạτον ἄρχοντα. A slanting trace preceding -τον that seems to belong to *alpha*, *lambda*, or perhaps *nu*, is drawn but not discussed by the editor; I supply the underdotted *alpha* as the most likely letter. The proposer is in line 2: [– – –]ς Κυδαθη εἶπεν. This inscription too is discussed in Sec.3.10 below.

[28] *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212.4f, underdotting the patronymic's *sigma*, *rho*, and second *tau*.

[29] Kahrstedt, *Chers.* 35 n.100, citing *SEG* 1.349.

in line 1, letters that may — but need not — be part of the name (**1532**).[30]

Although many sources have been cited to this point, the large majority of relevant names comes from two documents of the Athenian klerouchs, one long-published and well known (Michel 832), the other still unpublished, although discovered in the 1920s.[31] Dunst's text of *Heraion* Inv. J24 (which of course I do not reproduce here) and his comments on it help clear up some uncertainties I had about the inscription after autopsy. It is a klerouchic resolution, introduced by Ariston of Pelex (**209**), honoring Zenobios(?) son of Artemidoros (**570**). Dunst believes that neither the honorand nor three apparent accused persons (**1081, 1426, 1427**) are Athenians, the former being, he thinks, perhaps a pro-Athenian Samian, the latter possibly *hierodouloi* at the Temple of Hera. Dunst sees Sok[– – –] (**1191**) unambiguously as the *proedros* for Oineis, but from context I see Hippothontis as equally possible. In addition to *proedroi*,[32] proposer, honorand, and culprits(?), the inscription mentions a *strategos*, presumably Athenian and apparently named Euthydemos (**496**).

Almost half of the Samian-connected names in my database are to be found in the "Inventory of the Samian Heraion" known to scholars as "Michel 832".[33] It was published prior to the publication

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[30] The letters are ΣΩΣ. It would be wildly speculative to assume that they *begin* the proposer's name, although certain names do indeed begin thus, including names possibly associated with fourth century Samos: **1205**, **1213**, **1214**.

[31] See App. A re *Heraion* Inv. J24 and *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212, where my access to G. Dunst's unpublished materials is explained. Note that these inscriptions' names are included in *PAA*'s database. Perhaps other klerouchic inscriptions from the *Heraion*, newly discovered or found long ago but "lost" in the excavation house, will add further large groups of Athenian names. The number of Samian klerouchs was apparently very large, and the discovery of a great many additional names would be no cause for surprise.

[32] Others: **90**, **242**, **565**, **641**, **1301**, **1443**, **1449**, **1458**.

[33] The longer phrase in quotes is the tentative title of the inscription in a new text, translation, and commentary by S. Aleshire, of which she has been so kind as to send me a pre-publication typescript. Throughout App. B and my chapters, I accept her readings whenever (as fairly frequently occurs) they differ from those of earlier texts (citing simply "Aleshire"). The *ed. prin.* is to be found in C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos* (Lübeck 1877); see also Koehler, *AM* 7 (1882) 367-376. The version of Michel (1900) was, in general, improved upon by the text of Ohly, *AM* 68 (1953) 46-49 no.7, except that Ohly, for no reason I can fathom, reduced the text's many Athenian demotics (already abbreviated, as frequently happens) to their single initial letters. Thus consultation of Ohly's text did not even tell the reader what a given person's demotic is, and his version perversely compelled the reader to consult the text (Michel) that his was designed to supersede! It is interesting that J. and L. Robert, often so acerbic in their comments, discuss Ohly's text without commenting at all on this glaring inadequacy: *BÉ* (1958) 387. Now at last this awkward situation, as well as the lack of any available English translation of this extremely important text, is being remedied by Aleshire's version. Although she and I have exchanged communications concerning readings and translation, none of the prosopography in App. B is derived from

of *Prosopographia Attica*, so the indisputably Athenian names on it have *PA* entries, and Kirchner offers identifications and connections for some of them.[34] Some of the names of Michel 832 are omitted from *PA*. No one would quarrel with the exclusion of the names of certain obviously Samian magistrates used in dating formulas relating to the donation of various treasures; my database omits these too. Given *PA*'s Athenians-only orientation, neither would anyone question its exclusion of persons currently present but clearly of Samian background, such as "the Euangelis" (**1549**) and the *hieros* Pelysios (**1093**).[35] My own suggestion about the potential Athenian-citizen status of fourth century pro-Athenian Samians was only recently made and has not been widely accepted. The unmodified name Philostratos (**1328**), mentioned in line 35 in a clerical or cultic capacity, seems more ambiguous as to ethnicity, however, and perhaps Kirchner would have been on the safer side if he had included him.

It is genuinely surprising to see the *archons*[36] of the inscription omitted. Surely the Athenian-citizen status of the klerouchic archons Theokles (**659**) of 347/6 and Peisileos (**1091**) of 346/5 should be no more in doubt than that of the inscription's numerous *tamiai* and *proedroi*. The standard Athenian dating formula gives the archon's name without demotic, as indeed the names of two *Attic* archons are given in this very inscription, but the absence of a demotic in a place where it would never be expected seems an odd reason to exclude an archon from a catalogue of "Athenians"! Moreover, the archon Theokles could very possibly be the same person as Theokles of Acharnai (**661**), one of the treasurers of the year following his archonship.[37] In addition to the treasures dedicated in the years of various *demiourgoi* and other unspecified

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her work: prosopographical observations were not included in the typescript sent to me in summer of 1991, and when I spoke with Aleshire in late December 1992, the study was still unpublished. In connection with this text, as with others above, I do again acknowledge, however, the help of notes given to me by Christian Habicht in 1982. Names (of the total of 52) not referred to individually in text or notes of the discussion that follows are: **6**, **12**, **78**, **101**, **146**, **190**, **275**, **342**, **482**, **493**, **534**, **683**, **767**, **819**, **873**, **1077**, **1079**, **1195**, **1205**, **1234**, **1266**, **1273**, **1312**, **1345**, **1382**, **1391**, **1404**.

[34] See App. B nos. **21**, **116**, **223**, **367**, **383**, **390**, **666**, **736**, **1331**, **1362**. A connection for **1334** is to be found in Sundwall's supplement to *PA*.

[35] Lines 22 (ἡ Εὐαγγελίς), 37 (τῆς Εὐαγγελίδος), 39 (ὁ ἱερὸς τῆς Θεοῦ Πελύσιος). See Koehler, *AM* 7 (1882) 370f n.2; also the discussion and bibliography in Cargill, *GRBS* 329f and n.21; Shipley, *Samos* 157f (where Pelysios is called "perhaps 'priest', of Hera") and n.13. Aleshire's new translation merely transliterates "the Evangelis" and calls Pelysios "the holy man of the goddess".

[36] Lines 1, 5, 56, and 58.

[37] Line 3; the treasurer is *PA* 6936.

Samian magistracies, there is also a reference to something dedicated "in the archonship of Demetrios (**311**)". The inscription's first editor, Curtius, saw the phrase as a reference to another klerouchic archon. I think this is reasonable, especially since Demetrios' name is the *last* one used for dating dedications, and the klerouchs had been on Samos for about twenty years at the time Michel 832 was inscribed. Therefore I question Ohly's dismissal of Curtius' suggestion, and also the exclusion of Demetrios' name from *PA*. Furthermore, as in the case of Theokles, Demetrios the ex-archon may indeed reappear in another office, perhaps as Demetrios of Aixone (**315**), *proedros* of 346/5 — although the extremely common name makes any such suggestion weak.[38]

Apart from identifications, certain improved *readings* of names in Ohly's (and/or Michel's) text are offered by Aleshire. Their Ble[pyros] of Paiania (**262**) is shown to be impossible,[39] and she believes she sees careless inconsistencies of spelling within the two inscribed appearances of the names of Alkias of Prasiai (**60**)[40] and Rhaidios of Melite (**1129**).[41] Her improvements help limit the possible demotics of Theophilos of the tribe Kekropis (**671**).[42] Most surprisingly, she replaces the earlier editors' [Gor]gias of Eleusis with a fully extant Hegias (**592**) — thus repeating a name-demotic combination extant elsewhere (**593**) in the text.[43] If the two references are to the same person, as seems likely, he serves as *proedros* in two different prytanies of 346/5.[44]

With the expulsion of the klerouchs and the return of the Samian exiles, names that are demonstrably those of Athenians, i.e., names with demotics, cease to appear in Samian sources. I

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38 Line 30: ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντο[ς]. Cf. Ohly p.49, citing Curtius 16f. Demetrios of Aixone is in line 62.

39 Lines 2f (Ohly accidentally omits Michel's *pi* from his brackets, anyway): Aleshire reads Βλέπ̣Ι[..] and denies that room exists for the earlier restoration. *PA* 2880 is therefore incorrect. In a letter accompanying her typescript, she suggests Βλέπυς or Βλέπων or a crowded Βλέπιος instead.

40 Lines 6 and 59, reading *chi* rather than *kappa* in line 6.

41 Lines 7 and 60, reading an underdotted *alpha* without its following *iota* in line 7 and an erroneous *omega* for the *iota* of the demotic in line 60.

42 Lines 3f; Ohly indicates no extant traces of the demotic, but Aleshire reads Θεόφιλο̣ς̣ Ι [-c.3-]Ε̣, , and her description of the traces of the underdotted letter makes *epsilon* look quite likely. If that is really the demotic's fourth letter (and its last: the abbreviated demotic ends with whatever letter this is), then the deme of Theophilos should be either Xypete or Epieikidai, unless it is Halai Aixonides in the spelling 'Αλαεύς. No demotic of this tribe has *epsilon* as its third letter; if it is the fifth letter, the only possibilities are Trinemeia and 'Αλαιεύς.

43 Line 44: 'Ηγίας 'Ελευ(σίνιος); thus *PA* 3069 is deceptive; cf. lines 62f.

44 There is nothing apparently irregular about this; see *Ath.Pol.* 44.2 and Rhodes, *CAAP* 533.

agree with Shipley and earlier scholars, however, that certain Athenians must have stayed on, and that this fact is reflected in the names of divisions of the Samian population, at least in the one called *Athenaioi* (see Sec.1.9 above).

An apparent dedication (to Bakchos?) on an apparent statue base from the area of the *Heraion* includes most of a name in the genitive case, perhaps a patronymic; the ethnicity of Straton and/or his son is indeterminable, and the editor of the inscription says nothing about its date. Although the letters of his majuscule could conceivably be interpreted as being of the fourth century, the inscription is probably Hellenistic: a Ptolemaic official of this name is attested in a Samian context.[45] The latest-dated name of an "attested Athenian" on Samos that appears in my database is that of the Hellenistic Samian tyrant (and historian) Douris (**403**). According to Plutarch, he claimed to be a descendant of the Athenian Alkibiades.[46]

2.9 Individuals: Salamis

The pattern of names associated with Salamis is utterly dissimilar to the pattern for Samos, except that here too none are derived from security *horoi*. Several recently discovered epitaphs, undated in their initial publications and in *SEG*, are necessarily coded "?" in ignorance of any reason to assign any particular dates. No doubt some of them should properly be classified "L" or "D" or "X". Still even with this artificial over-weighting toward the "possibly fourth century" categories, such entries do not greatly outnumber entries that definitely appear to be later: only 170 vs. 124 (see Tables 2 and 3). In both periods, the proportion of female names is substantial: 23.5%, then 34.7%. Only Skyros, with less than 1/6 as many associated names, shows a higher overall proportion of women (32.6% vs. 26.9%: see Table 1). The most striking difference between the samples for Salamis and Samos is in the nature of the contexts in which the attested names appear. More than 2/3 of Salamis-connected names in my database (208 out of 308 primary entries, 67.5%) are coded "Bur(ied)", i.e., the names associated with Salamis appear predominantly on epitaphs. In sources about which enough is known to indicate that they are apparently post-fourth century, the proportion of "Bur" codes is even higher: 90 of 124

[45] Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) 486 no.8.1 ([– – – Σ]τράτωνος *vacat*), 7 ([– – – Β]άκχον *vacat*); cf. Shipley, *Samos* 299, citing *OGIS* 41.

[46] Plut. *Alkib.* 32.2: Δοῦρις ὁ Σάμιος Ἀλκιβιάδου φάσκων ἀπόγονος εἶναι....

(72.6%) of the names that are fairly clearly late. Therefore I will discuss Salamis-connected names under two basic rubrics, i.e., those from burial-related sources and those from non-burial-related sources.

"Salaminians" are potentially relevant to this study, wherever evidence relating to them may be found, since their "ethnic" gives automatic grounds for at least some suspicion of connection with the island. Not surprisingly, the "ethnic" *Salaminios* appears very rarely among epitaphs found on Salamis itself,[1] just as one would not expect to find *Athenaios* often on tombstones in Athens.[2] None of the "Salaminian" epitaphs on Salamis is attributed to the fourth century by its editor. One of them, undated in the *Corpus*, commemorates Andronides Andronidou Eu[- - -] *Salaminios* (**97**). Could possible restorations include the demotics *Eu*[*pyrides*] and *Eu*[*onymeus*]?[3] Of examples dated by editors to the Roman imperial period, the most interesting is the epitaph of Euphro[syne] (**562**), whose husband bears a demotic.[4] A greater number of gravestones of "Salaminians" are in fact of unknown or unstated provenance.[5] None at all are known definitely to derive from other fourth century Athenian overseas territories.[6]

The great majority of extant gravestones of "Salaminians" derive (at least apparently) from mainland Attike. On one of the possibly

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[1] Only in *IG* ii² 10173; 10181; 10188; 10198; 10201; *SEG* 21.989 (names not otherwise cited here are: **254**, **376**, **451**, **581**, **617**).

[2] *SEG* 14.189 cites arguments of A.N. Oikonomides against referring *any* of the epitaphs of *Athenaioi -ai* in *IG* ii² 7856-61 to "Athenians" in the most obvious sense; the summary concludes, however, with "Sed de argumento valde dubitandum est". Peek, *AM* #193 prints Φιλίπ[πη] Ἀθη[ναία] in another Attic epitaph, but finds the restoration uncertain: "doch is natürlich auch Ἀθη[ναίου] bzw. Ἀθη[νίωνος] denkbar".

[3] *IG* ii² 10173, apparently derived only from Pittakis' copy, with *omicron* editorially corrected to *omega* in both name and patronymic. No comment at all is offered in connection with Εὐ[- - -] of line 3. Stroud doubts the possibility suggested here, preferring to suspect the abbreviated name of Andronides' grandfather instead, Roman style. See Sec.2.7 nn.14-16 for discussion of an analogous problem with a Skyros-related text. If Roman usage is indeed the model, that pattern itself would imply a late date.

[4] *IG* ii² 10198: Εὐφρο[σύνη] Εὐφροσύνου | Σαλαμι[νία, Δ]ημοσθένο[υ] | Εὐπυρίδου γυνή.

[5] *IG* ii² 10202 (mid-fourth century) and the late epitaphs *IG* ii² 10182 (Britain); 10190; 10193 (Padua: ethnic not explicit, but reasonably inferred); 10197; 10207; 10210; 10214 (Verona). See also Peek, *Att.Gr.* II 93 (*Salaminios* of lost name, nothing said about find spot). Names: **255**, **379**, **452?**, **561**, **668**, **1084**, **1143**, **1284**, **1478**.

[6] The closest thing I have been able to find to evidence for "Salaminians" in Athenian overseas territories other than their own island is the epitaph of a woman *named* Salamin(ia), bearing the ethnic of Amisos, a fifth century Athenian settlement on the shore of the Black Sea. The inscription was found in Athens, *IG* ii² 8071a: Σαλαμιν(ία) Ἀγαθοκλέους Ἀμισηνή.

fourth century stones, the name of Oinanthe (**1053**) is interesting chiefly for being modified, as very rarely happens, by its *matronymic* rather than its patronymic.[7] From the area of the Dipylon Gate comes a gravestone that at least *begins* to be used in the fourth century, commemorating three generations of a family of Salaminians in which the names Peithias and Leon alternate.[8] A few other such fourth century or undated epitaphs of Salaminians in Attike are printed in the Attic *Corpus*.[9] Among persons called Salaminians buried in mainland Attike later than the fourth century are Dynamis (**405**), Nikid[ion] (**1008**), and Onaso (**1064**), all of whom have demotic-bearing husbands.[10]

An epitaph in the Peiraieus Museum confusingly consists of two proper nouns (both in the nominative case) in the following order: *Salaminios / Philon*. In *IG* i^2, Hiller sees this as a pre-fourth century epitaph of a Philon from Kyprian Salamis (no argument for the location is offered), but the same inscription appears as a fourth century text in *IG* ii^2 among epitaphs of persons of unknown origin, and the editorial punctuation indicates that "Salaminios" is treated as a separate personal name.[11] It seems most conservative, in terms of not excluding any possibly appropriate names, to treat "Salaminios Philon" as the equivalent of Philon *Salaminios* (**1350**), and to assume reference to the nearer Salamis. *IG* ii^2 10216-10218 are epitaphs of *Salaminioi* explicitly described as being *apo Kyprou*. Perhaps some of the other (unmodified) Salaminians of *IG* ii^2 10171-10215 were also from the city on Kypros. Good candidates for a Kyprian connection would seem to be *IG* ii^2 10181-2, gravestones (both already cited) in which a "Salaminian" woman is depicted in a relief dressed as Isis. But the former stone is said to be from the island of Salamis itself and the latter could be: it is in England, from the Elgin collection.

Names of "Salaminians" from Attic epitaphs that do not appear in *IG* ii^2 include Demetria (**310**) and the daughter of Onasagoras

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[7] *IG* ii^2 10205: Οἰνάνθη Καλλιστράτης | Σαλαμινία.

[8] *IG* ii^2 10208: Πειθίας Λέοντος | Σαλαμίνιος. | Θρᾶιττα. | Λέων || Πειθίου | Σαλαμίνιος. | Πλαγγὼν | Χαρίου γυνή. | Πειθίας Λέοντος Σαλαμίνιος. Names: **692**, **855**, **1087**, **1088**, **1098**.

[9] *IG* ii^2 10176; 10179; 10203; 10209; undated 10185. Names: **164**, **186**, **372**, **951**, **1119**.

[10] *IG* ii^2 10191 (Δύναμις Ἀφροδισίου | Σαλαμινία, | Συνμάχου | Εὐπυρίδου || γυνή); 10204 (Νικίδ[ιον] | Σαλαμι[νί]α, | Διοσκουρίδου | Βουτάδου || γυνή); 10206 (Ὀνασὼ | Τιμοκράτου Σαλαμινία, | Ἀναξήνορος || Οἰναίου | γυνή).

[11] *IG* i^2 1050; cf. *IG* ii^2 12579/81, where the preceding inscription, *IG* ii^2 12578 (of Roman imperial times) consists entirely of the apparent personal name Salaminios.

(**1063**), both of the fourth century, and the Hellenistic [Da]phnai[o]s (**293**), all in *Agora* XVII.[12] Other non-*Corpus* examples are Nikidion Glaukonos Salaminia (**1009**), Strat[– – –] Salamin[– – –] (**1173**), a *Salaminios* of lost name (**1478**), Dionysios Iatrokleous Salaminios (**377**), Nike Diognetou Salaminia (**999**), Euandris Aristodemou Salaminia (**480**), and a woman whose "ethnic" could be either [Salam]inia or [A]inia (**1535**).[13] It would probably be mistaken to try to read any significance into apparent Athenian personal names such as Salaminios[14] and Salaminokles,[15] and I do not include such persons in my database.

Some Athenians are placed on Salamis by literary sources, and a few Attic inscriptions refer or seem to refer to Salaminian contexts. The connection of most Athenian names with the island, however, depends only on clues such as the find spots of inscriptions bearing names with demotics. A handful of dedicatory and administrative inscriptions and a much larger number of gravestones have been found, apparently, on the island. The obvious Athenians, i.e., men bearing demotics and their apparent female relatives, who seem to have been buried on Salamis[16] are even more numerous than the "Salaminians" named on epitaphs from Attike. The same reason-

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[12] Respectively *Agora* XVII.655 = *SEG* 21.988 (Δημητρία Χ[-c.4-5-] Σαλαμ[ινία]); 656 = *SEG* 21.990 ([– – –]νίκη Ὀνασαγόρου [Σ]αλαμινίου); and 654 ([Δα]φναῖ[ο]ς [..]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος). Another *Salaminios* explicitly from Kypros is mentioned by Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 761.

[13] Reported in, respectively, Peek, *AM* #230; Peek, *Att.Gr.* II 91 and 93; *SEG* 25.286f; and Osborne, *AncSoc* #152 and 158. See App. B citations for names of Salaminians from Attic epitaphs that are not specifically discussed here. The ethnic of one or two of the following depends on restoration, and a few of the entries are apparent wives of Salaminians, not explicitly given an ethnic themselves: **10**, **79**, **140**, **141**, **181**, **182**, **197**, **277**, **358**, **373**, **374**, **378**, **437**, **466**, **512**, **532**, **578**, **594**, **605**, **703**, **944?**, **1172**, **1255**, **1350?**, **1351**.

[14] *IG* ii^2 1705.7 ([– – –]κλῆς Σαλαμινίου [demotic lost], third century *strategos*); 12578; 12579/81.1 (if Kirchner's implicit interpretation is correct); Peek, *Att.Gr.* II 155 ([Σαλ]αμίνιος [– – –]); see also *IG* ii^2 8071a (cited above).

[15] *IG* i^3 385.2; 386.66; 387.73; 389.21 (all the same donor in fifth century Eleusinian treasure lists); 437.36 (in Parthenon building accounts); a third century Delian *hieropoios* — all cited as parallels by Moysey, *Hesperia* 54 (1985) in presenting another (p.141, lines 9f), dedicator of a *phiale* in a fragmentary list of unknown provenance (Eleusis?). Moysey's inscription becomes *SEG* 35.1731; see further *SEG* 39.169.

[16] The relevant entries in App. B (those not cited elsewhere in this section) are the following: **66**, **71**, **114**, **173**, **180**, **194**, **195**, **205A**, **256**, **284**, **354**, **392A**, **397**, **418**, **425**, **426**, **427**, **447**, **450**, **468**, **483**, **501**, **504**, **505**, **550A**, **554**, **566**, **590?**, **597**, **625**, **630**, **630A**, **631**, **650**, **651**, **674**, **675**, **687**, **691**, **753**, **763**, **802**, **806**, **857**, **882**, **890**, **894**, **895**, **917**, **969**, **1017?**, **1018A**, **1025**, **1029**, **1049**, **1052**, **1076**, **1101**, **1126**, **1127**, **1147**, **1162**, **1204**, **1282**, **1296**, **1304**, **1307**, **1314**, **1380**, **1388**, **1411**.

able, indeed necessary, assumptions made for inscriptions found within the territories of other fourth century settlements must be made for Salamis, e.g., that persons participating in the political structure there, or buried there, probably lived there.[17] Salamis' very closeness to Attike, however, weakens these normal assumptions. It is much easier, for example, to believe in *stelai* moving from Attike to Salamis (or vice-versa) than from Athens to Lemnos or Samos. Some inscriptions of doubtful provenance do indeed enter the discussion of possible settlers of the fourth century and later on Salamis. Editorial doubts are raised often enough about whether stones are originally from Salamis or from nearby Aigina[18] that one is sometimes tempted to suspect Salaminian provenance even for certain stones said unambiguously to be from Aigina.[19] Similar possibilities for movement exist between Salamis and Eleusis,[20] which is also very near. A general Salamis-Attike ambiguity is encouraged by the routine treatment in all reference works of inscriptions from

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[17] Kirchner is obviously following such principles when he gives *PA* entries (2274a and b) to two women named Artemisia in *IG* ii^2 10840-1 (both stones from mainland Attike), but no entry to the Artemisia (**219**) of *IG* ii^2 10842, which he reports as being from Salamis, although all three stones are fourth century epitaphs with single names lacking either patronymic or demotic, and all were published early enough for inclusion (they already constituted three consecutive texts in *IG* ii). Peek, *AM* #9 comm. subsequently reported Kavvadias' contention that *IG* ii^2 10842 was actually found on *Aigina*, rather than Salamis, but this later observation does not alter the fundamental point about Kirchner's usage.

[18] The *same* epitaph appears as an inscription possibly originally from Salamis in *IG* ii^2 6669 and as an inscription from Aigina in *IG* iv 72. Kirchner at *IG* ii^2 8403 admits uncertainty whether to attribute that gravestone to Aigina or Salamis, and also cites editors arguing in favor of each island for *IG* ii^2 12084. Fränkel, *AM* 23 (1898) 159 is cited as disagreeing with the Salaminian provenance asserted for *IG* ii^2 6728. All four of these stones apparently found their way to Aigina at *some* stage, temporarily or permanently. Several others are described in one way or another as having been on Salamis and later on Aigina (the opposite sequence is never asserted): *IG* ii^2 5806; 6307; 6783; 6908; 7066; 7161; 7194; 7350; 10188; 11635; 12088. The Aiginetan provenance of *IG* ii^2 10842 was (see preceding note) suggested after the publication of *IG* ii^2; the same text appears as *IG* iv 86.

[19] *IG* ii^2 4093, an honorary inscription of Roman imperial times on Aigina that mentions someone with a demotic, is probably too late to cause real misgivings. I also accept the doubts of Jones, *Pub.Org.* 73 about "Attic influence" in *IG* iv 1 (mid-second century). But in *IG* ii^2 7336, the combination of a demotic and "fourth century letters" makes an epitaph from Aigina doubly suspect. Suspicion is only slightly weaker for another such stone, *IG* ii^2 7570, whose editorial date is "post fin. s.IV a.". Still, I refrain from putting these stones' names in my database.

[20] The first name (**818**) of *IG* ii^2 3507, a statue base from Salamis, is totally restored on the basis of *IG* ii^2 3508, from Eleusis. Boeckh believed that the former had been transported from Eleusis to Salamis. *IG* ii^2 10198 and 11974 are explicitly said to have gone the other way.

Salamis as "Attic" documents, and by certain editorial phrasing.[21]

The epitaph of a fourth century Athenian of Rhamnous (**569**) is among inscriptions said by Kirchner in *IG* ii^2 to have been moved from Salamis to Aigina, although Kirchner's own treatment in *PA* indicates only the Aiginetan connection, without reference to Salamis.[22] In *IG* ii^2 itself, Kirchner ignores the Salaminian connection of another fourth century gravestone, commemorating Ktesikrates Ktesiphontos Phalereus (**823**) and his father Ktesiphon Boiethou Phalereus (**825**), also denying the date and the identification of Ktesikrates suggested by the inscription's editor, A. Dain. The denials, and the refusal to mention that the stone was acquired on Salamis (or to cite Dain's explicit dismissal of the belief that it came from Phaleron), seem unwarranted.[23]

Of memorials of Athenians found on Salamis, the epitaph of [Na]usinike (**980**) appears among gravestones of Halaieis in *IG* ii^2, but among those of Euonymeis in *CIG*. It should always have been surprising that the wife of a citizen of Euonymon should be buried with a man of Halai, but only one editor ever claimed to see even one letter of the word signifying "wife" (namely the *eta* at the end of *gyne*). If in reality that letter never appeared on the stone, or if the *eta* from *thygater* was misinterpreted, then Nausinike could be understood as the daughter of some Euonymeus who had become the wife of the Halaieus (**1431**) whose name precedes hers — a decidedly normal pattern for names on tombstones.[24]

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21 Kirchner locates both the undated epitaphs *IG* ii^2 5627 and 5737 through the phrase "in via Athenis Salaminem", which seemingly should refer to a street in Athens (thus I omit these stones' names from my database), yet Wagner 55 cites the former (=*CIG* 583) among his testimonia for Salamis, although not the latter (=*CIG* 597). Conze had attributed *IG* ii^2 12158 to Salamis, but Kirchner insists that it is "ex Attica" instead.

22 *IG* ii^2 7350: Ἐχεκλῆς | Ἀρχικλέιους | Ῥαμνούσιος . See *PA* 6171. Something appeared below the epitaph, but only illegible traces remain.

23 Kirchner describes *IG* ii^2 7612 simply as being from Phaleron, with no Salaminian reference at all; the *ed. prin.*, Dain, *Inscr.Gr.du Mus.du Louvre* (Paris 1933) 14f no.5, however, describes the stone as "acquis à Salamine, comme provenant de Phalère; cette dernière indication est du reste erronée...". Dain's reasoning about the inscription's provenance appears to be invalid, although his factual conclusion itself is not thereby disproved. In any case, the possible uncertainty of the inscription's provenance might appropriately have been mentioned by Kirchner. Dain dates the inscription to the last quarter of the fourth century, whereas Kirchner prefers a date prior to mid-century. One wonders how many *other* inscriptions of possible Salaminian origin appear in *IG* ii^2 simply as Attic texts.

24 *IG* ii^2 5529/30: [– – –]ς Ἁλαεύς. | [Να]υσινίκη | [– – –]ο Εὐωνυμέως | [γυν]ή. Kirchner's comment re line 4 says: "Litteram ultimam praebet Boeckh solus"; Koehler at *IG* ii 2222 does not print it. While accepting one reading from an earlier editor, incidentally, Kirchner declines to accept others: a trace of the *alpha* of Nausinike's name, mentioned by Koehler, that would logically have caused the letter to be underdotted rather than bracketed, and *six* letters below line 4 that had

A family gravestone found on Salamis, published long after the second edition of the *Corpus*, commemorates three men of Acharnai, [L]ysimachos (**888**), Nikophon (**1035**), and Nikon (**1038**), and a partially preserved woman's name (**1500**) is inscribed under theirs. Davies dates the inscription to the second half of the fourth century.[25] A handful of names on epitaphs from Salamis lack demotics, but apparently are seen by Kirchner as possessing enough "Athenian-ness" to warrant their inclusion in *PA*'s Addenda, unless he is intentionally being looser in his criteria there than in his primary catalogue of names.[26]

Similarly, some persons not explicitly identified as Salaminians may nonetheless be suspected of being Salaminians, or of having familial connections with the island, because of contexts in which their names appear, or even because of the names themselves. A very intriguing name on a fourth century epitaph from Salamis is that of Aiantis daughter(?) of Diomedon (**39**). Her name itself (unless she is named for an Attic tribe) evokes Salamis, the island of Aias and site of a festival called the Aianteia.[27] A mid-third century inscribed epigram from Salamis introduces Herakleitos (**608**), his wife Leaina (**841**), and their son Leon (**852**). The presence of these leonine names on Salamis could prompt suspicions of connections with the Thirty's famous victim (**853**, see below), even though the family is given neither demotic nor ethnic in the epigram.[28]

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been accepted by Boeckh in *CIG* 636, [– – –]ΠΥΛΙΟΣ, presumably part of another name (**1523**), if genuine. To increase confusion even further, Peek, *Att.Gr.* II 19, using Pittakis' majuscule, treats this same inscription as previously unpublished, restores [Νικί]ο as the genitive of the name of Nausinike's father or *kyrios*, without any indication of why, and restores the demotic above her name as [Τυρ]με[ίδης?] or [Χολ]λε[ίδης?]. He prints nothing below Εὐωνυμέως. As is probably obvious, I have not seen the stone myself, and I suspect it is lost. The version of Pittakis' majuscule reproduced by Peek makes me doubtful of Kirchner's fourth century date, also; the inscription apparently could be later.

[25] *SEG* 21.839: the name in line 5 is [...]ικράτεια. *SEG* suggests no date; cf. *APF* p.358.

[26] The names (**524**, **778**, **781**, **794**, **920**, **959**, **1158**, **1244**, **1263**) appear in *IG* ii^2 11854; 11859; ?12084 (undated, and editors seem to disagree as to whether it is from Salamis or from Aigina); ?12158 (attributed to Salamis by Conze, but Kirchner denies it); ?12798 (undated); and 12849/50. Stroud tells me that *IG* ii^2 11859, a stone Kirchner was unable to locate, is in the Memorial Art Museum of Rochester, NY (Inv. no.36.54, described as being from the "Helen Barret Montgomery Bequest"); he saw it there in November 1991.

[27] *IG* ii^2 10595: Αἰαντὶς | Διομέδοντος.

[28] *IG* ii^2 11960.1-4: εἷλε σόν, Ἡράκλειτε, καὶ αἰνετὸν υἷα Λεαίνης | εἷλεν θαρραλέης ἔργα Λέοντα μάχης· | ἀνχιάλου Σαλαμῖνος ὁ γὰρ κλήροισιν ἀμύνων | δυσμένεων ὀλοὸν τραῦμα κατηγάγετο. || κτλ. Wagner 52-54 describes the best-known Leon of Salamis as both "ein Kleruche" and a Peloponnesian War *strategos*, and says that Leon son of "Herakleides" [*sic*!] was "wohl ein Nachkomme" of his.

Doubtlessly, other names without demotic or ethnic on gravestones from Salamis[29] are equally as likely as — or more likely than — these to have been classifiable as "Salaminians" and/or as Athenian citizens. Where tombstones actually from Salamis have been erroneously interpreted as coming from Attike or elsewhere, however, I am in most cases helpless. The few possible misattributions of which I am aware are discussed above, but others inevitably have escaped my net.

Finally, certain foreigners were also buried on Salamis. Ethnics represented on gravestones apparently from the island connect the deceased with ?Achaia (**764**), Epidauros (**1234A**), Herakleia (**1222, 1466**), ?Kyrene (**858A**), Lydia (**196**), Miletos (**294, 357**), Phrygia (**1228**), and Tarsos (**770**).[30] Such epitaphs of manifest foreigners provide obvious exceptions to the overstatement of Figueira, to the effect that "the tombstones found on the island...appear to be universally those of Athenian citizens"; cf. also those with neither demotics nor ethnics. Moreover, the inscription of Rhipotelos may weaken Figueira's further assertion that none of the island's tombstones predates the fourth century.[31] This exotic name (**1130**) appears in a one-word inscription in archaic letters found on the island; it seems believable both that he was of the pre-Athenian native population and that the inscription is his gravestone.[32]

Salamis-connected names also occur in many non-burial-related[33] contexts, in all periods. A few specific pre-fourth century persons seem to be said to have received *kleroi* on the island. These include "Antidoros the Lemnian" (**102**, see Sec.2.5 above) and the unnamed killers (from Sigeion?) of Peisistratos' daughter

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[29] Other names coded "Bur" in inscriptions apparently from Salamis, for whom demotic/ethnic is not provided, or is lost and not determinable, are the following: **5, 76, 154, 205A, 260A, 264, 265, 270, 280A, 298, 314, 422A, 622, 643, 661A, 685, 688, 689, 723A, 756, 800, 859, 864, 897, 921, 937, 945, 952A, 1137, 1142, 1154, 1157, 1168, 1243, 1261, 1290, 1313, 1341, 1423, 1516, 1543.**

[30] *IG* ii^2 8403 is the epitaph, possibly fourth century, of an Achaian, Kephisodoros son of Polyarchos, but Kirchner (see n.18 above) is uncertain whether the stone is from Salamis or from Aigina. *IG* ii^2 9504 commemorates one of the Milesians, a woman whose husband has an Athenian demotic. The other epitaphs are *IG* ii^2 8797; 8824; 9219; 9480; 10427; 10490; *SEG* 40.224 and 248.

[31] Figueira, *A&A* 147, both statements.

[32] *IG* i^3 1270: Ῥιποτέλος, with tailed *rho*, equal-barred *epsilon*, Attic-style *lambda*, and three-bar *sigma* (all based on an earlier editor's reporting, however), dated ca. 450? and printed among pre-403/2 epitaphs.

[33] The following App. B entries represent persons *not* coded "Bur" whose names nonetheless appear in the funereal sources discussed above: **35, 81, 322, 389, 676, 841, 923, 1066, 1185, 1544.** Platon, *AD* 42 (1987) B1.68 publishes a photo (pl.40b) of a stone from Salamis with relief carvings, apparently late, said to be inscribed, but no text is provided; I am not certain whether it is a gravestone.

(**1539**).[34] The pankratist Timodemos son of Timonoös of Acharnai (**1238**) was the subject of Pindar's *Second Nemean Ode*; his connection with Salamis prompts a scholion describing him as being "of the Athenians receiving Salamis in allotment".[35]

Another fifth century athlete (**719**) made a dedication to "the twelve gods" (often associated with klerouchs) on Salamis for two victories at Nemea and two at Isthmia. Commentators have linked him with Kritias, leader of the notorious "Thirty".[36] Kritias is not the only famous fifth century Athenian associated with Salamis. The general Kimon is said to have pursued, along with many other women, one Asteria (**251**), called a "Salaminian by birth".[37] The most interesting of the pre-fourth century names associated with Salamis is that of the tragedian Euripides (**541**), whose father Mnesarchides is described by different sources as *Phlyeus* and as *Salameinios*, and who is himself said to have spent time in a cave on Salamis.[38] Figueira points out that Euripides is called *Salameinios* "only in a context affected by the comments in literature that Euripides lived on Salamis", and concludes: "He is, however, not called a Salaminios in any passage derived from a contemporary reference". While this statement certainly appears to be true for Euripides, whose demotic of *Phlyeus* is well attested, I am not equally convinced by Figueira's general statement, in the same note, that "There is no reason to think that Athenians called anyone who happened to live on Salamis a Salaminios...".[39] I believe that this interpretation too easily explains away the cases of Moirokles and Leon.

Recent editors identify Moirokles son of Euthydemos of Eleusis (**962**), whose father is a priest of Asklepios, with a Moirokles (*PA*

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[34] Figueira, *A&A* 148 provides the most accessible text and translation of the relevant Scholion to Dem. 23.71, which says that the killers were also voted citizenship (ἐψηφίσαντο μολιτείαν).

[35] *PA* 13681 quotes the Sch.: τῶν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κατακληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων. See Figueira, *A&A* 145f.

[36] *IG* i³ 1022 has [?Κριτία]ς where the earlier version at *IG* i² 829 had only [...]ς Καλλαίσχρο(υ). The newer edition apparently follows Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 157f, who suggests that the name is that of [Kritia]s himself; Davies at *APF* p.327 doubts this, but agrees on the family connection; see *SEG* 37.48 for recent literature. Note also the [*Sal*]*aminios*, name lost (**1477**), whose dedication, with three-bar *sigma* and small *mu*, appears among fifth century inscriptions from the acropolis, at *IG* i³ 748.

[37] Plut. *Kim.* 4.8: Ἀστερίας τῷ γένει Σαλαμινίας (Plut. cites a "sportive elegy" by Melanthios for this information); see *APF* p.304.

[38] See *PA* 5953 for the numerous sources, especially the late inscribed herm in Velitrae in Italy, *IG* xiv 1207: Εὐρειπίδης Μνη[σα]ρχίδου | Σαλαμείνιος τραγ[ικὸς] | ποιητής. For literature, see Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 87 n.40.

[39] Figueira, *A&A* 146f n.31, all three quotes.

10400) elsewhere called *Salaminios*.[40] Leon (**853**), condemned unjustly by the Thirty in 403 B.C., who apparently lived on Salamis, seems to be referred to both as "the Salaminian" and as a "citizen"; some scholars even argue that he had been an Athenian general, but no extant source mentions a deme for him. Although Figueira uses Leon among his examples of non-tribe-affiliated citizens, he does seem to find Leon's possible service as an Athenian general problematic: "...the position of Leon as general might imply membership in a tribe, if tribal affiliation was necessary for candidacy for general at this time. Those members of satellite communities who sought active participation in the process of governing may have undergone a scrutiny in which they petitioned to be assigned a deme. In the case of Leon, his original affiliation so dominated public perception of him that a hypothetical deme-name is never mentioned". I do not suppose that this unattested procedure can be *dis*proved. But neither do I see how it has been proved that "Credence is not...owed Kahrstedt's view...that the epithet Salaminios when applied to Leon...merely denominates residence on Salamis...". When choosing between theoretical alternatives, neither of which can be proved or disproved, I prefer the simpler alternative, i.e., in this case a casual geographical reference over a category of second-class citizens of pre-Athenian Salaminian origins who can by some unattested procedure upgrade their position to full citizenship. Perhaps analogous to Leon is the fourth century Athenian commander called Athenodoros "the Imbrian" (**37**), discussed in Sec.2.6 above.[41]

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[40] *SEG* 31.109A, citing Ampolo, *RFIC* 109 (1981) 187-204. *PA* 10400's entry includes the comment, "M. Σαλαμίνιος Harpocr.; erat fortasse Salamine natus, filius scilicet cleruchi Attici", and *SEG* 31 observes: "He lived or owned land on Salamis and was active ca. 343-317 B.C.". See further *SEG* 39.147 and literature cited there, especially Aleshire, *Ask.Ath.* 244-246 Z4.

[41] Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.39 (Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου), cf. *Mem.* 4.4.3 (τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν); Plato, *Apol.* 32C-D says that he was arrested on Salamis; Andok. 1.94 seems to treat his sons as having citizens' rights. See also Plato, *Lett.* 7.324E; D.L. 2.24; and M.Aurel. *Med.* 7.66. Scholars who conclude that Leon was a citizen include, e.g., Wagner (see n.28 above); McCoy, *AJPh* 96 (1975) 187-199; P. Krentz, *The Thirty at Athens* (Ithaca 1982) 79 and 83; and Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 87 and nn.38f ("wahrscheinlich" general; epithet refers to his *genos*). Figueira, *A&A* 147 n.33 cites sources and literature on Leon (Figueira quotations here are from p.147 n.34 and p.146 n.31 respectively). I was present to hear Martha C. Taylor take a position like mine, disagreeing with Figueira by name, in her presentation of December 28, 1992 at the APA convention, although the summary of it in *APA Abstracts* (1992) p.6 does not mention Figueira explicitly. I am not certain of the status, at this writing, of Taylor's Stanford dissertation on Salamis, which was in progress at the time of her presentation. Tritle, *Ploutarchos* 9 (1992) 55, commenting on Figueira's discussion, says it is likely that the general and the "socratic" Leon are different persons, pointing out that *AO* p.179 does not make the identification. In fact, *AO* says that Xenophon twice mistakenly substitutes Leon for a general of 406/5 actually named Lysias.

Property ownership on Salamis by members of the Thirty themselves (or their followers) may be epigraphically attested. The relevant document of the Attic *poletai* includes the notice that one <L>eukolophos from Sala[mis] (**849**) registered a house for sale. Kirchner sees him as being of the pre-Athenian native stock of the island.[42] He registers for sale by the *poletai* a house on Salamis belonging to Theomenes of Xyp[ete] (**663**), which property is bounded on the south by that of one Nikodik[os] (**1013**); the buyer is [S]osinomos son of Aristono[mos (demotic lost)] (**1208**).[43] Unfortunately, it is the neighbor and buyer of Theomenes' *other* house, Meletos (**912**) and Exekestos (**430**), who prompt more suggestions for connections. This house is perhaps also on Salamis, but is not explicitly said to be.[44] Exekestos could very well be Exekestos of Kothokidai, secretary of the *poletai* in 367/6, whose family's ownership of property on Salamis prompts comment by Davies — although no one seems to offer this particular identification.[45]

An Attic financial document of fourth century date relates to the collection of a tax called *hekatoste* ("hundredth"), and refers to one Eikadeon (**413**) as being "from Salamis", following his name with a word doubtfully restored *boul*[*archos*?]. He has sometimes been seen as being a native Salaminian, perhaps holding some otherwise unattested office — unless *Boul-* is instead the beginning of the patronymic Boularchou, which seems to me more likely. Eikadeon has something to do with the collecting of the tax when Olympiodoros son of Eumelos (**1058**), of whose demotic only the initial *pi* remains, sells a piece of land on Salamis at a location described as *en Chytreais* ("in the potters' quarter"?) to Dorotheos son of Theodoros of Oion (**409**).[46] The ambiguous status of another Salamis-connected name,

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[42] *IG* ii^2 1579 and additions, as reinterpreted and re-dated by Walbank, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 74-98; text now in *Agora* XIX.P2.d8: ⟨Λ⟩ευκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος] (correcting the stone's *alpha*). Kirchner says that Leukolophos "ex antiquis insulae incolis fuisse videtur, qui civitatis expertes et in ditione Atheniensium fuerunt....Nam hominem ex cleruchis, qui in insulam Salamina deducti fuerant, in monumentis publicis non ex domicilio sed ex demo, cui adscriptus erat, designari par erat...". Walbank p.81 says of Leukolophos: "he is not likely to have been an Athenian citizen". Cf. Figueira, *A&A* 148: "He [appears] in a context that shows he must be an Athenian citizen". See also discussion in Sec.1.4 above.

[43] Walbank p.82 describes both Nikodikos and Sosinomos as otherwise unknown, but says that Nikodikos might be either "a native Salaminian" or an Athenian.

[44] Lines 16-21. Walbank p.82 accepts that the house is on Salamis, but without argument. On this inscription, see also Sec.3.13 below.

[45] See *APF* pp.176-178, citing *Agora* XIX.P5.5f.

[46] *IG* ii^2 1596.12-16, esp. 12: ἐκ Σαλαμῖωος Εἰκαδέων βουλ[αρχος?]. Presumably Kirchner interprets Eikadeon as being a non-Athenian "Salaminian", since his name is omitted from *PA*. The name Boularchos is attested among Athenians: see *PA* 2909-13 and *Agora* XVII.6.19.

Timotheos (**1240**) of the well-known first-fruits inscription from Eleusis, dated 329/8 B.C., is discussed elsewhere in connection with further names associated with other settlements in the inscription.[47] A fragmentary inscription found on Salamis that deals with the leasing of certain properties there, dated by Kirchner to the first half of the fourth century, includes several names with demotics as those taking leases and as their sureties. Apparently all involved would have demotics if the inscription were fully preserved.[48]

Archiades son of Euthymachos of Otryne (**232**) left his father's estate undivided under the administration of his brother in Athens (an attested *trierarch*) and himself lived alone on Salamis. By the time of his death in old age, however, he had apparently come into his property, and a lawsuit in connection with the inheritance brings his name and family history to the knowledge of scholars.[49]

Demosthenes in 330 B.C. refers (without clear indication of date) to the crowning of Diotimos (**392**), and also the crowning of Charidemos (**1407**), for donating shields. These donations, which seem to be separated in their first mention, are closely linked in a following passage, bracketed by editors as spurious, which purports to provide a military and Salaminian context, with Charidemos as hoplite general and Diotimos "over the cavalry" sent to the island. G.R. Bugh, commenting that even though the passage may be spurious, "the historical information related need not be", sees Diotimos as one of the two Attic hipparchs of some year vaguely dated in "the 330s(?)"; Develin calls Diotimos "general of the hippeis to Salamis" for the specific year 338/7. Davies is more conservative, discussing Diotimos' generalships and trierarchies, but not mentioning Salamis or citing the bracketed passage.[50] Charidemos'connection with Salamis is obviously just as strong, or as weak, as that of Diotimos.

An inscription found on Salamis provides the names, patronymics, and demotics of numerous Athenian *hippeis* (nineteen generally well preserved, two quite fragmentary; others are lost), who are seen by most editors as having been present there ca. 320. They dedicate a statue in honor of their hipparch, Theogenes

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[47] *IG* ii² 1672.274. See Sec.1.4 and n.8 above (with Greek) and Sec.3.3 below.

[48] *IG* ii² 1590a, briefly discussed in Sec.3.13 below. Names: **20**, **393**, **971**, **972**, **974**, **1159**, **1160**, **1438**.

[49] [Dem.] 44.10 (ᾤκει καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι), 18 (ἑκάτερος ἔχων τὰ ἱκανὰ ὁ...'Αρχιάδης ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ᾤκει). See *APF* pp.195f for clarification of the source's confusing story.

[50] Dem. 18.114 (εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο), [116] (ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, κτλ.).

Theomedous Eleusinios (**637**), the honorand also apparently being crowned by "the *demos*", presumably that of Athens. The names suggest several prosopographical connections in *PA* and in *IG*'s *apparatus*, which have recently been summarized (with a few additions) by Bugh in his book on the Athenian cavalry. In any case, Bugh effectively argues that these *hippeis* are not residents of the island, but that they constitute a force from Attike itself, mostly from nearby demes, temporarily stationed there.[51] The Athenian *strategos* for Salamis, Aischetades (**41**), was condemned in reaction to the island's ready surrender to Kassandros (see Sec.1.10 n.44 above).[52]

Inscribed dedications from Salamis yield further names. Philomelos (**1320**) as Salaminian archon dates an early-fourth century choregic inscription found on Salamis, apparently set up by the *choregos* Diodoros Exekestidou (**349**), naming his trainer Paideas (**1071**) and his Megarian flute player (**1231**).[53] One [Ape]mon (**120**) adorns "holy Salamis" by dedicating a statue of his father, Nikokles son of Hegesippos of Anagyrous (**1017**), we are told by a mid-fourth century epigram found on the island.[54] Dedications are also made by certain persons of metic status, freed slaves (**705, 292, 862**) living on Salamis in the fourth century.[55] Other dedications, private and public, appear to be of post-fourth century date.[56]

Honorary decrees and miscellanous brief inscriptions not obviously classifiable within the types so far discussed yield more names. A fragmentary fourth century honorary decree from Salamis appears to be archon-dated by a name ending in -ophemos (**1521**), but its most recent editors believe that the script is too late for the name to be that of Nikophemos, the Attic archon of 361/0; they suggest instead that he might be the archon of the *genos* of the *Salaminioi*. Of the name of the honorand (**1517**) of this decree, only

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[51] *IG* ii^2 1955, beginning οἱ ἱππεῖς τῆι Σαλ[αμῖ]νι ἀν[έ]θ[ε]σ[αν]. See Bugh, *Horsemen* 181 and 212f. App. B's entries for the cavalrymen of this inscription are **159, 399, 449, 479, 515, 518, 547, 730, 731, 787, 976, 1006, 1032, 1118, 1161, 1193, 1196, 1289, 1335, 1392, 1439**.

[52] Paus. 1.35.2: καὶ Αἰσχτηάδου τε κατέγνωσαν θάνατον, ὃς τότε ᾕρητο ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα στρατηγός. Cf. Polyain. 4.11.1f.

[53] *IG* ii^2 3093: Διόδωρος Ἐξηκεστίδο | νικήσας χορῶι παίδων. | Παιδέας ἐδίδασκε. | Τηλεφάνης ηὔλε Μεγαρεύς. || Φιλόμηλος ἦρχε.. Referring to the names of this inscription, Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 91 says: "Ob dies allerdings athenische Kleruchen war, lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen".

[54] *IG* ii^2 3830 = *CEG* 767: Νικοκλῆς Ἡγησίππου Ἀναγυράσιος. | εἰκόνα τήνδε ἀνέθηκεν [Ἀπή]μων πατρὸς ἑαυτοῦ | ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς, κοσμῶν ἱερὰν Σαλαμῖνα.

[55] *IG* ii^2 1570.42f (Ἱππόλοχος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οἰκ(ῶν) ἀποφυ|γών); 1574.4 (Δᾶος ἐν Σαλαμῖν[ι οἰκῶν ἀποφυγών]), 9 (Λυκῖνος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι [οἰκῶν ἀποφυγών]).

[56] *IG* ii^2 2867; 3507; 3562; 4687; 4699 (names, excluding those already listed among the deceased or otherwise mentioned: **211, 573, 964, 1169**).

[---]okle[s---] is preserved. Seeing the inscription as a decree of the *Salaminioi*, the editors comment that although their honorary *stelai* were normally set up in the Athenian agora, they "might have set up a decree or its duplicate on Salamis if, for example, the individual honored in the decree was a resident of the island".[57] This conclusion may be valid even if uncertainty as to the resolving body exists, but nothing further can be said about a name so fragmentarily preserved. The honors voted to an Athenian military commander (**1551**) by the "Salaminians" in an inscription from the Attic mainland and possibly of late-fourth century date are discussed at length in Sec.1.10 above.[58] Very much later are honors for another individual (**1027**) passed by an unspecified *boule* and *demos*.[59]

Inscribed on a monument on Salamis of the Roman imperial period, apparently not a gravestone, are the names of a man (**1065**) and a woman (**258**).[60] A couple of Salamis-connected names (**121, 768?, 1051**) even show up on curse tablets.[61] In a list of names associated with a recently discovered cultic decree from Rhamnous,

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[57] *SEG* 40.130 = Lawton and Harris, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 110f, 114. The text (line 2) includes ο[...7....]οφημο ἄρχο[ντος ---], and it is reasonably inferred that ἐπί must be restored among the seven lost letters, i.e., that in the archon's name -ophemos is preceded by a maximum of four letters. The editors' reason for not suggesting that the eponym might be the archon of Salamis seems to be implicit in their statement, "The inscription cannot be a decree of Salamis, since in the classical period the island was not a deme and had no legislative authority" (p.114, from which also comes the quote in my text). But perhaps the fragmentary state of the inscription might allow it to be seen as, e.g., an Attic decree relating to Salamis, dated by the archons of *both* Athens and Salamis, with the Attic archon's name entirely lost. The office of archon of Salamis certainly existed by ca. 325 B.C. (*Ath.Pol.* 54.8), whether any body with "legislative authority" existed on the island or not. Stroud, in *SEG*, pointedly comments that the editors "do not mention the decrees of the Demos (not deme) of the Salaminioi..., nor the archon of Salamis...". In any case, I do not put such trust in letter forms, or know enough about the artistic criteria invoked, to feel safe in ruling out a restoration of [Nik]ophemos the Attic archon and consequently a date of 361/0. The complexity described here explains the long range of dates (361-304) for the entries from this inscription in my database, although Wallace suggests that the use of *omicron* alone for -OY in the genitive of the archon's name might make dates late in this range less likely.

[58] *IG* ii^2 1260, relevant Greek passage in n.7 there; see also n.8.

[59] *IG* ii^2 3922.

[60] Peek, *Att.Gr.*II 147: Ὀνησᾶς Ἐπαφροδίτου and Ἀφροδῶ Ζωπύρου.

[61] *SEG* 2.51 has textual problems, but is from Salamis itself. The other tablet, *SEG* 37.214, is even more problematic. L. Robert, *Collection Froehner* 12-14, in a list on the back of a lead curse tablet from Athens, restores one name as Κηφισοφῶν ὁ Σαλαμίνιος or K. Ἀφιδναῖος. Apparently the tablet itself is lost, and Robert had only Froehner's majuscule reading ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝΟΣΑΛΠΙΛΙΝΙΟΣ [*sic*!]; thus the proposed alternatives. But of course there is no Salaminian connection, and no rel-

editorially dated to the late third century, among many names with demotics and a few with foreign ethnics, appears a Dositheos *Salaminios* (**402A**).[62] The remaining names of my database that are connected with Salamis appear in late resolutions of "the *demos* of the Salaminians".[63]

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evance for my study, if "Aphidnaios" is the correct reading.

[62] Petrakos, *Praktika* (1989) p.29, line 39.

[63] See detailed discussion in Sec.1.10 n.48 above. Inscriptions providing names are *IG* ii^2 1008; 1011; 1225; 1227; 1228. Names: **47**, **94**, **212**, **464**, **609**, **639**, **644**, **645**, **1122**, **1134**, **1309**, **1311**, **1375**, **1408**.

CHAPTER 3

INSTITUTIONS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS

Political institutions among the fourth century Athenian settlers are in some appreciable degree illuminated by the primarily epigraphic sources that exist, and this is also true for economic and cultic/religious institutions. Social institutions in general, however, are much more difficult to discuss with any assurance, especially given my limited exposure to non-epigraphic archaeological finds and my lack of opportunity to visit most of the relevant sites. Therefore I mention social institutions only in passing and summarily, and discuss the evidence for the more public kinds of institutions at greater length.

3.1 Sources and Limitations

M.H. Hansen correctly points out that "Athens is the only *polis* and the fourth century the only period in which our sources are sufficient to reconstruct the organization, the working and the powers of a popular assembly".[1] This statement may be extended to the council (*boule*) and most other elements of the state as well. N. Jones' study of Greek public organization devotes more than one-sixth of its text and notes (ca. 54 pages) to the institutions of Athens, even though Athens is the *only* Greek state Jones explicitly *excludes* from his expressed plan "to cite, or otherwise account for, all contemporary documentation of public organization".[2] Interpreters of the institutions of other states (including Jones, he freely admits) are often compelled to resort to drawing analogies from Athenian institutions, analogies which in some cases, given the limited sources available, may not be truly appropriate. Although the evidence for the fourth century Athenian settlements is as fragmentary as the evidence for most other Greek sites, at least we are on safer ground in employing Attic analogies. The institutions of the metropolis

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[1] Hansen, *AthAssem.* 6.

[2] Jones, *Pub.Org.* xix. In comparison, Salamis rates one paragraph; Imbros, Lemnos, and Skyros combined get less than three pages; Samos during the klerouchic period gets three more; Poteidaia warrants less than two; and a lack of relevant contemporary documents causes the Thraikian Chersonesos to be omitted from Jones' discussion entirely.

would naturally be expected largely to be mirrored in those of its own settlements.[3]

My primary chronological consideration is the maintenance of a consistent separation between fourth century sources, which are direct, primary evidence, and post-fourth century sources. The latter can provide useful analogies, but they are evidence for fourth century practice only where institutional continuity can be assumed despite political changes and alterations in power relations — something rarely easy to demonstrate or justifiable to assume. In general, I cite fourth century sources more precisely, quote them more fully, and discuss them in greater detail, than I do those dated to later periods. I employ post-fourth century evidence only, of course, in connection with territories which continued to have populations that were at least substantially of Athenian descent (something made readily evident by the persistence of Athenian demotics), namely Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and Salamis. Late sources from places where the Athenian settlers had been, at least mostly, expelled are not normally useful. A subsidiary chronological consideration is the question of temporary periods, within the fourth century, of apparent independence from Athenian control, although seemingly without any major shifts in population. Documents of such independent territories are still documents of "fourth century Athenian settlers" and potentially revelatory of their institutions, but I do consistently handle these documents as a somewhat separate category of evidence.

3.2 What Were Fourth Century Settlements Called?

Some fourth century Attic phrasing could seem problematic for scholars who believe in two separate and quite distinct types of Athenian settlement, the *apoikia* and the *klerouchia* (see Introduction). Aischines is apparently referring to the fifth century when he evokes the time in which the Athenians sent out many *apoikiai*, and the same is true of Andokides' reference (in the late 390s) to the Athenians' desire to get back (among other things) their *apoikiai*. Demosthenes' statement that Philip had expelled "the Athenian *apoikoi*" from Poteidaia, however, is obviously a contemporary reference, although it is generally dismissed as literary imprecision,

[3] We need not, however, go so far as Cousin and Dürrbach, *BCH* 9 (1885) 50: "la constitution politique des clérouchies était faite exactement sur le modèle de la constitution athénienne".

since epigraphical evidence can be cited for the characterization of these settlers as klerouchs.[1] In a decree of 372, the Athenians assert their right, in the present, to imperial-style tokens of respect from the people of Paros, who had apparently recently been unsuccessful in seceding from the Second Athenian League, because they are "*apoik*[*o*]*i* of [th]e *demos* of the Athenians".[2] The reference presumably is to Athens' traditional claim to be the metropolis of the Ionian cities, since no other evidence exists for an Athenian settlement of any kind in fourth century Paros. The Parians appear, in fact, to be restored by the terms of this inscription to full membership in Athens' league.

An unambiguous reference to a contemporary *apoikia* exists in the epigraphic passage dated to 324 which quotes an Attic resolution "[concerning] the [*apoi*]*kia* to the Adriatic", whose leader (**950**) is repeatedly referred to as the *oikistes*, the traditional title for the founder of an *apoikia*, and whose followers (at least some of them) are called *epoi*[*koi*].[3] Whether the settlement to the Adriatic represented the unique fourth century example of a different type of Athenian establishment, as many believe, or whether the way of referring to it was merely an acceptable variation in phrasing, is difficult to tell, since no other relevant information about it exists. Some scholars see it as just another klerouchy, and believe that *all* the fourth century Athenian settlements were called klerouchies.[4] Krateros, a post-fourth century author, but one well acquainted with Attic epigraphic usage, is cited as referring to Athenian settlers on Samos as *epoikoi*. If the reference is to the fourth century settlers (some doubt exists on this point), the term is applied by Krateros to persons called "klerouchs" in other sources.[5]

Figueira is convinced both that *klerouchia* was the standard fourth century term for an Athenian overseas settlement and that the term became so well established then that it was retroactively and incorrectly applied to several *fifth* century settlements more properly

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[1] Ais. 2.175: πλείστας δ' ἀποικίας ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις ἀπεστείλαμεν. Andok. 3.15: φέρε, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν; Dem. 6.20: τοὺς 'Αθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων. Cf. the usages cited in Sec.2.1 above.

[2] *SV* 268 = Accame, *Lega* 230, lines 5f (my own readings; see App. A): ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνοσι|[ι] ἄποικ[ο]ι ὄ[ντες το]ῦ δήμο τô 'Αθηναίων.

[3] *IG* ii² 1629.176f and *passim*. See Sec.1.8 above for discussion and Greek.

[4] For example, Hansen, *AJAH* 7 (1982) 182 and 188 n.51. Figueira, *A&A* 239 sees terminology associated with the Adriatic *apoikia* as a "possible exception... which may substantiate the rule".

[5] Krateros *FGrH* 342 F 21, quoted by Zenobios. Problems abound: see Cargill, *GRBS* 331f and Sec.1.5 above.

known to contemporaries as *apoikiai*.[6] He believes that this incorrect retrospective usage in the works of the local historians of Attike of the fourth century and later (the "Atthidographers") influenced subsequent writers, e.g., Plutarch in his life of Perikles, to give fifth century klerouchies a bad name they had not had in their own time. Athenian allies had *really* objected, says Figueira, not to the generally small and fairly innocuous klerouchies, but to the larger, more numerous, and more intrusive *apoikiai* — a category of settlement in which he puts many of what several ancient writers and most modern scholars see as the more notorious of the fifth century klerouchies.[7]

This process of re-labelling may have some validity for the fifth century settlements, although it is not without problems in that context.[8] My own misgivings come primarily in connection with Figueira's seemingly casual assumption that *klerouchia* was the standard *fourth* century term for the settlements of that century. In his own survey of usage of *klerouchos* and related terms, for *klerouchia* as applied to post-400 B.C. Athenian establishments, he lists only two examples from Athenian rhetoric, neither of them reliably first-hand,[9] and a passage from Diodoros — hardly a fourth century source.[10] Elsewhere he concedes that *klerouchia* "does not appear as a term from official language in any fourth-century document".[11] A standard usage thus shakily established is then invoked in arguing that late writers, including Diodoros himself, do not mean what they say when referring to fifth century klerouchies[12] — and even in asserting that actual fourth century sources do not.[13] Still, when

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[6] Figueira, *A&A* 72 n.58, 195 and n.84.

[7] See entries within the respective categories of Figueira's Table 4, "Athenian Colonization (478-404)", pp.217-225.

[8] Note, e.g., the explaining away of the natural implication of certain wording within Antiphon fr.7, at Endnote A, pp.73f.

[9] Table 1, pp.48-53 cites (p.49), without quoting texts here or elsewhere, Demades fr.91.213f and Arist. *Rhet.* 1384b32. Rhetoric obviously cannot establish official usage: cf. Demosthenes' *apoikoi* at Poteidaia when inscribed decrees refer to *klerouchoi* (above).

[10] In the same place, Figueira cites Diod. 15.29.8, which is clearly just an inaccurate summary of the provisions of *IG* ii^2 43.35-41. Perhaps the summary did actually originate with the fourth century historian Ephoros, but the words as we now have them are the words of the Augustan author, including the word κληρουχίας. What is indisputable, since the inscribed passage is extant, is that no such word appears in the source Ephoros or Diodoros is misinterpreting; it is impossible for us to determine whose mistaken usage it is. On the relevant lines of the inscription, see Cargill, *SAL* 131, 146-150.

[11] Figueira, *A&A* 241, a statement verifiable in the citations on p.49.

[12] See p.195 n.84, citing Diod. 15.23.4, "although he uses a fourth-century sense of cleruchy". See also p.225 n.w on Plut. *Perik.* 11.5: "the term κληρούχους cannot be taken literally in this passage".

[13] In the text of p.25, reiterated in n.50, Isok. 4.107 is said to mean "colonies" when he uses the word κληρουχίας.

Figueira's general theory requires it, the usage of late authors can be treated as precise. Thus the assertion that Skyros was an *apoikia*, not a klerouchy, is seen as being supported by Diodoros' statement that the Athenians "renounced their cleruchies in 378/7": since Skyros was obviously retained, it must have been an *apoikia*![14]

I submit that it would be just as reasonable to attribute the terminology used by Roman-era writers in describing fifth century Athenian settlements to *Ptolemaic* usage as to Atthidographic usage, and to attribute Roman-era writers' interpretations of the nature of those settlements to Rome's own experience in colonization. When I see Plutarch crediting Perikles with relieving Athens of an idle and meddlesome mob by sending out klerouchs, I think immediately of the rhetoric of Cicero.[15]

It seems to be more responsible to take our clue for fourth century usage from terminology that is and is not extant in the fourth century sources we have. In actual fact, one extant Athenian inscription refers to an *apoikia*, whereas none refers to any *klerouchia*, even though numerous groups of settlers are called *klerouchoi*. The epigraphic sources from the fourth century settlements themselves are even more restricted in their terminology. No group of settlers, in any extant fourth century document, refers *either* to its settlement as a klerouchy *or* to itself as klerouchs. Perhaps the very opposite of Figueira's theory should be maintained: it might be more reasonable to believe that, in the fourth century, *all* the settlements of Athenians were called *apoikiai*, although by chance only one clearly contemporary usage of the term is extant. If so, Athenians in Attike might call settlers going to such *apoikiai* — indiscriminately, but not "loosely", since each term is correct and attested — *apoikoi*, *klerouchoi*, or *epoikoi*. The settlers called *themselves* simply Athenians — "the Athenians in" whatever territory they had settled; see Sec.2.1 above for numerous attestations of this practice.

3.3 Officers Sent from Athens

Officers sent from Athens assumed various kinds of authority within the territories occupied by Athenian settlers in the fourth century. Our sketchy sources, however, do not always make it clear where a given official is chosen. Some clarity, but also some ambiguity, is

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[14] P.221 n.**b**, citing Diod. 15.29.8.

[15] Plut. *Perik.* 11.5; see Figueira, *A&A* 63f for text, translation, and interpretation. Cf. Cic. *Q.F.* 2.4.5; *Att.* 1.16.11; 1.16.4; *Leg.Agr.* 2.70. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 105, citing the passage from *Perikles*, says that Plutarch here writes as if referring to "das stadt-römische Proletariat".

produced by passages within the Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution.* I quote from the Penguin translation of P.J. Rhodes:

> Sec. 54.8. A governor for Salamis and a demarch for the Piraeus are appointed by lot also: these hold the Dionysia in each place and appoint the *choregi.* In Salamis the name of the governor is published.
> Sec. 61.6. Also a cavalry commander for Lemnos is elected, to take responsibility for the cavalry on Lemnos.
> Sec. 62.2. The governor of Salamis is given one drachma a day. ...The officials sent to Samos, Scyros, Lemnos and Imbros receive money for maintenance.[1]

From these passages it is clear that, at the time the *Athenaion Politeia* was written (ca. 325 B.C.), the *archon eis Salamina* and the *hipparchos eis Lemnon* were definitely chosen (by lot and by vote, respectively) in Athens. The persons referred to as *archai* for Samos, Skyros, Lemnos, and Imbros were obviously chosen in Athens also, but we are not told *how*, nor are we told which particular *archai* are meant (the only officer previously mentioned that might fit the rubric is the hipparch for Lemnos). Evidence from other sources justifies including certain *military* officers in *Ath.Pol.* 62.2's category, e.g., some of the members of Athens' ten-man board of *strategoi.* Should we infer that each of the four named places was assigned an Athenian general every year — Lemnos even perhaps two, i.e., one each for Myrina and Hephaistia? At the time of the writing of *Ath.Pol.*, five of the ten *strategoi* are known to have been assigned to specific commands, mostly within Attike.[2] Committing most of the remaining generals to the listed territories would have left very little flexibility for dealing with military emergencies. More likely, *strategoi* were not assigned to each place in each year, but only to whichever one(s) required a commander.

Instead of, or in addition to, a *strategos*, was some other Athenian "magistrate" (*arche*) routinely assigned, either some lower-level military officer, or some "civilian-type" administrator? If the latter, would he have been called an *archon*, like the Attic appointee on Salamis, and like the *archontes* (usually translated "governors" sent into the territories of various Athenian allies in both the fifth and fourth centuries? Many *archontes* are in fact attested in fourth century (and later) klerouchic sources. Are these administrators sent out from the metropolis? Or are they (except on Salamis) local

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[1] Although Rhodes' translation is accompanied by a commentary, I continue to cite, instead, his much fuller separate treatment, Rhodes, *CAAP* on any textual matters.

[2] *Ath.Pol.* 61.1 lists these commands; Rhodes, *CAAP* 679, 682 points out that one of the five was a very recent posting, but this does not alter the basic point.

magistrates chosen (presumably by lot, like the eponymous *archon* in Athens) from among the Athenian citizens living in the settlements? Or were there some of each? Can we trust the restoration "*li*[*menophrouros*(?) of A]thenians in (the) Hellespon[t]" in an Attic resolution, apparently of 354 B.C.,[3] and, if so, what is this officer?

Does the treatment of Salamis in these passages of the *Ath.Pol.* indicate a fundamental similarity or a fundamental difference in its status and/or organization, at the time of writing, vis-à-vis the other named territories? If the latter, how might the difference be accounted for, and was it of recent vintage or long-standing? What does it mean to say, as *Ath.Pol.* 54.8 says, that the name of the archon in Salamis "is published" (*anagraphetai*)? That he is the eponymous magistrate on Salamis, as the archon is in Athens? The epigraphical evidence (even drawing on clues from post-fourth century inscriptions) will not come anywhere close to answering all of the questions prompted by the passages quoted from the *Ath.Pol.*, but all of them should legitimately be asked, if only to reiterate how very little we can actually know about the settlements and their institutions.

In addition to the annual *archai* who may have been sent out from Attike in a given year to specified settlements, there are two fourth century epigraphic references to extraordinary, non-annual officers who definitely seem to have been sent out from Athens. One is the above-discussed (Sec.3.2) reference to Miltiades Lakiades, *oikistes* of the *apoikia eis ton Adrian* of 324.[4] It is less frequently mentioned that *oikistai* had Athenian ships in the Chersonesos is 353/2, although references to fourth century Athenian settlers in that region, some of them arriving around this very date, often describe them as klerouchs.[5]

The suggestion that *every* Athenian settlement *established* in the fourth century may have had an *oikistes* sent from Athens would be unprovable, but it would not be contradicted by the scarce evidence. The religious overtones of the office would accord well with the Athenian state's normal ritualized way of doing things. Besides, only a couple of unattested *oikistai*, at most, would have to be posited, namely ones for Poteidaia and for Samos.[6] The apparent brief

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[3] *IG* ii² 133.23f: τὸν λι[μενόφρουρον(?) τὸν 'Α]|θηναίων ἐν 'Ελλησπόν[τωι]. See Sec.2.4 n.34 above on this inscription.

[4] *IG* ii² 1629.176f, 224f, and *passim*.

[5] *IG* ii² 1613.297f; see Sec.2.1 above for Greek and for other references.

[6] The interpretation of Figueira, *A&A* 241f, to the effect that all the fourth century "klerouchies" were simply *re*colonizations of places continuously claimed, would perhaps eliminate the need to posit *oikistai* even in these places. But Figueira's argument does not take account of the attested *oikistai* in the Chersonesos, whose existence should also be unnecessary, on his hypothesis.

period of *de facto* independence experienced by Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros at the end of the Peloponnesian War may never have been officially recognized by Athens, whose unrenounced claims to the three islands helped to sabotage certain early-fourth century peace negotiations, and influenced the terms that were finally accepted in the King's Peace of 386. "Re-founding" of Athenian settlements on these islands may not have been deemed necessary,[7] nor is there firm evidence for any influx of settlers. Salamis, whatever its status, remained continuously in Athenian control, so we would not expect to find any fourth century *oikistes* operating there, either. Whether *oikistai* were associated with every settlement, or only with the ones for which they are definitely attested, we have no way of knowing whether they would have returned quickly to Attike after completing their duties in the establishment of the settlements, or would have remained on the scene as settlers themselves. An earlier Miltiades, as virtual "tyrant" in the Chersonesos, had obviously remained, but the situation was entirely different in the fourth century. No documents referring to fourth century Athenian settlements appear to mention *apoikistai*(?), the assisting officers apparently referred to in the fifth century Brea decree.[8]

Operations in and around territories occupied by fourth century Athenian settlers by *strategoi* from Athens are well attested in the literary sources.[9] I am content in this section to survey the epigraphic evidence.[10] A decree firmly dated to 340 announces that "the general Cha[res]" (**1395**) is to look out for the interests of the Elaiousians in the Chersonesos, to see that they live in harmony

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[7] Walbank, *Agora* XIX p.156: "In 387/6 B.C. Athens once again established a cleruchy on Lemnos...". The discussion about *IG* ii[2] 180 at *SEG* 39.61 refers in passing to "the founding of the Athenian cleruchy [on Skyros] before 387/6 B.C.". In *Agora* XXVI, Kroll refers to the "restoration of the Lemnian cleruchies" in 386 (p.179) and cites Stroud's revision of *IG* ii[2] 30 as including "regulations for the new cleruchy on Lemnos" (p.216).

[8] *IG* i[3] 46.8f: hοι ἀπ[οικιστ]αί....].

[9] I refer to operations of Timotheos, Charidemos, Chares, Iphikrates, Chabrias, Diopeithes, *et al.* The literary evidence for generals on Salamis is either questionable (Dem. 18.[116]; see Sec.1.4 n.11 and especially Sec.2.9 n.50 above) or refers to a period after Athens had lost control of the island (Paus. 1.35.2). Certain evidence relating to Imbros (Dem. 18.[115], see below) is similarly doubtful.

[10] From which should probably be excluded *IG* ii[2] 118.5-8, commonly dated ca. 361/0 and restored to include a reference to "[– – – Charid]emos and those w[ith him – – –]". The best-known Charidemos (**1407**) was apparently not yet an Athenian citizen, and therefore obviously not yet an elected general, at the time of this inscription. On the date see *APF* p.571, citing Parke. See also the much more radical reinterpretation of D. Whitehead, discussed in Sec.2.2 above, who questions the inscription's reference to Charidemos at all.

with the Athenians there.[11] Bringers of first-fruits to Eleusis in 329/8 include the general Mnesistratos Kyther(rios, **960**) from Skyros, the general Sthenyllos Eiresides (**1145**) from Myrina, and the general Mnesimachos Hagnousios (**958**) from Hephaistia.[12] A general for Salamis (**1551**, name lost) is attested in an inscription from Sounion, but the inscription's date in the *Corpus* (307-304 B.C.) is conjectural and questionable.[13]

The majority of the fourth century epigraphic evidence on *strategoi* relates to Samos, a fact that leads, e.g., to the inference that a clay token, without name, referring to some officer "for Samos" probably means the *strategos* there, as others demonstrably do.[14] Within an Attic naval list of 326/5, various ships are said to have been sent with or to certain named *strategoi eis Samon*, presumably in several different years, but all within the recent past (since many of the ships are said to have been recently built, with dates provided). The generals mentioned are Dioxandros (**401**, no demotic, in either of the two places his name appears), "[......]os Eroiades" (**1308**), and "[Diphilo]s? Aixoneus".[15] An inscription from Priene, on the Asian mainland near Samos (editorially dated to about the same time), is apparently the source for the last name's restoration; it praises "[Di]philos the *strategos* for Samos" from Athens (**398**).[16] An unpublished inscription at the *Heraion* refers to another general, presumably Athenian, whose name appears to have been Euthydemos (**496**).[17] An inscription of the returned Samian exiles, relating to an attempt by the Athenians to recapture the island, mentions an Athenian general. It provides a full title — "[t]he [*s*]*tra*[*t*]*egos* [of the A]thenians ele[ct]ed for Samos" — but no name (**1550**).[18] Another, very fragmentary, resolution of the returned ex-

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[11] *IG* ii^2 228.11-16; Greek in Sec.2.2 n.29 above.

[12] *IG* ii^2 1672.275-278 (see App. A on readings); the latter two generals are each accompanied by two other men bearing demotics but no titles: see Sec.3.5 below.

[13] *IG* ii^2 1260.14f; inscription discussed and Greek quoted in Sec.1.10 n.7 above.

[14] *SEG* 30.114 = Kroll and Mitchel, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 86-96 and pll.13f. Conversely, Kroll and Mitchel infer that Nikoteles (**1033**), who *is* named on clay tokens (but without office), is a general for Samos.

[15] *IG* ii^2 1628.17f, 28, 109f, 119f; no verb or preposition connects ships and generals; we have only the dative form στρατηγῶι (with *eis Samon* and the dative name) in subheadings for groups of ships.

[16] Hiller, *Inschr.v.Priene* no.5.18; an earlier editor had restored "[So]philos".

[17] *Heraion* Inv. J24: see App. A. The name-and-title combination is inferred from two mutually rcinforcing restorations: τὸν στρατηγὸν Ẹ[ὐθύδημον – – –] (my underdot; Dunst underlines the *epsilon* as having been lost since discovery of the inscription), and, ca. three lines later, [– – – στρατη]|γὸν Εὐθύδημον.

[18] Habicht, *AM* #1.3f ([τ]ọν [σ]τρα[τ]ηγὸν [τ]ὸν [τῶν 'Α]θηναίων εἰΣάμον | [κ]εχει[ρ]οτον[ημ]ένον), 9f (ὁ στρατη||γός). Translations of this inscription include those of Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.128 and of Shipley *Samos* 167, who in n.66 incorrectly cites it as "no.2" in Habicht's collection.

iles apparently deals with a different Athenian attack, some years later; one fragmentary line seemingly refers to a general whose name ends in "[– – –]onos", while in another mostly lost line the word *Athenaioi* is extant. No one has restored the passage in such a way as to make [– – – ?Antig]onos an *Athenian* general, and I do not suggest that anyone should. But certainty that the general in question is the honorand (and thus pro-Samian and therefore definitely *not* an Athenian) is equally unattainable. Suffice it to say that a reference to an Athenian general here is unlikely, but not absolutely ruled out.[19]

An entry in a list of Athenian *mystai* from Samothraike shows that as late as the second century C.E. a *strategos* (**1198**) was sent out from Athens to Imbros.[20] The post-fourth century epigraphical record for Lemnos includes several references to *strategoi*.[21] Late-second century Salamis appears to have both an archon and a *strategos*.[22]

The hipparch for Lemnos is discussed ably and fully in an Appendix to Bugh's book on the Athenian cavalry. Of the four attested[23] hipparchs, two are dated to the fourth century: Pheidon Thriasios (**1277**), known from a passage in Athenaios and from twenty-six clay tokens stamped with his name and title, and Lykophron (**866**), for whom Hypereides wrote a defense speech, partially preserved. Bugh argues that the relevant passage from that oration shows that Lykophron's cavalry troops were sent out from Attike, not a cavalry made up of residents of the settlements on the island, and that the local klerouchs provided their pay.[24] He be-

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[19] Habicht, *AM* #19.5 ([– – –]όνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ *vv* | [– – –]), 8 (Athenians); Habicht's comments and suggestions are very circumspect; see also Shipley, *Samos* 168 n.76 and 172 n.22. One confusing factor is that the general may bear the same name as the Makedonian king, Antigonos Monophthalmos, who was also friendly to the restored Samians at certain times.

[20] *IG* xii(8) 216.4-6; see Sec.2.6 n.32 above for Greek. *IG* xii(8) 64 and 65, from Imbros, also very late, refer to someone (**1110**, **1135**) *strategountos*, the generalship being perhaps by this time the eponymous magistracy on Imbros. No archon on Imbros is attested later than the third century B.C.; see next section. In *IG* xii(8) 87.*b*1f *Strategos* may be either a title or a personal name (**487**).

[21] Late *strategoi* in database are **28**, **147**, **620**, **822**, **1288**, **1455**. See also *SEG* 24.141.*a*7, ?*b*3.

[22] *IG* ii^2 1008.77, 83; 2800.2. *Strategoi*: **554**, **609**.

[23] Attested by name, that is. Bugh is also aware (p.218) of the "hipparch for Myrina" (**1553**) mostly, but reasonably, restored in two mid-second century Attic lists of offices: Crosby, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 457-461, nos.7.17 and 8.6.

[24] Bugh, *Horsemen*, Appendix B, pp.209-218. The author sent me a MS version of the Appendix in 1987, which was helpful to me in doing my own research. Sources cited for the fourth century hipparchs are *SEG* 30.114 = Kroll and Mitchel, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 86-96; Athen. 9.402; and Hyp. 1.16-18 (OCT/Loeb numbering). See also Bugh's discussion of the sources (*IG* ii^2 672 and 1224) and literature for later Lemnian hipparchs (**831**, **1225**). Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 91 insists that the *hippeis* on Lemnos were residents, and that the hipparch was sent out alone.

lieves that no such office as the *hipparchos eis Lemnon* existed prior to the military crisis of the 350s, apparently taking a comment made by Demosthenes in 351 as the earliest attestation of the office.[25] The latter argument is plausible and may well be correct, but it is subject to challenge.[26] Bugh seems to be correct in denying that there was any hipparch for Salamis, despite the dedication (usually dated ca. 320) which the "*hippeis tei Sal*[*ami*]*ni*" made in honor of the hipparch Theogenes (**637**). He believes that both commander and troops were simply sent out from Attike and stationed on the island briefly. Bugh's interpretation is strengthened by the lack of any reference to a hipparch for Salamis in the almost-contemporaneous *Ath.Pol.*, and not disproved by a doubtful passage in Demosthenes.[27]

In addition to military officers, certain tantalizing fourth century Attic inscriptions may indicate the existence of economic or financial officials sent from Attike to certain settlements, but each such source is problematic and ambiguous. I exclude from this discussion entirely the 61-line inscription of 374/3 found in the Athenian agora in 1986, as yet unpublished (see Sec.2.2 above), that deals at length with "tax-farmers" for Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. Their venue of operations and even place of residence do not seem to be obvious, and in any event they would apparently be private volunteers, not state officials. Certain persons connected with Salamis are difficult to classify, e.g., Eikadeon (**413**) who seems to be reporting,

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[25] Bugh, *Horsemen* 211, citing Dem. 4.26f (see below). The revised version of a text of the 380s, Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) no.23.5 ([– – – ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνα ἄρ]χοντος ἐν Λήμν[ω]ι), is preferred by Bugh over "the very tentative restoration" in the earlier text of *IG* ii² 30.5: [– – – ἄρχ]οντος (*vel* ἱππαρχôντος *vel* στρατηγôντος ἐν Λήμν[ω]ι. See now *Agora* XIX.L3, which follows Stroud's text.

[26] Stroud's underdotted *chi* in line 5 obviously rules out the restoration of στρατηγôντος, which had been one of *IG*'s alternatives, but it does not exclude the other, ἱππαρχôντος. If the word is part of a dating formula, which Stroud's restoration infers, we would of course expect a reference to the eponymous magistrate, and that should mean the archon, not the hipparch. But the other elements of that formula are also restorations, and nothing requires the presence of a dating formula at this point in the inscription. This *could* be a reference to the hipparch for Lemnos in the 380s — although I too suspect that the archon is actually the official referred to. Conversely, the Demosthenic passage may actually tend to indicate that the hipparch for Lemnos had *not* yet been established by 351. Dem. 4.26f says that the Athenians elect "ten taxiarchs and *strategoi* and phylarchs and *two* [my emphasis] hipparchs". The subsequent statement that "your hipparch has to sail to Lemnos" (εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν) does not seem in any way to indicate that the officer referred to is a *third* hipparch, different from the two just mentioned. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 91 and n.58 reads the Demosthenes passage as referring to a total of two hipparchs, one of whom is sent to Lemnos.

[27] Bugh, *Horsemen* 212f discusses both *IG* ii² 1955 and Dem. 18.[116], which refers to Charidemos having been sent ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν to Salamis, and Diotimos ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων. See n.9 above for cross-references to fuller discussions.

or delivering, payment of a 1% tax from Salamis, and who may be given the title of "*boul*[*archos*?]";[28] Leukolophos *ex Sala*[*minos*] (**849**), who lists houses there for sale by the Attic *poletai*;[29] and Timotheos Alope(kethen, **1240**), mentioned without title as a bringer of first-fruits to Eleusis from Salamis. In the same document that mentions Timotheos, the delegations from Skyros, Myrina, and Hephaistia are (as said above) led by *strategoi*, but there is no clue as to the office(s) held by the two men listed after each of the two generals from Lemnos.[30] In 305/4, an Attic treasure list includes "other [m]on[ey,] which Chionid[e]s Th[riasios (and) (name lost) Er]oiades bro[ugh]t from Lemnos and I[mbr]os". Since Chionides (**1420**), at least, is mentioned in another context in a passage referring to the preceding year, these men are presumably Attic officials. But the date is rather late and the situation perhaps new or irregular.[31] An apparently spurious passage in a Demosthenic speech refers to an "official paymaster" (**1346**, Loeb trans.) who was supposed to bring pay to troops on Imbros, but was prevented from doing so by storms. This official may be as unreal as everything else about the passage.[32]

3.4 Archons[1]

Some of the names connected with Salamis in the preceding section have been thought to be names of archons on Salamis,[2] but this is only conjecture. An archon on Salamis, Philomelos (**1320**), is firmly attested in the early fourth century.[3] Another (**1521**) seems possible to Stroud and to me, but apparently not to the source's editors.[4]

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[28] *IG* ii² 1596.12; see Sec.2.9 above for Greek and discussion, and Sec.3.7 below on functionaries of the *boule*.

[29] *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*8. See Greek and discussion, also in Sec.2.9 above.

[30] *IG* ii² 1672.274-278; Develin, *AO* pp.393f believes they too may be generals. See Sec.1.4 above for Greek and discussion.

[31] *IG* ii² 1492.132f; cf. line 101. See *SEG* 38.142 and 146, and Sec.1.10 n.37 above.

[32] Dem. 18.[115]; see Sec.1.10 n.1 and especially Sec.2.6 n.3 (with Greek) above.

[1] On the subject matter of this section see also Sherk, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 273 and 84 (1990) 270-272, 287-289.

[2] Develin believes that both Leukolophos of *Agora* XIX.P2 and Timotheos of *IG* ii² 1672 may have been archons of Salamis (*AO* 1812 and p.202, *AO* 3111 and p.395, respectively); he has no entry for Eikadeon of *IG* ii² 1596, however.

[3] *IG* ii² 3093.5; see Sec.2.9 n.53 for Greek text.

[4] *SEG* 40.130 = Lawton and Harris, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 110, line 2; see Greek and detailed discussion in Sec.2.9 and n.57 above.

Only a couple of others, Andronikos (**94**)[5] and Pytheas (**1122**),[6] both second century, are known. No archon at all is attested for the short-lived Athenian settlement at Poteidaia. *Names* are not extant for any archons in the Chersonesos, but Demosthenes cites letters "from the *archontes* out of (the) Chersonesos" (**1545**) and refers to "the *archon* of Krithote" (**1546**).[7] The Loeb translation calls these persons "authorities" and "governor" respectively, probably with the implication that they are magistrates sent out from Attike. Such a procedure is stated as a *certainty* by Accame in dealing with the archon (**1007**) mentioned in an inscription from the Kabeirion near Hephaistia on Lemnos, which he dates to the second half of the fourth century.[8]

An Attic naval list probably datable to 370/69 may lend some support to suggestions that fourth century *archontes* are officers sent out from Attike. It says that a group of "triremes sailed out in the *k*[*leroucha*]*rchonship* of Eukte[mon Lou]si(eus? and) Euthias Souni(eus)".[9] The phrase is essentially complete, and must have been meant to identify a time-period, presumably a year. Would an Attic document employ a dating formula based on magistrates chosen outside of Attike? *Prima facie*, it would seem more likely that these two *kleroucharchontes* (**521**, **492**: the term is otherwise unattested[10]) are the annual archons, chosen in Athens, sent out to two settlements of klerouchs — perhaps to the two klerouchic towns on Lemnos. But what of Imbros and Skyros, also Athenian posses-

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[5] *IG* ii² 1227.1: ἐπὶ Ἐπικλέους ἄρχοντος ἐν ἄστει, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ Ἀνδρονίκ[ου]. In the comment to *IG* ii² 1228 (not 1227), the editor says that the archon in the year the honorand was *gymnasiarch* (presumably the preceding year, 132/1), named Ergokles (lines 5, 27, 45f), was archon in Athens. From the text itself, it does not seem impossible that he could have been archon on Salamis instead, so I include him in my database (**464**) with "Sal?" for location. I treat Sarapion (**1134**) of *IG* ii² 1228.5 the same way, for similar reasons.

[6] *IG* ii² 1008.75, 80 (paired in both places with Hipparchos, archon ἐν ἄστει).

[7] Dem. 23.159 and 161; see Sec.1.7 n.10 above for Greek. The persons called [τοὺς ἄρχ]‖οντας τοῦς ἐν Ἑλλησπ[όντωι] in *IG* ii² 133.24f, a decree apparently dating to 354 B.C., are relevant to this study only if the quoted phrase is equivalent to "the *archontes* in the Chersonesos", which it probably is not.

[8] Accame, *Ann.* #11.3f (ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος | Νικίου Σουνιέως), prompting: "Nicia del Sunio è certamente un arconte inviato da Atene nella sua cleruchia..." (p.91). The "certainty" is in Accame, not in the source.

[9] *IG* ii² 1609.88f: τριήρες ἐξέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Εὐκτή[μονος Λου?]|σι(έως), Εὐθίο Σουνι(έως) κ[ληροχα]ρχόντων (my readings from autopsy; *IG* has κληρ[ο]χ[α]ρχόντων. The argument for the date is offered by Cawkwell, *Historia* 22 (1973) 759-761; see also Sealey, *Phoenix* 11 (1957) 95-99 and *AO* p.51; cf. Davies, *Historia* 18 (1969) 309-333.

[10] *AO* p.19 calls them "two men who led out a klerouchy"; at p.251 they are called "Kleroucharchoi". Figueira, *A&A* 53 n.d discusses the term *kleroucharchontes*, showing weaknesses in the reconstruction of Cawkwell, who is described as seeing these as annual(?) military officers leading forces to protect the klerouchs.

sions at this time, recognized as such since the King's Peace, and presumably both also having klerouchs settled on them? Should they not also have archons (wherever chosen), and (if so) why would an Attic passage be dated by the names of two klerouchic archons and not by at least two others? Two possible explanations occur. One would be that Myrina, Hephaistia, Imbros, and Skyros do indeed all have archons at this time, but that the names of two of them are irrelevant to the particular context, which concerns triremes sent only to two settlements. The other plausible explanation would be that (setting aside Salamis as a special case, given its unique closeness to Athens), of the overseas settlements, *only* Myrina and Hephaistia, at this early date, have *archontes*, the settlements on Imbros and Skyros being considered by the Athenians to be (at this time) too small to warrant the sending out of a magistrate (*archon*), while the other fourth century settlements are not yet even established. The argument works the same way if the only two archons at this point in time are those for Hephaistia and *Imbros*, rather than Myrina.

It is a fact that the *only* attestation of an *archon* on Skyros, his name being Athenion (**31**), is dated to the second century.[11] From Imbros, the only fourth century inscription in which an archon-dating formula (**699**) is clearly preserved is generally attributed to a period of independence from Athens.[12] The presence of such a formula (**117**) in another Imbrian inscription of similar date depends entirely on acceptance of the report of an early (1880) edition of the text; a squeeze made for an edition published only three years later would permit no such readings.[13] A third Imbrian inscription is customarily dated to 352/1, but only because a name in the genitive case in line 1 prompts the restoration of an archon-dating for-

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[11] *IG* xii(8) 666.2f. The odd word-order near the beginning of this resolution (ἐπειδὴ τῆς | καταλεγείσης κανηφόρου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος 'Αθη|νίωνος τοῦ Διονύσου 'Αρμοξένας ὁ πατὴρ 'Αρκεσί|δημος τήν τε πομπὴν ἐπευσχημόνησε, κτλ., lines 1-4) led its original editor, Lebègue (1873) to "correct" the stone's clear Διονύσου to Διονυσίου (followed by *IG*; cf. the majuscule there). This was interpreted as being the archon Athenion's patronymic. In reality, Harmoxena (**215**), daughter of the honorand Arkesidemos (**214**), has been chosen by the archon Athenion (no patronymic mentioned) as the *kanephoros* of Dionysos. This clarification is paraphrased from Deffner, *EA* (1923) 163-166, who surveys earlier scholarship and provides a very clear photo (p.164).

[12] *IG* xii(8) 47.9; see Sec.1.10 n.26 above for Greek. The formula does not appear in the prescript, but is only used to date the magistracy of the honorand, a *polemarch*.

[13] *IG* xii(8) 48.1; also see Sec.1.10 above (esp. n.27), for Greek and discussion. The partially preserved "second" line of this inscription, in fact, corresponds in content to the extant first line of *IG* xii(8) 47, i.e., "line 2" may really have been line 1.

mula, *and* because the person thus interpreted as being an archon is identified with the *Attic* archon of that year. If the man, Aristodemos (**168**), is an archon at all, however, he is just as likely to have been the archon on Imbros — but if so we have no basis for the 352/1 date.[14] An archon for Imbros (**821**) *is* definitely mentioned in an inscription editorially dated to the third century.[15]

Despite the considerations just discussed, my own suspicion is that *archontes* were present in the fourth century in settlements of any considerable size. Such a formula might exclude Poteidaia or Skyros or perhaps some of the settlements in the Chersonesos. I further suspect that said *archontes* were, except on Salamis, magistrates chosen locally by lot, not "governors" sent out from Athens. I take it as significant that *Ath.Pol.* explicitly mentions an *archon* for Salamis, but elsewhere (except for the hipparch for Lemnos) speaks only of *archai*, the generic term for "magistrates" or "officers". This expression can, and seemingly must, include several attested *strategoi*, and may include less firmly attested financial officials (see preceding section). Names of persons called archons appear in numerous fourth century inscriptions from Samos and Lemnos, in contexts and in formulas that parallel inscriptional references to archons in Attike. It seems justifiable to infer that such persons were similarly chosen, i.e., by lot, in the territories, to serve as eponymous magistrates for a year each.

This is a roundabout way to reach a conclusion most commentators simply take for granted,[16] but the elements of guesswork and uncertainty in almost every aspect of dealing with the scanty and ambiguous sources relating to fourth century Athenian settlers should never be concealed or minimized.[17] I believe that in general scholars too casually assume that any archon named in a klerouchic inscription whose name appears in the Attic archon list must be the Attic archon. The context frequently does not justify this inference. Athenians settled abroad have names common in Attike, and an officer selected by lot in one place could obviously have the same name as a person selected by lot in another during the same century. Unlike some other commentators, therefore, I take archons mentioned in klerouchic inscriptions as *klerouchic* archons, unless

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[14] *IG* xii(8) 63.1: [– – – ἐπὶ] Ἀριστοδήμο [ἄρχοντος.].

[15] *IG* xii(8) 51.13f: ἐπὶ Κτησικράτου ἄρχοντος. See Tréheux, *BCH* 80 (1956) 462-479.

[16] See, e.g., Rhodes, *CAAP* 695: "There are archons, probably appointed from the cleruchs, on Samos...", etc.

[17] Jones, *Pub.Org.* 197, having discussed the workings of several states of Athenian klerouchs, sagely concludes: "Indeed, nearly every question prompted by the Athenian model remains unanswered".

such persons are explicitly said to serve in Athens, or that is rather strongly indicated.

The Samian evidence is the clearest, thanks to the tendency there (attested elsewhere only in the very late Salaminian documents cited above) to couple the names of local and Attic archons. This practice makes certain inscriptions from Samos precisely datable. The clear cases are Theokles (**659**) of 347/6 and Peiseleos (**1091**) of 346/5 from Michel 832 (see Sec.2.8 above) and Neokles (**988**) of 334/3 from the best-preserved of three klerouchic dedications at Delphoi.[18] Another archon on Samos, whose partially preserved name begins with "Timo-" (**1249**), served in the same year as an Attic archon with a name beginning "Aris-"; editors suggest the archons of 331/0 and 330/29, to which I add the possibility of 352/1.[19] Recent editors have reinterpreted the partly preserved name "-kritos" in another Samian document as that of the Attic archon Euthykritos of 328/7, although earlier editors had seen him as the archon on Samos, perhaps named [Leo?]kritos (**1505**). Neither speculation is demonstrably more likely than the other. What we have is either a dated inscription with the name of the archon on Samos totally lost, or a partially preserved Samian archon's name on an undated inscription.[20] It is possible that Michel 832 names a third klerouchic archon, Demetrios (**311**), in addition to the two obvious ones.[21] For completeness, I also mention the mostly-lost archon (**1484**) of a decree of the tribe Pandionis, found on Samos, and the two references to an archon (**1541**, name entirely lost in both places) in a resolution of soldiers on Samos, but I suspect that in the latter inscription the *Attic* archon is referred to.[22]

An Attic inscription apparently dated to 387/6 possibly includes within its extremely fragmentary text the dating formula [– – – *epi* (name lost) *ar*]*chontos en Lemn*[*o*]*i*. If so, this would be the earliest fairly firmly dated reference to an archon on that island. But different restorations could transform the passage into a reference to certain event(s) on Lemnos during some *Attic* archonship, or (see preceding section) into a reference to the *hipparch* on Lemnos, rather

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18 *SEG* 18.200.2-5.

19 *SEG* 18.201.2-4; see App. A for numerous textual difficulties; I presume that the reason for the customary preference for the other two possibilities is that they are closer to 334/3.

20 *SEG* 18.202."2-5"; see Sec.2.8 above and App. A, which also explain the quotation marks around these line numbers.

21 Michel 832.30f; see full discussion in Sec.2.8 above. Sherk, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 288 says that Demetrios could be *either* a klerouchic archon or an archon of Athens.

22 Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 36-38 no.5.7 (see Sec.2.8 n.27 above for Greek) and 34f no.4.5, 12 (see discussion of date problems in Sec.3.10 below).

than an archon.[23] The scanty evidence would in fact seem to permit the belief that no archon existed in Myrina as yet.[24] Unless an unpublished *horos* with archon date, seen by Stroud outside the Myrina Museum in 1963, is definitely from Myrina and not Hephaistia, and also is not post-fourth century, then all attested fourth century archons on Lemnos appear to be archons of Hephaistia, with possible examples at Myrina (**693**, **1446**) occurring only in later centuries.[25]

An inscription at the Kabeirion, dated by Accame to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century, honors "the *hieromnemones* of the archonship of Hegesarchos" (**587**) and their secretary.[26] An inscriptional reference, in the same sanctuary, to the archonship of Nikias Sounieus (**1007**), which prompts the remarks by Accame discussed above, is on a stone conjecturally dated to the second half of the fourth century.[27] From the early or middle fourth century, to judge by the letter forms, is a *horos* in the Myrina Museum, said to have come from the Hephaistia area, whose inscription ends with the irregular nominative case dating formula "archon Eumelides" (**526**).[28] Two *horoi* in the *Corpus* mention an archon named Nikodoros (**1015**), whom some editors identify with the Attic archon of 314/3, but others see as a Lemnian archon (see detailed discussion in Sec.1.10 above). One of these stones is further inscribed with a second transaction, dated by a different archon, Archias (**234**, *not* a name present in the fourth century Attic archon list).[29] Despite the interpretation offered in Chapter 1, there is no

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[23] *Agora* XIX.L3 = Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) no. 23.5; see Stroud's comm., p.170 and n.24.

[24] If the just-discussed phrase really does refer to the "archon on Lemnos", that phrasing alone would tend to imply that there was only *one* such official, not two. Only a few inscriptions from Myrina might be relevant in deciding this issue, and unfortunately most of them are missing the prescript passages in which we might expect to find an archon date; this is true for *IG* xii(8) 2-4 and 6-9, for example. But the phrasing of *IG* xii(8) 5, a *stoichedon* inscription editorially dated to the mid-fourth century whose prescript is fully preserved, may be significant. Here we have an invocation of the gods, the common resolved-by-the-*boule*-and-*demos* formula, the tribe in prytany, the secretary, the *epistates*, and the proposer — but no archon. See Sec.3.6 below for a full translation of the inscription.

[25] Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 170 n.24 lists attestations of archons on Lemnos (his list appears to be complete, as of his publication date, although I will discuss certain doubtful cases below). On the unpublished *horos*, see App. A, last item.

[26] Accame, *Ann.* #1, archon date in lines 3f.

[27] Accame, *Ann.* #11.3f.

[28] Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) B2.520 pl.492a; reproduced in *BCH* 102 (1978) 728f fig.180; see App. A.

[29] *IG* xii(8) 18 + Supp. p.147(=*SLC* 104).6f; 19.1f, 8f (=*SLC* 107.1 and 108.1). See comms. in *IG*; Ferguson, *JHS* 30 (1910) 208; Picard and Reinach, *BCH* 36 (1912) 347f; cf. Segre, *Ann.* p.299, followed by Finley at *SLC* pp.199f.

genuine necessity for Archias' archonship to imply independence from Athens. He and Nikodoros both *could* be archons of the fourth century klerouchs, regardless of whether the settlement was independent when either or both of them held office. Archias apparently served later than Nikodoros, given the order of their appearances on the same stone, but he need not have been his immediate successor; *horoi* were sometimes simply re-used. The final possibly fourth century century document that I shall mention in this context is a resolution of "the *demos* of the initiated" from the Kabeirion, dated by Accame as fourth/third century, that begins with an archon-dating formula, but in which at most the final letter (*sigma*) of the genitive form of the name (**1527**) survives.[30]

Accame says that the letters of another fragment from the Kabeirion suggest a date in the second half of the third century, but it is difficult to be certain that this dating is not influenced by his suspicion that the Attic archon of 236/5, Ekphantos, is mentioned in the first line — even though he avers that the name there could also be that of the Lemnian archon. Or no archon at all (**1483**), I might add, which is probably why Stroud omits this inscription from his list of attestations of archons on Lemnos.[31] Another inscription dated to the same period has an archon, Kallimachos (**735**), who is clearly not Attic, and thus apparently is from Hephaistia.[32] Yet another (same period, same place) has both a current dating formula apparently referring to the archon in Hephaistia (Demetrios, **312**) and a reference to "the *theoroi* sent by the *demos* of Athenians in Myrina in the archonship of Ar[is]teides" (**150**). Accame believes that both Demetrios and Aristeides are Lemnian archons, Aristeides being Demetrios' predecessor, but expresses uncertainty as to whether they are archons of the entire island, or only of the city of Hephaistia.[33]

He does not seem to consider the possibility that Aristeides might be the archon of *Myrina*, which the phrasing of the inscription would certainly seem to permit, if not encourage. Perhaps such (unstated) reluctance might derive from the strong possibility that

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30 Accame, *Ann.* #2.1: ἐπὶ [.......14.......]ς ἄρχοντος. I have not been able to confirm Accame's count (or estimate?) of letters lost, in what would seem to be either a very long name or name-and-demotic (cf. Accame, *Ann.* #11.3f) or name-and-patronymic combination. See Sec.3.7 below for discussion of the invalidity of Accame's argument (p.78) that his inscription no.2 must post-date 307 B.C.

31 Accame, *Ann.* #13.1: [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἐκφ]άντου(?) ἀνέθηκ[αν], with argument on p.92, citing as parallels for the unusual word-order *IG* ii^2 2887 and *IG* xii Supp. 527 — to which might be added *IG* xii(8) 47 and 666 (see above).

32 Accame, *Ann.* #4.1.

33 Accame, *Ann.* #3.1, 2-4; argument on p.80.

this would be the *earliest* attested archon of Myrina. Segre had earlier published a *horos* stored at Myrina (Kastro) which he dated by letter forms not later than the third century, whose text seems to begin with "in [the archonship] of Menaichmos" (**915**), but the find-spot of the stone is explicitly said to be unknown.[34] Thus whether or not this inscription pre-dates the one just discussed, its archon's connection with Myrina would remain tenuous. The only other attestations of Lemnian archons come several centuries later: Pheidantides (**1272**) of a first century inscription from the Kabeirion[35] and [Thy]melikos Thorikios (**693**) of a Roman imperial inscription from Myrina.[36] Does the find-spot of this last-mentioned inscription (a house in Myrina) mean that there is at last (second-third century C.E.) an attested archon in Myrina? Perhaps, although the inscription's editor expresses no opinion on this subject. Moreover, the honorand is (among other things) the *agonothetes* of the *Hephaisteia*, games presumably celebrated in the Lemnian city named for Hephaistos.[37] Thus it remains possible that no archon, at any period, is ever attested for Myrina. The only other text within Stroud's list of sources mentioning Lemnian archons is a very late inscription from Hephaistia which includes a Roman-style *cursus honorum*, one item of which is "he filled the eponymous magistracy" (**465**), a phrase Stroud apparently interprets as meaning "he held the archonship".[38]

3.5 Other Magistrates and Officers

Magistrates corresponding to the other members of the Attic "college of the nine archons" — the *basileus* and the *polemarch* and the six *thesmothetai* — would not be expected to be attested as frequently as the eponymous archon, whose name is used for dating public records. I know of no attestation of a *basileus* at all, except doubtfully in one very late and very fragmentary Lemnian inscription.[1] A

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[34] Segre, *Ann.* #6(=*SLC* 10).1: ἐπὶ Μεναίχμου [ἄρχοντος ---], Finley's discussion on pp. 298f; Fine, *Horoi* 38 cites Segre's date without expressing disagreement.

[35] Accame, *Ann.* #16.1f.

[36] *SEG* 28.718.5f. The editor, Follet, *Annuario* 52-53 (1974-75) 309-312 entertains the possibility that this is the eponymous magistrate of Athens (p.311), but ultimately decides that it is a Lemnian magistrate (p.312).

[37] I hope that this is a correct summary of the arguments of Follet, p.311.

[38] *IG* xii(8) 27.9f: ἄρξαν||τα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν. This interpretation is probably correct, although eponymous *priesthoods* are not unknown in late inscriptions from Lemnos (see Sec.3.13 below).

[1] *IG* xii(8) 41.3: βασι[λε---] in *IG*'s text, βασι[λῃίδα]? in Hiller's restoration in the *apparatus criticus*.

fourth century inscription from Imbros does indeed bestow honors upon a *polemarch* chosen by lot (**869**), and also on his two *paredroi* (**690**, **929**).[2] But this inscription (cited often above) appears to be a document of an independent Imbrian regime, so it is not certain evidence for klerouchic institutions. But the implication *is* clear when one entry in the lists (dated 346/5) of treasures at the Samian *Heraion* reports: "they said (the) *thesmothetai* have that".[3] The only possible inference is that there must be a body of *thesmothetai* among the klerouchs on Samos. Whether such magistrates existed elsewhere remains uncertain, and perhaps depends partly on whether their *judicial* duties existed (see Sec.3.9 below).

One word that is perhaps even less clear and specific than *arche* is *epimeletes*, a generic term for person in charge, manager, overseer, superintendant, etc. Several groups of *epimeletai* operated within the Attic government, some with religious duties, some engaging in "secular" activities.[4] Two fourth century inscriptions from Myrina seem to assign some rather large role to an official called simply the *epimeletes*. One seems to honor "the *epimeletes* in Hephaistia" (**1140**) for his benevolence toward the *demos* of Athenians in Myrina.[5] The other is a resolution apparently offered by certain Chalkidians dwelling in Myrina, which refers to the honorand only as "the *epimeletes*" (**673**).[6] Too many questions remain unanswered for full clarification. How is the *epimeletes* chosen? Where? Is there one in each town, or only one in Hephaistia?[7] Is the *epimeletes* an assistant to a higher-ranking official (the *strategos*? the archon?), or is he chosen to serve in lieu of one? Was the *epimeletes* the chief local officer for a while, then displaced or demoted when a higher-ranking officer was chosen?[8] Nothing is clarified by a fourth century attesta-

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[2] *IG* xii(8) 47.7 (πολέμαρχο[ς λα]χών), 14f (κα[ὶ τοὺς || παρ]έδρους αὐτοῦ). As *Ath.Pol.* 56.1 shows, the Attic archon, *basileus*, and *polemarch* each had two such assistants, appointed by themselves; see Hansen, "700 *Archai*" 171; Rhodes, *CAAP* 621f.

[3] Michel 832.40: ταύτην ἔφασαν θεσμοθέτας ἔχειν.

[4] Rhodes, *CAAP* 392, with citations; Hansen, "700 *Archai*" shows that some are mentioned by *Ath.Pol.*, some are not.

[5] *IG* xii(8) 5.5-7+: ἐπειδὴ (fragmentarily-preserved name) ὁ ἐπιμελητὴς ὁ ἐν Ἡφαιστίαι | [ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς] ἐστ[ιν] περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν | ['Αθηναίων τῶν ἐν Μυρίνει ---].

[6] *IG* xii(8) 4.4f, 8f (followed by his name, etc.).

[7] *AO* p.350 simply juxtaposes Theophilos in Myrina and Saurias in Hephaistia as *epimeletai* on Lemnos, without argument. It is possible, however, that Lemnos had only one *epimeletes*, and that he was stationed in Hephaistia; there is no reason to assume that *IG* xii(8) 4 and 5 are of precisely the same year, so the two men named in them could have held the *same* post at different times.

[8] To the imprecision admitted here, cf. the casual certainty of Ferguson, *HA* 47 (discussed in Sec.1.10 above) in connection with the *epimeleia* of Demetrios of Phaleron in Athens.

tion of *epimeletai* at the *tribal* level on Samos, nor is the extent of the *atimia* they can impose on loan-defaulters at the tribal sanctuary known.[9] The lateness, bizarre combination of offices, and poor preservation of an Imperial-era inscription from Myrina mentioning another *epimeletes* make it unhelpful for understanding fourth century institutions.[10] Equally unhelpful are three second century documents relating to Salamis which mention *epimeletai* in various roles without specifying any individuals.[11]

Hansen lists more than thirty "treasurers" (*tamiai*) within the governmental structure of fourth century Athens.[12] The ten-man boards of "treasurers of the Goddess", i.e., of Hera, in Michel 832 seem to be the Samian klerouchs' equivalent of the treasurers of Athena back home, who also have one representative per tribe. Presumably they are also chosen by lot, but it may be doubted that the Attic qualification of membership in the highest property class was applied on Samos.[13] The honorand (**1031**) in a resolution of the initiated from the Kabeirion near Hephaistia (possibly fourth century, but also possibly third century, says the editor) is described as "the t[reasu]rer of the sacred funds",[14] a title the same editor largely restores in a similar resolution that he dates to the second half of the third century.[15] In Athens there was a board (presumably with ten members) of "treasurers of the sacred funds of Athena and the other gods", briefly, at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century,[16] but apparently never a single magistrate with this

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[9] Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 36-38 no.5.8f (Greek quoted in Sec.3.10 below). For the Attic counterparts of these officials, see Rhodes, *CAAP* 624, with citations.

[10] *SEG* 28.718, where five letters (three of them underdotted) prompt the restoration of more than three lines at the beginning of the text, and a single person (**147**, in "lines 6-10") is described as ὁ | στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀγωνοθ[έ]|της τῶν Ἡφαιστείων κ[αὶ] | ἐπιμελητὴς γυμνασ[ει]||αρχίας.

[11] *IG* ii² 1008.77, 82f; 1227.36-38; 1228.17f.

[12] Hansen, "700 *Archai*" 155, 161, 163; some of these offices existed only for limited periods.

[13] Michel 832.2-8, 57-60 (full title, οἱ ταμίαι τῆς Θεοῦ, in lines 57f); cf. *Ath.Pol.* 47.1: οἱ ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἰσὶ μὲν δέκα, κληροῦται δ' εἷς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς, ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων. See Rhodes, *CAAP* 549-551, including the suggestion (p.551) that the requirement may have been evaded in Athens. As has long been recognized, one of the ten treasurers of the year 346/5, apparently that of IX.Aiantis, is omitted from Michel 832's first list (lines 2-4), probably inadvertently. For names from Michel 832, see Sec.2.8 above. Some scholars interpret another inscriptional passage, *Agora* XIX.L3.12, as prohibiting *pentakosiomedimnoi* (and *hippeis*) from being klerouchs on fourth century Lemnos; Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 171f cites S. Luria to this effect. A reference to [— — — *tami*]*ai* is restored by Dunst in *Heraion* Inv.J24; they are interpreted as being instructed to pay a reward to an informer.

[14] Accame, *Ann.* #2.12: ὁ τ[αμί]ας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων.

[15] Accame, *Ann.* #4.10 (**183**).

[16] See Rhodes, *CAAP* 391 for discussion and citations.

title. Perhaps the treasurers honored at the Kabeirion are officials of the sanctuary, not of the public authority of Hephaistia. No other firm attestations of *tamiai* that are even possibly of fourth century date are to be found in any of the other territories occupied by Athenians.[17]

In Attike, *presbeis* (envoys or ambassadors), although elected by show of hands in the assembly, are not categorized among regular *archai*.[18] Still, they deserve mention in any survey of evidence concerning political institutions. Political leaders often sought and obtained election to these temporary — but often important — posts in Athens. Fourth century territories where Athenians were settled also dispatched envoys, although meager and fragmentary sources and ambiguous phrasing preclude certainty at many points.[19] Two *late* references are, however, rather full and informative, and the procedures described may have been long-standing practice. In second century resolutions of the Lemnian cities, copied in Athens, it is specified that the *demos* is to elect five men, called *presbeis* in the decree of Myrina, although their title is not expressly provided in that of Hephaistia, "out of all Athenians", i.e., all those in the settlement, to convey the resolutions to appropriate authorities in Athens. The five men elected in each place are then listed.[20] Two other Lemnian-related Attic references, both of the first century, are more fragmentary.[21] It seems that all the attested *presbeis*, in all periods, are sent to *Athens* — which would not be surprising in any

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[17] Sources that are late and/or doubtful as to reading or reference (i.e., uncertain whether klerouchic or Attic) include *IG* ii^2 1008.87f; 1222.9; 1223.18; 1227.38; *IG* xii(8) 15.7; 48.8; 50.8; 51.11; 54.2; 64.2f; 666.18. Late treasurers in App. B not mentioned thus far are **750**, **1045**, **1309**, **1502**.

[18] Hansen, "700 *Archai*" 170f.

[19] See, for example, the discussion in Sec.2.2 above of problems attending the Poteidaia-associated inscriptional passages *IG* ii^2 114.5f, 10f and 118.6f, 15f. In *IG* ii^2 1222.11, when "also the *presbe*[*is* – – –] are to be [commended – – –]", whose *presbeis* are praised, and by whom? The inscription is too fragmentary to justify a firm decision between those of Athens and of Hephaistia. The context of the reference to τοὺς πρέσβεις in *SEG* 1.349.12, from Samos, is not clarified by the addition of *Heraion* Inv. J212, which is itself poorly preserved in this line.

[20] *IG* ii^2 1223.19-21: χειροτονῆσαι δ[ὲ τὸν || δ]ῆμον ἤδη πέντε ἄνδρα[ς ἐξ 'Αθ]ηναίων ἁπάντων οἵτινες [ἀφικό]|μενοι εἰς 'Αθήνας, κτλ. Lines 23f provide names, with demotics, only two of which names are preserved, plus the demotic of one more: **236**, **1354**, **1435**. *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*11f says χειροτονῆσαι δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἤδη πρέσβε[ις | πέντ]ε ἄνδρας ἐξ 'Αθηναίων ἀ[π]άντων, κτλ. Lines 27-29 announce [.. οἵδε] κεχειροτόνηνται πρέσβεις *vacat*, introducing names with patronymics and demotics, mostly extant or easily restorable: **119**, **319**, **957**, **1259**, **1462**.

[21] *SEG* 24.141.*a*9, *cd*17f, 21, 23f; *IG* ii^2 1053.4-6 (names with patronymics and demotics here seem to be connected with a mention of πρέσ[β]ε[ις ---] on an unpublished fragment: see App. A). Both of these inscriptions are to be incorporated in different new combined texts.

case, since almost all the relevant sources are Attic documents. But it seems believable that klerouchs could appoint ambassadors *only* to Athens. Otherwise they could be seen as maintaining their own separate diplomatic policy, which it is difficult to imagine that the *demos* in Athens would permit.

Even less similar to standard *archai* than *presbeis* are those in Attike called *rhetores* (literally orators or speakers), i.e., those who voluntarily propose resolutions of the *boule* and *demos*. In recent years, Hansen and others have shown that these self-selected political actors are often political leaders, or lesser persons closely associated with such leaders, and are far more "responsible" or "accountable" than earlier scholars have generally supposed. Their legal responsibility for the measures they introduce, in fact, explains the custom, in Attic inscriptions, of recording the name of the proposer prior to the text of the resolution itself. The formula is a simple name (perhaps plus demotic, perhaps plus patronymic and demotic) and the verb "spoke" or "said" (*eipen*).[22] It is not surprising also to find names of proposers recorded in connection with resolutions of the governing bodies of Athenian settlements. Perhaps it would also be legitimate to see in such persons a sampling of klerouchic leadership — although the fact that almost all the extant klerouchic resolutions are non-controversial honorary decrees (see Sec.3.8 below) may weaken the likelihood of this interpretation. At any rate, we have names of fourth century proposers of resolutions from Myrina,[23] Hephaistia,[24] Lemnos unspecified,[25] Imbros (apparently both when under Attic authority[26] and when independent[27]), and Samos.[28] Post-fourth century *rhetores* are attested for Hephais-

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[22] See, e.g., Hansen, *Ath.Assem.* 54-63 and his earlier works cited there; also J.T. Roberts, *Accountability in Athenian Government* (Madison 1982); R.K. Sinclair, *Democracy and Participation in Athens* (Cambridge 1988) 138-141, 152-161.

[23] *IG* xii(8) 3.1f ([....8....]ς Χαιρεφῶντος Γαργήττ[ιο|ς]); 5.5 (Εὐθύδημος). Names: **1384**, **495**.

[24] Accame, *Ann.* #1 (possibly fifth century).1 (Νικόστρατος); #2 (possibly third century).10f (Νικήρατος Νικομάχου | Μελιτεύς). Names: **1026**, **1001**.

[25] *IG* ii² 3207.29: Τιμόδημος Ἀχαρνεύς (**1237**) — unless he is an Attic politician (see Sec.2.1 above).

[26] *IG* xii(8) 46.2: [Ἀν]τικλῆς Φανοκλέου[ς (demotic lost)] (**104**).

[27] *IG* xii(8) 47.5f (Ἐξήκεστ[ος] | Ἀριστογένους Ἀθμ[ο]νεύς); 48.7f ([– – – Ἀριστο?]τέλης Διοδώρ[ου | (demotic lost)]). Names: **429**, **345**.

[28] *IG* ii² 3207.20f: Ἐπίκτητο[ς] | Ἐπικηφίσιος (**453**, but see above comment on Lemnian name from the same inscription, and discussion in Sec.2.1 above); *Heraion* Inv. J24 ([Ἀ]ρίστων Μενεκλείους Πήλη[ξ – – –]. *SEG* 1.349 lacks a proposer, nor does the addition of *Heraion* Inv. J212 provide one, but the latter fragment begins at the left edge of the stone with εἶπεν, so the name of the proposer (**1532**) appeared on the last lost line above; see Sec.2.8 n.30 above for Dunst's readings and further commentary. In a tribal resolution, Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 36-38 no.5.2, the proposer's name and patronymic (**1447**), except for the final *sigma* of

tia,[29] Imbros,[30] Skyros,[31] and Salamis.[32]

The only other possibly fourth century klerouchic officials whose functions are not purely religious are an apparent college of "supervisors of women" (*gynaikonomoi*) listed in an inscription on Samos; but everything about this source is doubtful. An early commentator had dated it to the end of the *fifth* century, whereas the recent study of Shipley argues that it should be dated after the expulsion of the Athenian klerouchs, i.e., that the board is made up of Samian returnees, not of Athenian settlers. Since Shipley points out that the *Attic* institution of *gynaikonomoi* is first attested during the regime of Demetrios Phalereus (317-307), his argument appears to be the stronger.[33] Miscellaneous other officers, some of them probably more properly classified as religious, are attested on Lemnos, Imbros, and Salamis only in post-fourth century sources.[34]

3.6 Resolutions of Boule *and* Demos

Although I have begun by discussing officers and magistrates, it would be a reasonable inference that states patterned after the Athenian democracy were likely to be dominated by their collective institutions, most especially the council and assembly. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the familiar Attic-style *boule* and *demos*, and familiar resolution formulas invoking either or both, in inscribed decrees from the fourth century settlers' territories. Further similarities (see the sections that follow) are to be found in the various subdivisions and boards within the *boule* and *demos*, and in

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the latter, are lost, but his demotic is preserved (also see Sec.2.8 above on this text). See arguments in Sec.3.8 below for rejecting [Dem.] 12.16 as evidence for a resolution (and its proposer, **1103**) from the Chersonesos.

29 *IG* ii^2 672+.17, 39; Accame, *Ann.* #3.1f; #4.6f; Segre, *Ann.* #9.1f. Names: **716**, **1552**, **295**, **17**, **1385**.

30 *IG* xii(8) 53.1f. Name: **1229**.

31 *IG* xii(8) 666.1. Name: **998**.

32 *IG* ii^2 1008.75; 1225.1; 1227.2f. Names: **1311**, **1375**, **639**.

33 Michel 1149.3 ([οἵδε γυ]ναικονόμοι), followed by six names with patronymics — *not* demotics, n.b., although the patronymic in line 7, Περίκλο, may indicate some Athenian connection or sympathies. See Jacobsthal, *AM* 31 (1906) 418; Ferguson, *HA* 45f and n.2; Shipley, *Samos* 218 and n.37.

34 *Myrina*: ?*IG* xii(8) 8.2f (*pro*[*states*? – – –]); *SEG* 28.718.7-10 (multiple offices held by one person, **147**). *Hephaistia*: ?*IG* ii^2 672+.43 ("elected", but office lost); ?*IG* xii(8) 25 (gymnasiarch? mostly restored); 27.9-12 (**465**, multiple offices); ?41.2 (reference to "public magistrates"?); ?44 (*stephanephoros*?); Accame, *Ann.* #17.4f (**301**, *kosmetes*). *Imbros*: *IG* xii(8) 51.4, 9, 14 (*praktores*); ?141.2 (*epitro*[*p* – – –?]). *Salamis*: *IG* ii^2 1227.4, 26, 44f (**645**, "elected gymnasiarch"); 1228.13 (*tous epi ten episkeuen*), 18f (certain leitourgists).

the distribution of some of these among demesmen from different Attic tribes according to systems observable in Attike. The kinds of procedures carried out within council and assembly, and also the types of decrees published,[1] again largely follow Attic models.

Opening lines that are seemingly typical of klerouchs' resolutions are preserved in *IG* xii(8) 5, an inscription from Myrina on Lemnos, editorially dated to the mid-fourth century:

> G O D S
> Resolved by the *boule* and the *demos*. Akamantis was in prytany, Charias Lamptreus was secretary, [A]isch[r]aios Palleneus $/_5$ presided. Euthydemos proposed: Since ?Sa[uri]as the *epimeletes* in Hephaistia i[s a good man] toward the *demos* [of Athenians in Myrina ---].[2]

Another inscription from the same place, *IG* xii(8) 3, editorially dated perhaps slightly earlier (not beyond the middle of the fourth century), is preserved only on its right side, but its traditional Attic-style *stoichedon* arrangement makes restoration fairly straightforward and reliable. The introductory formulas are lost, but the extant text begins within the name of the proposer:

> [---]s (son) of Chairephon Gargett[ios proposed: Sin]ce Perkon both in the fore[going tim]e furnished many s[upplies to the *d*]*emos* of Athenians i[n $/_5$ Myrina an]d now in wartime, sav[ing certain of the] citizens, restored (them), a[nd] furnished [ma]ny [other] supplies [to the *demos*, (therefore,)] to [goo]d fortune: Resolved [by] t[he *demos*. Com]mend Perkon (son) [of] Xenoph[--- $/_{10}$ (from ---)] and crown (him) [with] a g[old crown] because of [(the) ze]al [which he continues to have for the *de*]*mos* of [Athenians, and list him (as) *p*]*rox*[*enos* and benefactor ---].[3]

Another *stoichedon* inscription from Myrina, *IG* xii(8) 2, well preserved except for lines broken away above and below, is editorially dated to 404/3-394/3, a period in which Fredrich infers that Lemnos was independent of Athens:

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[1] In this section's longish block translations of inscribed passages, I do not attempt to match the Greek text line-by-line, but I insert a slash and a subscript number to indicate the approximate beginning of every fifth line ("approximate" because Greek word order cannot always be maintained in the English, and also because I insert the slash only *between* words, not within words).

[2] Key words in lines 2 (ἔδοξεν), 5 (ἐπεστάτει, εἶπεν), 7 ([ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός] ἐστ̣[ιν] περὶ τὸν δῆμον). Names: **1402**, **44**, **495**, **1140**.

[3] The word here translated "resolved" (line 8) is δεδόχθαι, equally common in Attic usage. Other key words and phrases in lines 5f (σώιζ|[ων τινὰς τῶν] πολιτῶν ἀπέστελλεν), 9 ([ἐπαι]ν̣έσαι), 11f ([--- φιλοτι]μίας ἕνεκα | [ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν δῆ]μον), 13"f" ([--- ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτὸν π]ρόξ|]ενον καὶ εὐεργέτην ---]). See Sec.3.8 below in connection with the last clause. Names: **1384**, **1095**.

> [– – –] because Polymnestos [(son) of] Nomo[n], of Akrothoön, [is] a go[od] man toward the *demos* of [Myrina]ians and does well [to] Myr[i]n[aians,] both when there is war and p[ea]ce. /$_{5}$ Resolved by t[he *b*]*oule* and the *demos*: he is to be *pro*[*xe*]*nos* of (the) Myrinaians, [and] to him is also to be given /$_{10}$ tax-free status in every area in which Myrinaians are in control, and front-row seating in the publicly-funded contests, both for himself and for his descendants. /$_{15}$ And the secretary of the *boule* is to inscribe this resolution [on] a marble stele, [and – – – is/are to] s[et up] the res[olution – – –].[4]

Attributed to a *later* period of apparent independence (in the editor's chronology, post-318) is another Myrina inscription, *IG* xii(8) 7, preserved only at its bottom right corner, whose last fifteen or so lines (as restored in *IG*) may be translated as follows:

> [– – –] accor[ding to] the [laws. Resolved by the *demos*: C]ommen[d] /$_{10}$ Lysi[machos (son) of Lysimachos, (from – – –) and] crow[n him with a gold c]r[o]wn, [because of (his)] z[e]al [and good]wil[l] and because he i[s a good man toward the *dem*]*os*. And for him shal[l b]e [first access to the *b*]*oule* and the *demos*, /$_{15}$ [if he should require (it), first aft]er sacred matters. And [the herald] will announce at the contest [of (the) Dionysia] that [the *demos* of Myrinaians is] crown[ing Ly]simachos (son) of Lysimachos [(from) — with a gold cro]wn be[cause of] justice [which he has toward the *d*]*emos* of Myrinaians. /$_{20}$ [And] the secretary [is to inscribe the resolu]tion [on a marble stele] and set up the stele [– – –].[5]

From Imbros comes another inscription, *IG* xii(8) 47, also editorially dated to the same late-fourth century period of independence from Athens, well preserved, give or take a letter or two at the ends of some lines, except where broken away at the bottom:

> In the first prytany, of Erechtheis, the tenth of Hekatombaion, ascending. It was (the) meeting in which presided Eupolis Kettios and (his) *symproedroi* Kallinomos /$_{5}$ Acharneus (and) Epigenes Aphidnaios. Exekest[os] (son) of Aristogenes Athm[o]neus proposed: Since Lykon, *polemarch* [ch]osen by lot, [w]ell and [just]ly a[n]d according to the [l]aws performed the mag[istrac]y, in the archonship of Hierophon, and presented (his) rep[ort] /$_{10}$ and accounts in the *d*[*ik*]*asterion*, and care was tak[e]n both of the handing over of the records, [so tha]t (the magistracy) might be properly passed on, and of the increa[se] of [t]he [m]oney, resolved by the *demos*: [Comm]end Lykon (son) of Thersios Phrearrios, an[d] /$_{15}$ his [*par*]*edroi*

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4 Key words and phrases in lines 3 (εὖ ποεῖ), 7-13 (πρό[ξε]|νον Μυριναίων εἶναι αὐτ[ό]|ν, δεδόσθαι [δὲ] αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτ||έλειαν ἁπάντων ὧν Μυριναῖοι κύριοί εἰσιν καὶ προε|δρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῖς | δημοτελέσιν), 15 (ψήφισμα). Name: **1104**.

5 A few letters in very fragmentary lines at the top are omitted here. Key words and phrases in lines 8f (κα[τὰ] τοὺς | [νόμους]), 12 ([– – – εὐ]νοία[ς]), 14f ([πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν β]ουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον || [ἐὰν δέηται πρώτωι μετ]ὰ τὰ ἱερά), 15f (ἀνειπεῖν δὲ | [τὸν κήρυκα Διονυσίων] τῶι ἀγῶνι), 18f (δικαιοσύνης ἕν|[εκα ἧς ἔχει περὶ τὸν δ]ῆμον). Name: **886**.

Me[n]estratos [(son) of] Ch[– – – (demotic) and] Thrasymedes [(patronymic, demotic) and c]row[n them – – –].[6]

Most of the other inscribed fourth century public resolutions from territories occupied by Athenian settlers are poorly preserved, although some key phrases are extant or convincingly restorable:

?*IG* xii(8) 6 from Myrina, undated in *IG*; I infer a possible fourth century date from the *stoichedon* arrangement and from most of the letters of *IG*'s majuscule, as well as the editor's placement of the inscription between nos. 5 and 7: ten lines, none with more than five preserved letters; someone (**456**) is crowned, there is apparently a reference to "Athe[nians]" somewhere, and provisions about inscribing and setting up the resolution are present.

SEG 40.746 cites, from Hephaistia and without date, a newly discovered fragment of what its editor calls an honorary inscription, in which the last extant word of one line appears to be *boule* and the only extant word of the next line means "of Athenians". Whether lost letters intervened is unclear from the inscription's initial publication.

IG xii(8) 46 from Imbros, with prosopographical comments in *IG* indicating inference of a date prior to the island's late-fourth century separation from Athens, although this is not explicitly stated: parts of nine lines, apparently from the upper left corner of the stone, preserving less than half the width of each line; apparently a *probouleuma*, with named proposer (**104**), given to the *proedroi* and subsequently passed by the *demos*, concerning Phainippos (son) of Kalliteles Aphidnaios (**1265**), who has *prosodos* and is probably being honored; that the *demos* involved is "the *demos* of Athenians in Imbros" is a total restoration (line 1).

IG xii(8) 48 from Imbros, seemingly dated to 318-307 by Fredrich, although other editors put it earlier (see Sec.1.10 n.28 above): twelve lines (none complete) from near the beginning of the text; fragmentarily preserved phrasing shows that there were references to the local archon (**117**), the prytanizing tribe, the day of the month, the *epistates* (**1000**) of the *proedroi* and two colleagues (**1292**, **1547**), a resolution of the *boule* and *demos*, and a proposer (**345**); the honorand is Athenodoros (**34**); monetary and military matters seem to be discussed.

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[6] Key words and phrases in lines 2f (δεκάτει ἱσταμέ|νου), 3 (ἐκκλησία ἦν εἶ ἐπεστάτει), 7 (πολέμαρχο[ς λα]χὼν), 8f (ἦρξε τὴν ἀρ[χ|ὴ]ν), 9-13 (ἔδωκε λόγ[ον] ‖ καὶ εὐθύνας ἐν τῶι δ[ικ]αστηρίωι καὶ ἐπεμε[λή]‖θη τῆς τε παραδόσεως τῶν γραμμάτων [ὅ|πω]ς ἂν ὀρθῶς παραδοθεῖ καὶ τῆς ἐπιδόσε[ως | τ]ῶν [χ]ρημάτων), 14f (κα[ὶ τοὺς ‖ παρ]έδρους αὐτοῦ). Names: **538**, **740**, **441**, **429**, **869**, **699**, **929**, **690**.

IG xii(8) 63 from Imbros, dated 352/1 by Fredrich on the inference that Aristodemos (**168**) of line 1 is the archon in *Athens*, although this is not said in the text, and even his office has to be restored; the letters of *IG*'s majuscule appear to be fourth century, in any case: a "resolution" only in the sense that the heading above two columns of names on a statue base indicates that the *demos* has awarded crowns to the men listed (two from each Attic tribe, in conventional order, with demotics).

IG xii(8) 668 from Skyros, preserved only in Cyriacus of Ancona's copy, but prosopographically datable to the fourth century: part of four lines (*IG*'s "line 1" is a total restoration), apparently more than half of each, at the right; the decree honors [L]ys[i]machides (**884**) and twice (actual lines 1 and 4) mentions some plural entity "settled in Skyros", which may be the same as "the *de*[*mos* of Athenians]" (thus in actual lines 3f, totally restored in lines 1 and above), although some of the phrasing may imply a contrast.[7]

SEG 18.200-202 from Samos, dedications at Delphoi: all three are dated by archons in both Athens and Samos, although in one case it is not really clear which is which: see discussions in Secs.2.8 and 3.4 above, and in Appendix A.

SEG 1.349 from Samos, datable only to the klerouchic period, by content: the right-hand portion of an amendment added to a *probouleuma* under consideration by "the *demos* in Samos", whose lines are essentially completed by another fragment in the storeroom of the temple of Hera, *Heraion* Inv. J212. Although portions of the stone above and below remain lost, the resolution being amended involves honors for Diotimos (son) of Nikostratos Elaiousios (**391**), including his crowning, and the announcement of the honors at the Dionysian tragedies (somewhere); there is also a fragmentary reference to *presbeis*.

Heraion Inv. J24 from Samos, similarly datable, although Dunst ventures greater specificity (see Appendix A): the left ends of about nineteen lines (top and bottom both lost) which seem to refer to some service performed by a man whose father is named Artemidoros (**570**); someone named Euthydemos (**496**) is mentioned, apparently a *strategos*; a college of *proedroi*, with demotics, is listed; "the *demos*" is mentioned, and (in other contexts) "Athenian(s?)", probably twice; financial matters are involved, and the word "resolved" (*epsephistha*[*i* —]) appears; the resolution is interpreted by Dunst as involving rewards for an informer.

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7 Lines 3f: εἴς τε τὸν δῆ[μον | τὸν Ἀθηναίων] καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Σκύρωι.

Other fourth century resolutions of settlers' *boule* and *demos* are attested secondarily. The mid-fourth century inscription from Myrina, *IG* xii(8) 4, that refers to the giving of a *chorion* to the "Chalkidians living in Myrina" by "the *demos* of Athenians living in Myrina" seems in form to be a resolution of the *Chalkidians.* But the resolution is obviously prompted by a prior resolution of the Athenian settlers. The klerouchic *demos,* moreover, must have ordered the inscribing of this copy of its beneficiaries' statement of thanks, which presumably appeared below its own decree on the stone. The top is broken away; what we have are eleven-and-a-half well preserved *stoichedon* lines at the bottom.[8]

The reference (twice) in an Attic inscription of 361, *IG* ii^2 114, to "those coming on public authority (or at public expense) [from th]ose o[ut] of [Poteidai]a" seems to imply that some resolution had been passed in Poteidaia — although not necessarily by Athenian settlers there. A further Attic reference, *IG* ii^2 118, to *presbeis* from Poteidaia obviously implies their selection in Poteidaia, with the same uncertainty about the political agency. We would expect a resolution concerning their assignment to have accompanied their selection, as was the normal case in Athens.[9]

Fourth century Attic records of crowns awarded by the *demos* in various settlements, presumably by resolutions passed there, form a numerically large category of indirect attestations of settlers' decrees, but provide little information.[10] One such dedication is the only extant reference to "the *demos* of Athenians on Salamis", early or late. Its date is not indisputably fourth century.[11]

An extremely fragmentary Attic *stoichedon* decree, *IG* ii^2 569, editorially dated to "after 307/6", when Lemnos is said to have returned to Athens' control, mentions "prayers for both the *demo*[*s* of Athenians and the *de*]*mos* in Hephaisti[a ---]", as well as "sol-

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[8] See Sec.2.2 above for discussion and key Greek phrases; see also Sec.3.8 below.

[9] These inscriptions, particularly the latter, are discussed extensively in Sec.2.2 above, with relevant Greek passages.

[10] *IG* ii^2 1437.20; 1440.A24 (see *SEG* 36.208 additions); 1443.89, 91f, 97; 3203; 3204; 3206.4-6, 8-10; 3207.20f, 28; *Agora* XVI.68 (at this writing Inv. I 5212), sides A and B; cf. *IG* ii^2 1485.18f (see *SEG* 38.143); 1486.12f (see *SEG* 38.142). See Greek and discussion at various points in Chapters 1 and 2, especially Sec.2.1. *IG* ii^2 1955.14-16, lines in an apparently late-fourth century inscription from Salamis, say "the *demos,* (for) Theogenes Eleusinios" (**637**), arranged as if the phrase were within a crown, although no such thing is editorially indicated, and the lost stone cannot be consulted. The block must refer to an honorary decree of some kind, passed by the *demos,* but which *demos*? *IG* ii^2 1260.19, with its crowning of the Athenian general for Salamis (**1551**) by the *Salaminioi,* is also dated to the late fourth century by some commentators, but this date seems uncertain.

[11] *IG* ii^2 3206.4-6; see Sec.1.10 n.2 for Greek and date problems.

diers" and "the cities". Koehler is cited as having entertained doubts whether the inscription is a decree of the Attic *demos* or of the Lemnian klerouchs — doubts that the text is too fragmentary to resolve.[12]

The numerous problems associated with another inscription, *IG* ii^2 1222, found on the Athenian acropolis, classified among "*Decreta Cleruchorum*", and editorially dated to the end of the fourth century are discussed in Sec.1.10 above and in Appendix A. Although many key passages are annoyingly dependent upon restorations, there clearly is a reference to the setting up of two copies of the inscription, one of them in Hephaistia.[13]

Literary sources provide a few attestations of settlers' decrees. Hypereides' speech written for Lykophron (330s B.C.?) seems to refer to *six* Lemnian klerouchic resolutions, when he says that the *demos* in Hephaistia crowned Lykophron (**866**) three times, as did that of Myrina.[14] When Philip of Makedon (if he is the author) tells the Attic *boule* and *demos* in ca. 340 that "the klerouchs (in the Chersonesos), by the decree of Polykrates, were at war with us",[15] the safer inference is that he is referring to an *Attic* decree, although not necessarily, as the Loeb editor suggests, to the decree by which the klerouchs were sent out. A resolution of the klerouchs in the Chersonesos themselves, or of some of them, should not, however, be ruled out without argument (see Sec.3.8 below). The decree crowning the Athenian *boule* and *demos* by "Chersonesites ... inhabiting Sestos, Elaious, Madytos, (and) Alopekonnesos", said to have been "resolved in a common *bouleuterion*", among documents within Demosthenes' oration *On the Crown* (330 B.C.) may well be as spurious as all editors assert. But if it *were* authentic, it would raise important questions about the political co-operation it implies between apparent groups of klerouchs and non-klerouchs.[16]

From the resolutions quoted and discussed above, it is clear that the conventional Attic procedure involving the formulation of a *probouleuma* by the *boule*, its introduction into a meeting of the *demos*, and its acceptance, rejection, or amendment there was followed by

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[12] Key phrases in lines 5f (εὐχὰς τῶι τε δήμω[ι τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶ|ι δή]μωι τῶι ἐν Ἡφαιστί[αι – – –]), 7 and 10 (soldiers), 8 (cities).

[13] Lines 3-5: [– – – ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα – – – | ἐν στή]λαις δυσὶ(?) καὶ στ[ῆσαι τὴν μὲν Ἀθήνησι – – – || τὴν ἄλ]λην δ' ἐν Ἡφαιστία[ι ἐν – – –].

[14] Hyp. 1.18 (OCT/Loeb numbering): στεφάνοις δὲ τρισὶν ἐστεφανώθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δ[ήμ]ου τοῦ ἐν Ἡφαισ[τί]ᾳ καὶ ἑτέροις ὑ[πὸ] τοῦ ἐν Μυρίνῃ .

[15] [Dem.] 12.16: τῶν μὲν κληρούχων κατὰ τὸ Πολυκράτους δόγμα πολεμούντων ἡμῖν. Name: **1103**.

[16] Dem. 18.92, bracketed in text; see Greek, translation, and extensive discussion in Sec.2.2 above.

fourth century Athenian settlers. The completion of this process is implied in the presence of formulas meaning "resolved by the *boule* and the *demos*" introducing fourth century resolutions of the klerouchs at Myrina[17] and of the apparently independent governments there[18] and on Imbros[19] — phrasing of which there would doubtless be more examples, even among the few extant resolutions, if they were less fragmentary. From Imbros also comes a klerouchic resolution that, assuming the correctness of the *Corpus*' heavy restorations, provides an excellent example of the *demos*' verbatim ratification of a *probouleuma*:

> [Re]solved by the *boule* and [the *demos* of Athenians in Imbros. An]tikles (son) o[f] Phanokles [(demotic lost) proposed: Since Phainippos] (son) of [K]alliteles Aphidna[ios has been awarded] privileged entry [into the *boule*, it is] resolved [by the *boule* that the *proedroi*, those] /₅ chosen by lot t[o] preside [in the first meeting, are to bring forth] Phainippos into the [*demos*, and to introduce a *gnome* of the *b*]*oule* into the *dem*[*os*, that it seems proper to the *boule*, since Phainippos] (is) a good [m]an [– – –].[20]

An explicit Attic-style amendment formula — "the other (things) just as (resolved) by t[he *boul*]*e*", followed by the new provision — is correctly restored by M. Schede in 1919 in an inscription of the fourth century klerouchs on Samos, as is verified by the addition of a still-unpublished fragment.[21] These clear examples deny some significance to the omission of any explicit reference to the *boule* in a resolution of the *demos* of independent Imbros (translated above), a decree whose uniqueness in several ways indicates its inappropriateness for clarifying the institutions of klerouchic governments.[22] All the other relevant examples of apparent fourth century resolutions of the *demos* alone are fragmentary texts with their opening lines missing; if complete, they would presumably be regular in form.[23] Clarity would not be increased by discussion of post-fourth

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17 *IG* xii(8) 5.1: ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι.

18 *IG* xii(8) 2.6f: δεδόχθαι τ[ῆι β]|ουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι.

19 *IG* xii(8) 48.6f: ἔδοξεν τεῖ βου[λεῖ | καὶ τῶι δήμωι – – –].

20 *IG* xii(8) 46; key words in lines 1 ([ἔδ]οξεν), 4 (πρόσοδον and ἐψηφίσ[θαι – – –]), 5 (λάχωσι προεδρεύει[ν – – –] and [– – – ἐκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν]), 6 ([– – – γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι – – –]), 7 ([– – – ὅτι δοκεῖ – – –]). Names: **104**, **1265**.

21 *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212, lines 2f: τὰ μ[ὲν] | ἄλλα καθάπερ τ[ῆι βουλ]ῆι.

22 *IG* xii(8) 47, well preserved at the top and through fifteen+ lines, identifies the assembly in which it was passed (ἐκκλησία, line 3) and formulates its resolution with a simple δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι (line 13). Although the *boule* is not mentioned, the *epistates* and his *symproedroi* (presumably *boule* members) are (lines 3f).

23 *IG* xii(8) 7, an inscription of independent Myrina whose resolution formula is restored as [– – – δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι.] (line 9), nonetheless awards its honorand [πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν β]ουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον (line 14). *IG* xii(8) 3, from klerouchic Myrina, which includes the phrase δεδόχθαι τ|[ῶι δήμωι – – –] (lines 8f), is simply

century inscriptions which embody resolutions of the *boule* and *demos*,[24] reveal the workings of *probouleusis*,[25] or in form could seemingly be resolutions of the *demos* alone.[26]

Probably the most useful and interesting of all fourth century Athenian klerouchic inscriptions, Michel 832 from Samos, does not appear to be a "resolution" in form, although two apparent meetings of the *boule* are mentioned, and it does say (twice) that the leader of a body of *proedroi* "put the question" (*epepsephize*). But in 78 well preserved lines, with the beginning preserved, no "resolved" formula appears, and the document is accurately described by its most recent editor, S. Aleshire, as simply an "Inventory of the Samian Heraion" (her title). Its many names are referred to in Sec.2.8 above, and other elements of this important text are discussed in various sections below.

3.7 *Calendars, Meetings, Boards Subdivisions, Functionaries*

Fourth century resolutions of *boule* and *demos* from several settlements, as is obvious from some of the translations in the preceding section, show that the governing bodies of certain territories employed official years apportioned among Attic tribes in "prytanies" and divided into Attic months. One of the resolutions of the initiated from the Kabeirion, discussed below, is dated to the (securely restored) tenth prytany, of VIII.Hippothontis, to some day within the "'teens" of the prytany, which is equated with an ascending day (number lost) of the twelfth Attic month, Skirophorion.[1] A resolution of apparently independent Myrina was passed in the (unnumbered) prytany of V.Akamantis.[2] An Imbrian resolution, also passed

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missing its prescript, as is *IG* xii(8) 668 from Skyros, in which the same "incomplete" resolution formula may be totally restored. *Heraion* Inv. J24, from Samos, has ἐψηφίσθα[ι τῶι δήμωι – – –] in line 10 and a restoration (by Dunst) of [ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι] in line 4; the latter could be replaced by a slightly longer formula, but not by one long enough to include mention of the *boule* — even though the inscription lists a college of *proedroi*.

24 *IG* xii(8) 27.17; ?*SEG* 28.718, "line 1" (totally restored).

25 *IG* xii(8) 52.14; *IG* ii^2 1008.79f; 1227.22-26.

26 *IG* ii^2 672.31f; *IG* xii(8) 8.4-6; 28.16; 53.1, 10f (cf. 17); 666.10f, 20; Segre, *Ann.* #9.1; ?*IG* ii^2 1224.30-32.

1 Accame, *Ann.* #2.1-4: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱππ[οθω|ντίδος δεκάτη]ς πρυτανε[ίας, Σκι]ροφοριῶ[νος | ....ἱστα]μένου, ἐκκλησία [τῶν] τετελεσ[μέ]|νω[ν,.....] καὶ δεκάτει τῆς π[ρυ]τανείας. Accame's arguments for restoring the "tenth" prytany appear on p. 78.

2 *IG* xii(8) 5.2f.

during an apparent period of independence, is dated to the first prytany, of I.Erechtheis, the tenth day, ascending, of the first month, Hekatombaion.[3] Another of the same, more fragmentary, refers to the third prytany of a tribe whose name is lost and to the tenth day of some month, also lost.[4] An unpublished fourth century inscription from Samos, although its prescript is fragmentary, must be set in the prytany of either VI.Oineis or VIII.Hippothontis.[5]

Michel 832, from Samos, refers to the sixteenth day of the second prytany of VII.Kekropis, to the seventeenth day of the same prytany, and finally to the thirty-first day of the fifth prytany of III.Pandionis, which is equated with the fourth day, waning, of the sixth Attic month, Posideion. All of the dates from Michel 832 apparently fall within the year of the Attic archon Archias (346/5 B.C.), although only the Samian archon (**1091**) is explicitly named in the immediate context.[6] Hansen observes that Michel 832 itself has "the earliest preserved calendar equation" among Athenian inscriptions, and adds: "it is a fair assumption, but only an assumption, that the clerouchs imitated Athenian practice".[7] Unfortunately, independent Attic evidence is lacking for the relevant prytanies and months of the year 346/5, so Michel 832 cannot provide a definite answer to the question of whether klerouchs' years and year divisions were merely "on the Athenian model", or were specifically taken over from Athens.

Even to ask the question in this way is to assume that the equations between archon *years* in Athens and Samos (and elsewhere?) are precise, i.e., that they begin and end simultaneously. I do tend to make that assumption, but this too is not something that can actually be demonstrated to be true. The Attic calendar, at least during certain periods, could be manipulated somewhat by the in-

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[3] *IG* xii(8) 47.1-3.

[4] *IG* xii(8) 48.1-4: ἐ[πὶ | τῆς --- πρυταν]είας τρί[της.. | ---]ιῶνος δε[κάτει ἱσ|ταμένου ---]). If the local year begins simultaneously with that of Athens, the month is Pyanepsion.

[5] *Heraion* Inv. J24; I infer this from the demes of a college of *proedroi*. The *epistates*, listed first, is from VII.Kekropis; extant demotics make it certain that *symproedroi* from tribes I-V follow, and that the list ends with those from tribes IX and X. But after the representative of V.Akamantis, only the beginning of the next name is extant, and there is no room for a further name preceding the representative of IX.Aiantis. Since the *epistates* accounts for VII.Kekropis, the partly preserved name could be from *either* VI.Oineis or VIII.Hippothontis, and whichever of the two he does not represent is the tribe in prytany. Dunst restores "demoticum (VI)" without comment, or indication of the other possibility.

[6] Michel 832.8f (ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπίδος δε|[υ]τέρας πρυτανείας ἕκτηι καὶ δεκάτηι), 41 (ἑβδόμει καὶ δεκάτει), 56f (μηνὸς Ποσιδειῶνος τετράδι φθίνοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας μίαι καὶ τριακοστεῖ), following Aleshire.

[7] Hansen, *Ath.Eccl.* 332 n.4.

sertion of added (*embolimos*) days; moreoever, the lunar calendar required periodic intercalation of a thirteenth month.[8] Were all such adjustments made in Athens for *all* Athenians, wherever settled? Or did any or all of the distant settlements do such adjusting independently? Although Delos is not settled by Athenians during the period discussed in this study, the Athenian administration there provides information relevant to this particular line of inquiry, and it has been suggested that the archon-year on Delos is imperfectly synchronized with that of Athens.[9]

An inscription from the Kabeirion, placed by its letter forms in the second half of the third century, is dated to the first prytany, yet to the seventh day, ascending, of "Second Hekatombaion", i.e., to the intercalary second month of a thirteen-month year. Such a combination, as the editor, Accame, points out, is possible only in a ten-prytany year. Therefore Hephaistia had ten tribes at this time, even though Attike, since 307, had had twelve.[10] It follows that, at this late date, an Attic-style conciliar year was calculated *independently* at Hephaistia. But this conclusion is not necessarily applicable to the period of Athenian hegemony. Accame's arguments for bringing another resolution of the initiates into the same category and into the post-307 period are invalid.[11] Therefore the latter inscription, which also shows a ten-tribe division among the klerouchs, may well date to the period of ten tribes in Attike, i.e., to sometime before 307. In any case, its fragmentary indications of the day of both month and prytany, along with its lack of indication of Attic archon date, eliminate any usefulness the inscription might have had for solving the problem under discussion.

My suspicion is that efforts *were* made, during the Athenian hegemony, to keep klerouchs' years consistent with Attic years, both as to months (including intercalated months) and prytanies. Athens sent certain officers out each year to its settlements,[12] even if not

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[8] See *Ath.Pol.* 43.2 and the discussion and bibliography of Rhodes, *CAAP* 517-520.

[9] Homolle, *BCH* 8 (1884) 295 re no.7 raises this possibility, at least theoretically.

[10] Accame, *Ann.* #4.1-3: ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱππο|θωντίδος πρώτης πρυτανείας, Ἑκατ[ομ|β]αιῶνος ὑστέρου ἑβδόμει ἱσταμένου. Suggested date and argument appear on pp.81f.

[11] Accame, *Ann.* #2, cited above; see p. 78. Although Accame sees the lettering as possibly fourth century, he infers a late date from the inscription's mention of *symproedroi* (lines 5f), showing no awareness of references to the same institution in Michel 832, which is securely dated to 346/5. Jones, *Pub.Org.* 188 cites Accame's characterization of these two texts, adding only: "The phenomenon needs further study".

[12] Note, e.g., the Attic reference to the "kleroucharchonship" of two named persons in *IG* ii[2] 1609.88f; see Sec.3.4 above.

systematically to every settlement in every year, and klerouchs had certain responsibilities and obligations to Athens. Operating on significantly different calendars would have been troublesome and confusing. Slight variations may have occurred, however. If the Athenians of Attike, on short notice, added a day to some midwinter month for cultic reasons, e.g., how were residents of Lemnos or Samos to know about this until some time afterwards?

Separate from the issue of calendric *calculation* is the question of calendric *allotment*. Even assuming that all klerouchs adopted each year's Attic month and prytany arrangements (number of days in each, whether or not to intercalate a thirteenth month, etc., give or take minor adjustments of the kind just mentioned), did the klerouchs allot their own conciliar prytanies by tribes? Or was the allotment done once-for-all in Athens, with the effect that *everywhere* in which "the *demos* of Athenians" operated, the *same* tribe was in prytany simultaneously, and the same sequence of prytanizing tribes was followed through the year? *Prima facie*, I would expect independent allotments in each settlement. Even in Attike itself, the allotment of prytanies was not done for the entire year in advance; only in the ninth prytany could anyone know with certainty which tribe would next preside.[13] The communication problem already mentioned would apply here also, especially in the months unfavorable for sailing. Here again, our only hope for clarification would have come from comparing the data of Michel 832 with Attic sources, but extant examples of the latter are not helpful.

I know of no fourth century evidence relating to the frequency of meetings of the *demos* in any Athenian settlement; nor are there references to any "principal assembly" (*kyria ekklesia*), as one meeting of the *demos* per prytany was designated in Athens.[14] Two above-cited inscriptions from Imbros (both generally dated, however, to a late-fourth century period of independence from Athens) identify an assembly meeting as the one in which a named person (**538**, **1000**) was *epistates* of the *proedroi*.[15] Is such phrasing exemplified in Attike?

The calendric equation in one of these Imbrian inscriptions, which includes the information (already mentioned) that an assembly meeting was held on the tenth of Hekatombaion, may indicate a variation from Attic practice, if Hansen is correct in arguing that each year's *first* assembly in Athens was held on the *eleventh* of

[13] See Rhodes, *CAAP* 518 and literature cited there.

[14] *Ath.Pol.* 43.4; see Rhodes, *CAAP* 522f and Hansen, *Ath.Assem.* 25-27.

[15] *IG* xii(8) 47.3f (ἐκκλησία ἦν εἶ ἐπεστάτει Εὔπολις | Κήττιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι); 48.4f (same formula, mostly restored).

Hekatombaion.[16] It must again be stressed, however, that Imbros at the time of this resolution appears to have been independent. The size of the assembly in any of the fourth century Athenian settlements is quite unknowable. Among other factors, this would depend on the total number of Athenians resident in the territory, the accessibility of the assembly-place from the settlers' *kleroi*, the physical characteristics of the meeting place itself, the settlers' subjective evaluation of the importance and interest of a given meeting, and the availability or non-availability of pay for attendance — about all of which we are entirely in the dark.[17]

From Michel 832 we know that the *boule* of the Samian klerouchs met, unremarkably, on two consecutive days, the sixteenth and seventeenth days of the second prytany. The location, i.e., the temple of Hera, was presumably not its regular meeting place, since certain missing objects among the listed treasures are said to be in the possession of the *boule* — which apparently indicates that they are elsewhere.[18] Concerning the make-up of the council, we can reasonably infer, at least in some settlements, an attempt (whether or not always successful) to adhere to the Attic model. Selection of *bouleutai* by lot is a reasonable, although unprovable, assumption, as is the attempt to maintain equality in tribal representation. The three boards of *proedroi* in Michel 832 are all listed in the context of meetings of the *boule*, and thus clearly are themselves members of that body, as in Attike. The lists show the principle of representation of each of the nine tribes not in prytany, in the one regular board, but also show the difficulty that apparently sometimes occurred in implementing the principle: two different boards from two consecutive days lack a representative for V.Akamantis and include one from the tribe in prytany, VII.Kekropis.[19] An unpublished inscription from Samos seems to include another regular board of *proedroi*, although the names and demotics within the list

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[16] Hansen, *Ath.Eccl.* 83 and n.2, citing Dem. 24 (delivered 353 B.C.).20, 26, 27. Wallace rejects Hansen's interpretation, believing that the assembly date indicated here for Imbros would be a possibility in Athens as well.

[17] Cf. the discussion of such factors in relation to the *Attic* assembly, in Hansen, *Ath.Assem.* 8-19.

[18] Michel 832.8f and 41 (days), 54f (πρόχοι χαλκαῖ : ΔΙΙ : τὴν βουλὴν τούτων || ἔφασαν ἔχειν : ΙΙΙΙ : κύκλος χαλκοῦς · τοῦτον τὴμ βουλὴν ἔφασαν ἔχειν), following Aleshire.

[19] Michel 832.61-63 (regular), 10-12 and 42-44 (irregular). Jones, *Pub.Org.* 196 calls the first of these irregular boards "a significant departure from Athenian practice", but apparently does not categorize the second such board as irregular. Yet Xypete, the deme of Charias (**1404**) of line 43, is just as surely a deme of the prytanizing tribe (lines 8f) as is Melite, the deme of Phorys (**1362**) of lines 11f.

are only partially preserved.[20] A resolution of initiates from Hephaistia has a board of *proedroi* that is anomalous in having two representatives from III.Pandionis (one of them the *epistates*) and none from I.Erechtheis.[21]

A list found on Imbros of two persons each from all ten tribes, with tribal divisions explicitly indicated by subheadings, in the traditional Athenian order, has generally been viewed as a list of *bouleutai*, and its heading in the *Corpus* is restored accordingly:

> [*Bouleutai* of] Aristodemos' [archonship, c]rowned [by the *d*]*emos* for justice, d[edic]ate (this monument) to (the) Twelve Gods.[22]

If this restoration is correct, with its implication that the *boule* of the klerouchs on Imbros had only twenty members,[23] this might not only indicate something about the size of the settlement (quite small, presumably), but might also help explain the small number of *proedroi* in two other Imbrian inscriptions, each of which mentions an *epistates* and only two *symproedroi*.[24] A board of three was perhaps the smallest workable presiding committee.

But much is uncertain, and unsatisfactory, in such a reconstruction. To begin with, Imbros provides as many primary entries in my database as any other settlement (see Table 1 in Sec.2.3 above). Moreover, even though one need not accept the editor's date of 352/1 for the dedication, since the eponymous magistracy is totally restored and its Attic connection is a pure inference, it need not be contemporaneous with the other two inscriptions, either. We may have here documents of different regimes: a dedication inscribed under the klerouchic state prior to independence and two resolutions of an independent Imbrian government. Perhaps the latter

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[20] *Heraion* Inv. J24.

[21] Accame, *Ann.* #2.4-9. The tribe in prytany is VIII.Hippothontis; the *epistates* is from Prasiai (III.Pandionis), but the list of his *symproedroi* begins with names from Otryne (II.Aigeis) and Paiania (III.Pandionis again), before continuing in regular fashion. The dilemma would not be solved by positing that the inscription is post-307 and that the *symproedros* from Paiania is specifically from *Upper* Paiania, which has been transferred to the new tribe of Antigonis, listed first in the revised tribal order. The names then would be out of sequence, and there would not be enough of them to fit a twelve-tribe situation. Moreover, the name from Xypete in the inscription is where it belongs in a list based on ten tribes, i.e., in the spot for VII.Kekropis, not for Xypete's post-307 tribe, II.Demetrias.

[22] *IG* xii(8) 63.1f: [βουλευταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ] Ἀριστοδήμο [ἄρχοντος σ]τεφανωθέντες | [ὑπὸ τô δ]ήμο δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα ἀ[νέθε]σαν Δώδεκα Θεοῖς. Wilhelm is *IG*'s source for the *bouleutai* restoration; the editor quite reasonably rejects *prytaneis* and *epistatai* as possible alternatives. The inference (also commonplace) that Aristodemos (**168**) is the archon of *Athens* is the basis of the conventional date of 352/1 for this inscription.

[23] As Ferguson, *HA* 317 n.3 infers, e.g.

[24] *IG* xii(8) 47.3-5 (demotics from IV.Leontis, VI.Oineis, and IX.Aiantis); 48.4-6 (very fragmentary; the first listed *symproedros* is from III.Pandionis).

entity, although not tampering in general with the make-up of the *boule* as it had existed before independence, simply found a three-man board of *proedroi* sufficient. Even at Athens, the only apparent duty of the *proedroi* was to preside at meetings of the *boule* and *demos*.[25] Given the fact that both bodies, in any settlement, would be far smaller than the 500 and 6000+ of Attike, no reason except simple emulation of Attic custom existed for having a presiding committee of the same size. Some settlements (Samos and probably Hephaistia) obviously did, but not necessarily all, and not necessarily at all times. Perhaps independence had brought a change on Imbros, but it is also possible that the smaller board of *proedroi* had existed there earlier.

I remain suspicious of the notion of a twenty-member *boule* on Imbros,[26] even though I cannot offer a convincing substitute restoration or interpretation of the inscription in question. Why have prytanies at all (both of the inscriptions listing only three *proedroi* are dated by prytany), if each prytany has only two *prytaneis*? A "committee in charge" made up of two *prytaneis* would be smaller even than a board of three *proedroi*: cf. the Attic fifty-to-nine ratio in the opposite direction. Or had "prytany" become purely a *calendric* expression, referring only to one-tenth of the year, with the *bouleutai* of the tribe chosen by lot only nominally, but not actually, in charge of anything?[27] If "boul[archos?]" is a title, and not a patronymic, following a name associated with Salamis (**413**),[28] it is obviously somehow related to a *boule* on the island — something for which there is no independent fourth century evidence — but no such title is clearly attested anywhere, and speculations about the nature of the "office" would be unwarranted.

Inscriptions discussed in Sec.3.10 below show that tribes among the Athenian settlers could have a corporate existence. No evidence exists anywhere, however, for the corporate existence of any *deme* among the settlers. I think it unlikely that there was any. The demes of Attike (except for some arbitrarily created within the *asty*) were mostly population centers pre-dating the establishment of the Kleisthenic system, into which they were incorporated in the late

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[25] Hansen, *Ath.Assem.* 37-39.

[26] Jones, *Pub.Org.* 187 is also dubious: "The names...may, as Wilamowitz suggested, be of *bouleutai*..., but why only twenty — presumably not the full number — should have been catalogued is quite unclear. Accordingly, the nature of the document should remain...an open question".

[27] No clarification is provided by late inscriptions' references to *proedroi*: Accame, *Ann.* #4.4-6; *IG* xii(8) 52.14; *IG* ii^2 1227.22-26.

[28] *IG* ii^2 1596.12. See Greek and discussion in Sec.2.9 n.46 above.

sixth century.[29] No such history of attachment to places would exist for settlers assigned allotments of land overseas; rather, they retained their connections with their demes in Attike, to which they might someday return.[30] It may also be reasonably doubted that deme bouleutic quotas on the Attic model existed in the settlements. The smaller population and the smaller size of the *boule* would make proportionality of deme representation unworkable.[31] Probably apportionment was simply by tribes, without regard for deme representation within the tribes — a precursor of the situation that apparently prevailed within the Attic *boule* itself after ca. 200 B.C.[32]

As has already been suggested in passing, it is probably an unnecessary assumption that having a tribe "in prytany" necessitates having a committee of that tribe's *bouleutai*, i.e., the "prytaneis", in charge of anything. But who then would have presided in *boule* and *demos* prior to the invention, in Attike, of the institution of the *proedroi*, which probably occurred just at the end of the fifth century?[33] The question may actually be moot: the very limited evidence does not even compel the conclusion that any klerouchic government included a *boule* at any period earlier than the establishment of *proedroi* in Attike! Among resolutions from territories occupied by fourth century Athenian settlers, only one inscription from Myrina clearly mentions a *boule* at a time that *might* prove significant (without mentioning either *prytaneis* or *proedroi*, incidentally), but this inscription appears to be a resolution of independent Myrina, not of the klerouchic state.[34] It is possible that fifth century klerouchic establishments had a less fully fleshed-out Attic-style political organization than the fourth century klerouchs had. Note the references in two late-fifth century Attic treasure lists to dedications by "klerouchs". Such phrasing is not attested in any fourth century klerouchic sources, and it may reflect the earlier, simpler organiza-

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[29] Whitehead, *Demes* 5-16.

[30] See App. A, comments in connection with *Agora* XVI.68 (=Inv. I 5212).

[31] Jones, *Pub.Org.* 197 asks: "But could the cleruch population have sustained a system of bouleutic deme quotas?" If, for example, *IG* xii(8) 63 really is a list of each tribe's entire bouleutic representation (two names each), which both Jones and I doubt, it is notable that both representatives (**738**, **328**) of VI.Oineis are demesmen of Perithoidai — which ranks a distant *fourth* in quotas among Oineis demes for the Attic *boule*, its quota being less than one-seventh that of Acharnai. See chart in Whitehead, *Demes* 371f.

[32] J. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (Princeton 1975) 61-64.

[33] Hansen, *AthAssem.* 37.

[34] *IG* xii(8) 2.6f, 16 (editorially dated 404/3-394/3).

tion.[35] A settlement attaining independence at the beginning of the fourth century might perhaps copy more of the Attic political organization, so as to be able to perform at the local level functions perhaps formerly handled by the institutions of the metropolis: the only attested *polemarch*, e.g., from a territory occupied by fourth century settlers also appears in a document from a period of independence (see Sec.3.5 above). This suggestion is speculative, however.[36] Although it is worthwhile to stress the thinness of our evidence, there probably were *prytaneis* as well as prytanies in the fourth century settlements.[37]

Hansen devotes a section of his book on the Athenian assembly to a description of "the proceedings at a session of the ekklesia" in Athens, in which he also discusses meetings of the *boule* and identifies various officials and functionaries of both bodies.[38] Elsewhere, Hansen mentions other functionaries closely connected with the Attic *boule* and *demos*, and other magistrates who work with various boards made up of *bouleutai*.[39] Some of these functionaries obviously would not exist in connection with the *boule* and *demos* of Athenian settlements, given their much smaller size, compared with their Attic models. It is not surprising, then, to find no fourth century klerouchic attestations for *syllogeis*, archers, *anagrapheis*, *grammateis epi ta psephismata*, etc. Except for one restored reference in an inscription of independent Myrina, possibly late-fourth century, all the attestations of heralds, also, are post-fourth century.[40] Thus their use in the *boule* and/or *demos* of any fourth century klerouchic state is undocumented; perhaps in assemblies of small size they were simply unnecessary. Possibly fourth century mentions of treasurers (*tamiai*) associated with *boule* and/or *demos* are rare, although not entirely nonexistent; most of the firmer attestations, however, are

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[35] *IG* i³ 339.13 and 341.1; see Figueira, *A&A* 9f and n.8; on the latter text see also App. A. Cf. the invariable "*demos*" of fourth century dedications. Deffner, *EA* (1923) 163-166 claims, however, to discern traces of a fifth century ὁ δε̃μος within a crown on a stone from Skyros re-used for a second century inscription, *IG* xii(8) 666.

[36] Especially since, as Wallace points out, the Samian klerouchs clearly had both an archon and *thesmothetai*.

[37] An inscription from Imbros, dated to the late third or second century, specifies that the stele on which it is inscribed is to be set up "in the courtyard of the Prytaneion": *IG* xii(8) 50.6 (στῆσαι ἐν τεῖ αὐλεῖ τοῦ πρυτανείου). Presumably the Prytaneion was used by the *prytaneis*.

[38] Hansen, *Ath.Assem.* 88-93 and 168-172 nn.546-599.

[39] Hansen, "700 *Archai*" 156, 157 and n.14, 161f, 172 and n.53.

[40] *IG* xii(8) 7.15f: ἀνειπε̃ν δὲ | [τὸν κήρυκα Διονυσίων] τῶι ἀγῶνι. Cf. the late *IG* xii(8) 53.15-18; *IG* ii² 1223.11f.

late.[41] The prescript of a decree from Myrina, apparently dating to the fourth century period of klerouchic organization, includes the notice that Charias Lamptreus (**1402**) "was secretary",[42] presumably, on Hansen's Attic model, secretary of the *boule*. An inscription of "the *demos* of Myrinaians", probably early-fourth century, specifies that the secretary of the *boule* is to inscribe the decree.[43] Another document of the Myrinaian *demos*, this one generally dated during the island's late-fourth century period of independence, assigns the same role to "the secretary", apparently unmodified,[44] as does a fragmentary inscription from Myrina editorially dated to the early third century.[45] It would be tempting to take these unspecific passages as referring also to the secretary of the *boule*.[46] But in fact a change may have been underway. Every other relevant post-fourth century inscription that is extant assigns the task of inscribing the decree to the secretary of the *demos*.[47] Or are both titles just shorthand for an office properly described as the "secretary of the *boule* and *demos*"?

3.8 Subject Matters of Public Resolutions

Hansen provides a handy outline showing the kinds of decrees passed, in the period 403-322, by the *demos* in Athens. Adding up his totals of decrees known through different categories of sources, I get 775 attested decrees, of which 103 are of unknown content (because fragmentary); therefore 672 are classifiable. Of these, by far the most numerous (367 decrees, i.e., 54.6% of the classifiable total) are "honorary decrees and grants of citizenship".[1] This prevalence of honorary decrees is paralleled among documents of the Attic demes: D. Whitehead says that they amount to two-thirds of a

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[41] *IG* ii² 1222.9 ([--- καὶ τὴ]ν ποίησιν μερίσαι τὸν [ταμίαν ---]; *Heraion* Inv. J24 as restored by Dunst ([--- τοὺς δὲ ταμί]ας ἀποδοῦναι); cf. the late *IG* ii² 1008.88; 1227.38-40; *IG* xii(8) 666.17-19.

[42] *IG* xii(8) 5.3f: ἐγραμμάτευεν.

[43] *IG* xii(8) 2.14-16: ἀναγ||ράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τ|ὸγ γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆ[ς.].

[44] *IG* xii(8) 7.20f: [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισ]μα τὸν γραμματεία | [ἐν στήλει λιθίνει] καὶ στῆσαι κτλ.

[45] *IG* xii(8) 9.2-4.

[46] I exclude from this argument the "secretary" (**984**) crowned along with five *hieromnemones* in Accame, *Ann.* #1.11f, who appears simply to be associated with this group, not with either *boule* or *demos*.

[47] Accame, *Ann.* #5.4-6; *IG* xii(8) 666.14f; *IG* ii² 1008.87; ?1223.16f (possibly referring to an *Attic* official); 1227.33f; 1228.10f.

[1] Hansen, *AthAssem.* 108-118, esp. the outline on pp. 110-113 and the discussion of honorary decrees on pp. 114f. The only other at all comparably large category is "decrees relating to foreign policy" (195 decrees, i.e., 29%).

total of slightly more than 100 extant deme decrees.[2] In the case of decrees from territories occupied in the fourth century by Athenian settlers, the prevalence is even more striking. Disregarding inscriptions too fragmentary to classify (some of which may be decrees, some not),[3] and aside from a handful of "dedications by the *demos*" to various deities, which I assume were made in decree form,[4] *every* attested resolution by the *boule* and/or *demos* of these territories seems to have been an honorary decree of some sort! Some appear to have had additional purposes, stated or unstated, e.g., improving relations with the *boule* and *demos* of Athens.[5] But in form they bestow various honors upon specified honorands. Some substantive

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[2] Whitehead, *Demes* 40-42 and nn.

[3] Segre, *Ann.* #10 (from Hephaistia, dated to the fourth century by letter forms), in its present fragmentary state, includes only a list of unmodified masculine names (Segre p.305 says it may be a list of klerouchs); we do not know what originally preceded the names. The same is true for *IG* xii(8) 84 and 85 (both from Imbros and both editorially dated late-fourth/early-third century), whose names are usually taken to be those of *mystai*. Accame, *Ann.* #7 (dated late-fifth century by the editor, but seemingly just as likely to be fourth century) certainly *is* a fragment of a decree (although probably of the initiates of the Kabeiric rites), but its content cannot be determined. If the fragmentary *IG* ii^2 569 is quoting a resolution of the *demos* in Hephaistia (as the editor, doubtfully citing Koehler, suggests, dating the inscription to post-307/6), the nature of that resolution is likewise impossible to determine. *IG* ii^2 1222 (editorially dated to the end of the fourth century) also may quote a resolution made in Hephaistia, but only parts of lines dealing with the publication procedure are extant — although at the end of the fragmentary text it may be possible to discern a commendation for certain ambassadors. *IG* ii^2 114 and 118 may refer to, or imply the existence of, non-honorary resolutions passed in Poteidaia, but nothing remains of the resolutions themselves.

[4] *SEG* 18.200-202 are dedications of the klerouchs on Samos to Apollon at Delphoi. Michel 1149 could be a dedication to Hera from the same people, although Shipley, *Samos* 218 and n.73 believes it to be a document of the restored Samian exiles with archaizing letter forms; cf. Jacobsthal, *AM* 31 (1906) 418, who had dated it to the late *fifth* century. Crowns, presumably dedicated to Athena by resolutions, show up in Attic treasure lists: *IG* ii^2 1383.1; 1437.20f; 1440+(see *SEG* 36.28).24. An inscription from Imbros, *IG* xii(8) 63, is interestingly hybrid: it is a dedication made by a group of men, acting either privately or in their capacity as public officials, which itself cites an honorary decree of the *demos*. The beginning, and thus the dedicating agency, is missing from Accame, *Ann.* #11 (from Hephaistia), but it is clear that a memorial dedicated to the "Great Gods" cites a crown bestowed "by the *isoteleis* and the *demos* of the initiated". The tendency to conflate honorary and dedicatory inscriptions increases in post-fourth century documents from Lemnos and Imbros; see, e.g., *IG* xii(8) 26 and 64-66; Accame, *Ann.* #13. Also, inscriptions carved on what appear to be gravestones increasingly incorporate some apparent reference to resolutions, presumably honorific: *IG* xii(8) 27; 28; 38; ?78; 107. Purely dedicatory resolutions, e.g., *IG* xii(8) 70, also continue to be attested.

[5] This purpose was obviously primary in fourth century klerouchic resolutions which proclaimed crowns honoring the Attic *demos* and/or *boule*, or dedicated at Attic temples (see above). Concern for cultivating Attic goodwill is also evident in post-fourth century honorary resolutions from Salamis and Lemnos: Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) 100-109, no.18 (= Burstein, *Tr.Doc.*3.13); *IG* ii^2 1008.75-88; 1223; 1224; *SEG* 28.718.

decrees must have been passed, e.g., providing for the issue of coinage (see Sec.3.11 below). But given the overwhelming preponderance of honorary decrees, I ultimately conclude that "the *dogma* of Polykrates" (**1103**) referred to by Philip of Makedon (see Sec.3.6 above) in connection with his conflict with the kleroucbs of the Chersonesos — clearly a substantive, policy-making resolution — was more likely to have been an *Attic* decree, not a decree passed by the klerouchs.

The types of honors bestowed by bodies of Athenian settlers seem conventional and Attic-inspired. Some kind of "commendation" formula is frequently attested (the usual word being *epainesai*).[6] The most common honor bestowed is a crown (*stephanos*), often of gold.[7] In post-fourth century decrees the award is often described as a gold crown "according to the law" (*kata ton nomon*).[8] Crowns "of olive" (*thallou*), "of ivy" (*kittou*), and possibly "of laurel" (*daphnes*) are also attested in late inscriptions.[9] Proclamation of the honor(s) awarded, generally at one or more festivals, is itself an added honor sometimes bestowed. For example, the resolution of Chalkidians in Myrina honoring Theophilos (**673**), already repeatedly cited, concludes as follows:

> ... $/_5$ and let the herald proclaim at the contest for tragedies of (the) Dionysia that the Chalkidians living in Myrina are crowning with this crown the *epimeletes* Theophilos (son) of Meliton $/_{10}$ Alopekethen on account of his excellence a[n]d justice toward the Chalki[d]ians living in Myrina.[10]

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[6] Present or restored in *IG* xii(8) 6.1; 47.13f; 668.2 ("3" in *IG*); *IG* ii² 1222.11; Accame, *Ann.* #1.1f; *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212.7. Post-fourth century attestations occur in *IG* xii(8) 8.6f; 15.1; 53.11; 666.11; *IG* ii² 672.32; 1008.80; 1223.1; 1225.23; 1227.26; 1228.8 (different form of verb); Accame, *Ann.* #3.16 (different form of verb in 13f); #5.1.

[7] *IG* xii(8) 3.10f (στεφανῶσαι χ|[ρυσῶι στεφάνωι – – –], the normal formula); 4.8; 6.3f; 7.11, 18; 47.17; 63.1; Accame, *Ann.* #2.14?; #11.4f; *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212.7-9 (value stated); Hyp. 1.18 (OCT/Loeb numbering). An unusual fourth century award of an *olive* crown occurs in Accame, *Ann.* #1.13f, if the totally restored word θαλλοῦ is correct.

[8] *IG* xii(8) 53.13f; *IG* ii² 672.32f; 1008.81; 1223.2; 1227.28f. *SEG* 40.83 cites Walbank saying that "the passage of the law governing the cost of golden crowns can be dated before the eighth prytany of 304/3 B.C." — as a device, it is suggested, to limit the cost of anticipated crowns for "partisans of the Macedonian kings".

[9] Olive: *IG* ii² 1008.86f; 1228.9; Accame, *Ann.* #3.17; #5.3. Ivy: *IG* xii(8) 666.14. ?Laurel: Susini, *Ann.* #8.4 (a speculative δάφ[νης στέφανος – – –] is suggested in the commentary on a very fragmentary text). Other late crowns, of unspecified material, are mentioned in *IG* xii(8) 15.6 and 55.2.

[10] *IG* xii(8) 4.5-12, key phrase in lines 5f: ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα Διο|νυσίων τῶι ἀγῶνι τραγωιδοῖς. Other fourth century examples of such proclamation are *IG* xii(8) 7.15f and *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212.10f. Post-fourth century attestations include *IG* xii(8) 15.5; 53.15-18; 55.2f; *IG* ii² 1008.82; 1223.5-9 (with especially numerous festivals mentioned); 1227.30-32.

The inscribing and setting up of the decree can itself be honorific, if the honoring body itself covers the cost, something that is not always certain in fragmentary decrees. No document from territories occupied by Athenian settlers that is firmly datable to the fourth century has an extant specification as to *where* the inscribed stone is to be set up, although such instructions seemingly become commonplace in later centuries.[11] The erection of some kind of monument or statue, not necessarily depicting the honorand personally, can sometimes be inferred from the type of stone (an apparent statue base, e.g.), but the only explicit references I have found to statues of the honorand are post-fourth century.[12]

If an unpublished inscription of the klerouchs on Samos is an honorary decree, it is possible that some privilege(s) may be granted to the honorand (**570**) and his descendants "forever", but the passage is very fragmentarily preserved.[13] A *probouleuma* apparently produced by the fourth century klerouchs on Imbros (translated in Sec.3.6 above) shows an honorand (**1265**) holding privileged entry (*prosodos*) to the *boule*, and instructs the *proedroi* to conduct him into the next meeting of the *demos*.[14] Other attestations of *prosodos* either come from periods of independence or are post-fourth century.[15] The bestowal of certain other honors is documented *only* for such periods.

An inscription from Myrina editorially dated to 404/3-394/3, a period seen by Fredrich as being prior to the fourth century klerouchic establishment (also translated in Sec.3.6 above), praises the honorand (**1104**) for his goodwill toward the *demos* of Myrinaians both in war and in peace, and makes him a *proxenos* of

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[11] *IG* xii(8) 6, undated in the *Corpus*, includes the highly restored provision (lines 7-10): [– – – ἀν|α]γράψα[ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν σ|τή]λει λ[ιθίνει καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι || ἱερ]ῶι τ[οῦ – – –] . *IG* xii(8) 9, said by Fredrich to have letters of the beginning of the third century, has the equally heavily restored provision (lines 2-5): ἀναγρά|[ψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ]ν γραμμ|[ατέα καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἐπιφανεσ]τάτ[ῳ || τῆς πόλεως τόπωι – – –]. Yes, Fredrich restores both an *iota*-subscript (for no apparent reason) and a normal epigraphic on-the-line *iota* within the same phrase; it should also be mentioned that traces depicted in *IG*'s own majuscule would make both the *sigma* and *omega* of ἐπιφανεστάτῳ impossible. For specified locations in definitely post-fourth century inscriptions, see *IG* xii(8) 50.6; *IG* ii² 672.38f; 1008.87; 1223.17; 1227.34-36; 1228.11; Accame, *Ann.* #5.6f.

[12] *IG* ii² 672.34, 37, 39; 1223.4f, 17.

[13] *Heraion* Inv. J24: Dunst restores a grant of Athenian citizenship to the honorand and his descendants, which to me seems speculative; my more restricted statement is derived from the phrase εἰς τὸν ἀε[ὶ χρόνον? – – –] without additional restoration.

[14] *IG* xii(8) 46, key phrases in lines 3f ([...πεποίηται πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν] | τὴν πρόσοδον), 5f ([.εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν] | (the honorand) πρὸς τὸν [δῆμον – – –]).

[15] *IG* xii(8) 7.14f; 50.1f; *IG* ii² 1223.13f.

the Myrinaians, also granting him and his descendants freedom from taxation (*ateleia*) wherever the Myrinaians control, and *proedria* in publicly-funded contests.[16] Other attested grants of *proedria* are post-fourth century,[17] as are such perquisites as maintenance at the Prytaneion[18] and the vague promise of any appropriate benefit(s).[19]

Over-schematization should be avoided, however. An inscription from Myrina that is definitely klerouchic, and very plausibly dated to the period of the mid-fourth century Social War, seems to include a grant of *proxenia* — although its original editors refused to make the obvious restoration and Fredrich appears to find the grant surprising.[20] This apparent overstepping of the limits of klerouchic competence may reflect a desperate situation during wartime. Alternatively, it may be recalled that the inscription breaks off with this phrase; perhaps the grant was modified by some no-longer-extant provision indicating the necessity for ratification by the *demos* in Athens.[21]

No grant of Athenian citizenship by an extra-Attic *boule* and *demos* of the fourth century is extant, and it seems probable that such a grant would definitely have exceeded such bodies' powers. An inscription from Imbros, dated by Fredrich to the second century but by a more recent editor to the second half of the third century, shows characteristics that seem appropriate to a resolution of an independent state. As the extant portion begins, certain persons seemingly have been granted *Imbrian* citizenship:

> ...and they are to be Imb[rians, and their descendants, and] to [s]hare in cultic matters just like al[l the other Imbrians,] and if the *praktore*[*s*] do not do anything of those things written [in th]is /$_5$ resolution or of those things written in the la[w,] each of them is to owe a hundred drachmas to the Great Gods, and they are not to complete their *euthyna*[*i*] before they pay (it).[22]

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[16] *IG* xii(8) 2.

[17] *IG* ii^2 672.34f; 1223.12f.

[18] *IG* ii^2 672.34; 1223.12. Copied in Athens, both resolutions may in fact refer to the Prytaneion of *Athens*.

[19] *IG* xii(8) 50.2f; *IG* ii^2 1223.14f.

[20] *IG* xii(8) 3.13: see translation in Sec.3.6 above. The last three letters on the last extant line prompt the restoration: [– – – ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτὸν π]ρόξ|[ενον καὶ εὐεργέτην – – –]. Note the comments of Cousin and Dürrbach, *BCH* 9 (1885) 59: "Mais il n'y a pas d'exemples de clérouques donnant la proxénie"; and of Fredrich in *IG*: "supplementum certum esse videtur, sed colonos ius proxeniae adse habuisse adhuc ignotum est".

[21] Cf. certain provisions of *IG* ii^2 672+.

[22] *IG* xii(8) 51.2-8, key phrases in lines 1f ([– – – με]|τέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν), 6 (ὀφειλέτω), 7f (μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὰς εὐθύνα[ς] | δοῦναι πρὶν ἂν ἐκτείσωσιν). See Tréheux, *BCH* 80 (1956) 462-479. The "Goddess", scholars have concluded, is Athena (see Tréheux 474 and n.3). On the Attic *praktores* (ten in number), see Rhodes, *CAAP* 559, with sources; they are not mentioned in *Ath.Pol.* itself.

Other provisions of this inscription relate to future *praktores'* keeping records of acquisitions by the temple, and to responsibility of the *tamias* for expenses for the stele, apparently the one bearing this text, and an enumeration of the temple's holdings. In a year designated by archon, the *praktores* (listed by name, patronymic, and demotic: **91**, **633**, **509**) carried out an audit in the temple, whose holdings are listed in two columns below. Dedications and their weights or values appear in the left column; in the right column are listed "silver in the temple of the Goddess, 5330 (drachmas)", 530 *medimnoi* of wheat, and (apparently) quantities of metals.

One area of the Attic *ekklesia*'s power that is discussed by Hansen is elections. He has a section on which he briefly discusses the military officers and others elected in and by the assembly through a show of hands (*cheirotoneia*).[23] Since klerouchs' military leaders (a category from which any fourth century *polemarch* would presumably be excluded) were sent out from Athens, not chosen locally, much of the electoral authority of the Attic assembly would be inappropriate in the overseas territories. Some election of ambassadors (*presbeis*) is attested, however, mostly late and apparently restricted to ambassadors to *Athens* (see discussion in Sec.3.5 above).

3.9 Trials?

In his chapter on "the powers of the *ekklesia*" in Athens, Hansen follows the long section on decrees with a short section on "sentences", i.e., on the assembly's limited power to try (essentially as a court) certain kinds of cases. He shows that this power decreased during the fourth century and was eliminated entirely by around mid-century.[1] No trace of any such power of the assembly is to be found in any fourth century evidence for territories occupied by Athenian settlers — although it is difficult to imagine any circumstances that might cause such a trace to occur in the almost exclusively epigraphical sources. More interestingly, and more surprisingly, there is no genuine evidence for the existence of any courts (*dikasteria*) in any fourth century Athenian klerouchic state. A dikast's *pinax*, perhaps (although not necessarily) from Poteidaia, is probably interpreted correctly by its editor as having come from

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[23] Hansen, *AthAssem.* 120-123; see also Hansen, "700 *Archai*".

[1] Hansen, *AthAssem.* 118-120.

Attike.[2] The late-fourth century Imbrian reference to the *polemarch* Lykon (**869**) having undergone his *euthynai* in the *dikasterion* may, like Lykon's office itself, reflect an element of independent government not present when Imbros was subject to the *demos* of Attike.[3]

Very fragmentary lines, apparently within an amendment, in an Attic decree of 387/6 relating to klerouchs on Lemnos refer to trials and to a *dikasterion*, but such references seem perhaps more likely to apply to Athens than to Lemnos. One tentative restoration would associate a period of time with the mention of a *dikasterion* — perhaps time to travel from Lemnos for trial in Athens?[4] Is it possible that all legal cases were referred to Athens? Perhaps not *all*, but it seems likely that certain kinds of cases were. If Athens in the fifth century could make allied citizens take certain cases to the metropolis, presumably fourth century Athens could impose the same requirement on its own citizen klerouchs. The fact that two fourth century inscriptions relating to confiscation of land on Lemnos (discussed below) are *Attic* documents[5] may tend to indicate that any legal procedures associated with the confiscations had taken place in Athens, for example.[6] On the other hand, being in a settlement

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[2] Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) 57 no.10; see discussion in Sec.2.4 above. Kroll, *ABAP* no.7 significantly updates Robinson's readings and interpretations, and does not follow Robinson even in connecting the *pinax* with Poteidaia. Wallace tells me that he believes that *dikasteria* did exist in the fourth century settlements, and I grant the reasonableness of the belief.

[3] *IG* xii(8) 47.9-13; see full translation and key Greek phrases in Sec.3.6 above. Note also the reference to *euthynai* in the late Imbrian inscription quoted in the preceding section.

[4] *Agora* XIX.L3.22 (τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [καθάπερ τῆι βολῆι], Luria's restoration), 24 ([– – – δ]ίκαις), 25 (ἡ δίκη), 26 (ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον). Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 172 discusses the possible amendment formula of line 22 and concludes: "The concentration of legal terms in the next five lines suggests that the purpose of this supplement was to define judicial procedures covering disputes over land on Lemnos", adding: "perhaps in line 26 a time interval is indicated, e.g. [τριάκοντα ἡμερ]ῶν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον". He volunteers nothing about *where* the judicial procedures might take place, nor does Walbank in citing these suggestions in his *apparatus* to the text (*Agora* XIX p.174). Still, line 11 of the inscription refers to τῶι Θησείωι, presumably the temple of Theseus in Athens, so τὸ δικαστήριον could just as easily refer to an Athenian court.

[5] *Agora* XIX.L3 (just discussed) and P4 (see Sec.3.13 below).

[6] Wallace suggests that a reference to *IG* i³ 41 (fifth century regulations for Hestiaia on Euboia) might be appropriate here, and says, "I don't myself believe it likely that no justice was done locally" in the fourth century settlements, with the possible exception of Salamis. Minor controversies handled at Athens by *boule* or magistrates would presumably be handled locally by the analogous agencies. Still, Wallace continues, an Athenian — whether a resident of Attike or a klerouch — would expect "the right to be heard by a body of *hoi epitychontes*", i.e., "a large number of people empanelled that day in which friends, enemies, and bribe-takers could not distort justice". Such a body on a large enough scale, Wallace adds, "cannot be constructed within a klerouchy unless it is a very large one" — a category for which only Samos appears to him to be adequate.

may have provided an excuse for absence from a trial in Athens, at least for potential witnesses.[7]

3.10 Resolutions of Bodies Other Than Boule *and* Demos

An inscription from the Kabeirion near Hephaistia has a beginning that, although it is only partially preserved, looks like that of an ordinary public resolution — archon-date (name lost), prytany, day of month — but then informs us that the resolving body is an assembly of "initiates" (*tetelesmenoi*); it then continues in conventional fashion with the day of the prytany and the listing of a board of *proedroi.* The *demos* of the initiates decrees, on the motion of Nikeratos (**1001**), certain honors (apparently including a crown, but the text becomes fragmentary) for Nikostratos (**1031**), the treasurer of the sacred funds.[1] The editor, Accame, assigns this inscription a fourth/third century date, specifically after 307, but his argument is at least partly invalid, and an earlier dating is possible (see Sec.3.7 above). The "*demos* of the initiates" is, in my view, not a separate organization, but another name for the assembly of the klerouchs of Hephaistia, excluding citizens not yet initiated into the local mysteries. Perhaps a session of the *demos* met around the time of the mysteries at the Kabeirion. An attested Attic analogy seems to be the exclusion of non-initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries from a meeting of the assembly in Athens, preparatory to discussion of the accusation of Alkibiades for profaning the mysteries in 415, although in that case the meeting had already begun before the exclusion occurred. The same Attic source refers to *dikasteria* restricted to initiates, and seems to imply that a session of the Attic *boule* was similarly restricted — one which met at the Eleusinion on the day after the mysteries.[2] Accame seems to believe that the Kabeiric initiates of the Hephaistia decree are only those of the *current* year, but if the suggested Attic parallel holds, that inference is unnecessary: a citizen who has *ever* been initiated should be able to participate in an assembly of initiates. Nor would we expect a full college of *proedroi* in one year's class of initiates, whereas the size of the

[7] Ais. 1.53 may imply this, as might the *Souda* entry s.v. Σκυρίαν δίκην: οἱ σκηπτόμενοι ἐν ταῖς δίκαις ἔφασκον εἰς Σκύρον ἀποδημεῖν . See Figueira, *A&A* 67 n.44. Another *Souda* entry, s.v. κληροῦχοι, indicates that fourth century klerouchs were not expected to undertake trierarchic symmories.

[1] Accame, *Ann.* #2.3f (ἐκκλησία [τῶν] τετελεσ[μέ]|νω[ν – – –])), 9f (ἔδοξεν τῶι || δήμωι τῶν τετελεσμένων), 12 (ὁ ṭ[αμί]ας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων), 14 (καὶ σ[τεφανῶσαι? – – –]).

[2] Andok. 1.12 (ἔδοξε τοῖς πρυτάνεσι τοὺς μὲν ἀμυήτους μεταστήσασθαι), 28f, 111f.

committee makes more sense if the assembly is almost coextensive with the *demos* of Athenians in Hephaistia.[3]

"The *demos* of the initiated" is also involved, along with "the *isoteleis*", in a fourth century dedication from the Kabeirion, discussed in Sec.2.2 above.[4] Another inscription at the Kabeirion, inscribed in *stoichedon* fashion and assigned by Accame to the late fifth or early fourth century, begins simply with the name of the proposer (**1026**), and never supplies the identification of the resolving body in its fourteen extant lines. Perhaps, however, the inscription is a partial copy of a resolution of the *demos* in Hephaistia: the archon cited for dating (**587**) is not an Attic archon. The five *hieromnemones* of the said archonship (**463**, **276**, **935**, **74**, **65**, all with patronymics and demotics, three of them from the same tribe) and "the secretary" (**984**) are all to be crowned.[5]

Having thus defined the assembly of initiates, contrary to the opinion of the editor of all its known inscriptions,[6] as a very extensive subset of the klerouchs of Hephaistia, I naturally take an even stronger line on assemblies of Myrina and of Imbros in fourth century periods of independence. I treat them simply as being the familiar Athenian klerouchs under different labels. Thus I do not adopt the suggestion, tentatively mentioned in my Introduction, that "Myrinaians", e.g., could possibly refer to some local assembly existing simultaneously with the klerouchic assembly — perhaps the non-Athenian-citizen descendants of pre-klerouchic settlers. The more economical hypothesis seems to be that there was a mere change of terminology appropriate to a period of political detachment from the mother city.

A couple of inscriptions appear to attest to the corporate existence of Attic tribes (*phylai*) on Lemnos.[7] On Samos, a resolution of

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[3] It follows that I reject Accame's interpretation (p.78) that the inscription's board lacks a representative from I.Erechtheis because no one from that tribe was initiated *in this year*. Short-handed or otherwise anomalous committees are attested elsewhere (cf. some of the boards of Michel 832), and we have no real clue as to why.

[4] Accame, *Ann.* #11.6f.

[5] Accame, *Ann.* #1.1-4 (Νικόστρατος εἶπεν· ἐ[π]αι|νέσαι τοὺς ἱερομνήμονα|ς τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἡγησάρχου ἄρχ|οντος: names follow), 10f (κα|ὶ τὸν γραμματέα: name, patronymic, demotic), 14f (crowns).

[6] Accame, *Ann.* #3 (which Accame dates to the second half of the third century) does not refer to itself as a resolution of the initiates: it begins with an archon date (**312**), which is followed immediately by ἔδ[ο]ξεν τῶι δήμωι, then the proposer's name (**295**). Yet in Accame's translation (p.80), the resolving body is "il popolo (degli iniziati)".

[7] The Attic inscription *SEG* 3.117, archon-dated 303/2, honors the work of a tribal *syndikos* (**498**) with a tribal priest (**847**) ὑπὲρ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ ἐ|ν Λήμνωι (lines

the Athenian tribe of Pandionis, specifying a deadline by archon-date (**1484**, only the end of the archon's name is extant, however), relates to the collection of principal and interest from delinquent borrowers at the sanctuary of the tribe's eponymous hero. The resolution may be translated as follows:

> [G O] D S.
> [(Name, patronymic)]s Kydathe(naieus) proposed: Since those [receiving from the Eponym] money [are] not paying back [the interest, so that] Pandion is not being [s]acrificed (to), and the (other) /$_5$ [gods (as well), and] the commonalty of the *phyle* is being [injured,] resolve[d: Th]ey [are to return the money,] itself and the interest, in [the year after? (the)] archonship of [– – –]atos. If [they] do not re[turn, at that time, all the mone]y and the interest, [the *ep*]*imeletai* of the *phyle* [are to] li[st them (as) disfranchised. /$_{10}$ Inscribe this resolution] on a ma[rble] stele [and set (it) up in – – –].

If this inscription is correctly restored, the *epimeletai* of the tribe are to list offenders as *atimoi*, — a term normally meaning "without civic rights", presumably here restricted to loss of their *tribal* privileges.[8]

A resolution of certain "soldiers", also found on Samos, praises the *boule* and *demos* of "the Athenians", presumably those in Attike:

> [– – – so that the *demos*, etc. – – – be cr]ow[ned. To (the) good fortune of the] *demos* of [Athenians, resolved] by [th]e soldi[ers: Commend t]he *demos* [of Athenians and the /$_5$ *b*]*oule*, that o[f – – –'s archon]ship, on [account of] their virtue [and just]ice toward [the soldiers, be]cause well and [justly] they [took care] of the sol[diers, and uncorrupt]edly. /$_{10}$ And [crown with a gold c]rown th[e *demos* of Athenians and] the *boul*[*e*, that of – – –'s arch]onship, of (value) f[ive hundred drachmas,] since also [– – – /$_{15}$ (something plural ending

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3-13, Greek from 8f). See related discussion in Sec.1.10 above. An unpublished security *horos* from Lemnos may designate an Attic tribe as a creditor (see App. A, last item).

[8] Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 36-38, no.5. The editor's οἱ λ[α|βόντες παρὰ τοῦ ἐπωνύμου] in lines 2f is admittedly conjectural; another possibility, he suggests, is borrowers παρὰ τῆς φυλῆς. The debtors are said to be injuring τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φυλῆς (line 5); δεδόχθα[ι – – –] (without apparent further specification of agency) follows immediately; the debtors are to pay up ἐν [τῶι | ἐνιαυτῶι τῶι μετὰ – – –]ατον ἄρχοντα (lines 6f: *alpha* will fit the editor's trace, and appears to be the most likely letter in this context, although *lambda* is not impossible); if not, ἀναγ[ρά|ψαι αὐτοὺς ἀτίμους τοὺς ἐπ]ιμελητὰς τῆς φυλῆς (lines 8f). Jones, *Pub.Org.* 196f calls this inscription "our sole surviving record of an internally organized public unit in an Athenian cleruchy" — possibly an overstatement, in light of the preceding note. He offers the sound observation that the debtors need not have been *phyletai* of Pandionis, and uses the term "disfranchised" without comment. The translation in Wickersham and Verbrugghe, *GHD:4C* 41 does not sufficiently differentiate extant and restored elements of this text. On *atimia* in this inscription and in general, see the bibliography at *SEG* 36.1527.

in)]*tas* from the? [---. I]nscribe [this decree on a] ma[rble s]tele [and set (it) up —. —] of [the? garr]ison? [---].[9]

The editor, Klaffenbach, is certain that the lettering of the inscription is fourth century, and indeed that the text is nearer in date to 322 than to 365 (the dates he takes as the beginning and end of the "klerouchy" on Samos). One might reasonably question, however, whether a separate "garrison" of self-described "soldiers" would have been stationed within a territory occupied by fourth century klerouchs — whose own functions should include those normally performed by a garrison. If this were a *fifth* century inscription, on the other hand, such a military establishment within the territory of an Athenian ally, one which had revolted and in which there was continuing unrest, would make sense, and there are many other examples. Maddeningly, the name of the (presumably Attic) archon, which would have provided a date, seems to be missing from the inscription not just once, but twice. In any case, I do not regard the fourth century date of this inscription as conclusively established.[10]

The dedication of "the *hippeis* for Salamis" in honor of their hipparch (**637**), found on Salamis, might seem superficially analogous to the resolution of the soldiers on Samos, but it is unclear whether these cavalrymen were stationed on Salamis for any length of time. If they were to be viewed as settlers there, it would be

[9] Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 34-36, no.4. "Athenians", as my brackets show, is everywhere (lines 2, 4, 11) totally restored, but seems certain enough; στρατιώ[ταις ---] of line 3 justifies the extensively restored word in line 9 and the full restoration in line 7. Klaffenbach argues (p.35) that the *boule* and *demos* referred to are those in Attike; I agree. The final line's possible reference to a garrison is as uncertain in the Greek as my translation indicates. Klaffenbach's text has only part of what appears to be an *upsilon*, followed by ΡΩΝ, which his comment says "scheint φρουρῶν zu ergänzen zu sein", i.e., the genitive of φρουροί.

[10] Part of the argument of Klaffenbach (pp.34 and 36) concerns the earliest known *Attic* attestations of the form ἕνεκεν (line 6) and of a value of 500 drachmas for an honorific crown. I do not view the argument as decisive, given the attested localisms of spelling and alphabet in Athenian inscriptions within occupied territories, in both the fifth and fourth centuries. Nor is a number (π̣[εντακοσίων δραχμῶ]ν] in lines 13f) supported by only one underdotted letter unassailable, although admittedly the inscription's *stoichedon* arrangement strengthens the restoration. The lost name of the archon (**1541**, lines 5 and 12) would have nine letters in the genitive case. If it is indeed the name of an Attic archon of the period 365-322, as Klaffenbach believes, certain archon-years would be eliminated, although variable spelling makes the number of possible archons' names rather large. The "2000 Athenian hoplites" stationed on Imbros to assist the Athenians settled there, mentioned in Dem. 18.[115], are perhaps as fictitious as everything else in this bracketed passage, including its fictitious Attic archon (see Greek and discussion in Sec.2.6 above). Such phantom fourth century troops on Imbros can provide no support for the presence of fourth century troops on Samos.

difficult to understand the principle of their selection for receiving land allotments: among twenty-one *hippeis* listed with patronymics and demotics and not grouped on any obvious principle, only six of the ten Attic tribes are represented, and only one person comes from an inland deme.[11]

3.11 Coinage

The sketchy sources for the Athenian settlements do not divide neatly into categories illustrating different types of activities. Certain elements that might be called "economic" or "cultic" (or both) have unavoidably been mentioned in the foregoing sections dealing mostly with "political" institutions. Economic activities and cultic or religious activities are particularly hard to separate. Among the ancient Greeks, temples serve as treasuries of the state, cultic sanctuaries are involved in both the borrowing and the lending of money, festivals and sacrifices involve collection and disbursal of funds, etc., etc. Therefore I discuss the essentially inseparable topics of economic and cultic/religious activities together in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Coinage, a state activity that routinely employs symbols associated with cults, obviously fits the combined rubric here. Information from coins is unfortunately very difficult for a non-specialist to employ, and the "standard" collections are old and offer unreliable dating. Jeffery cites such collections in referring to coins from the Chersonesos bearing the inscription *Cher-* "(in Attic script?), which are attributed to *c.* 515-493, during the rule of the second Miltiades".[1] C.M. Kraay verifies the statement in general, restricting the legend *Cher-* to *one* of the coins. A Milesian-style lion on one side and a helmeted Athena on the other indicate minting at Miltiades' headquarters, the Milesian foundation of Kardia. "After this brief issue the Chersonese was to have no more locally minted coinage until...the mid-fourth century...", says Kraay.[2] In this later issue, a similar lion, accompanied by no Athenian symbols, indicates (I infer) coinage by an independent Kardia.

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[11] *IG* ii^2 1955; see Secs.1.4 and 3.3 above. These observations are offered by Bugh, *Horsemen* 212f.

[1] Jeffery, *LSAG* 365 (the question mark is Jeffery's); no modification of this statement is indicated in Johnston's revision of 1990. I hesitate to cite the many coin issues from the Chersonesos dated by early editors to "before Alexander the Great".

[2] Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley 1976) 158 and pl.32, nos.566f.

Periods of Athenian domination on Samos, both fifth century and fourth century, are generally associated with the cessation of Samian-issued coinage,[3] and this inference is probably correct. The same may be said for Poteidaia. The cautions offered by T.R. Martin against scholars' tendency to make an automatic linkage between coinage and "sovereignty" are important and weighty, however.[4]

In connection with the remaining fourth century Athenian settlements, I merely report the findings of J.H. Kroll in *Agora* XXVI: *The Greek Coins*.[5] Kroll says that in the fourth and early third centuries both Myrina and Hephaistia minted bronze coins (his varieties 455 and 455A) with Athena's head, an owl, local cultic symbols, and abbreviated local ethnics, respectively *Myri-* and *Hepha-*.[6] Bronze coins for Salamis inscribed *Sala-* (varieties 640-642) began, according to Kroll, quite early in the fourth century.[7] Although some scholars have attempted to associate the Salaminian coinage with period(s) of independence from Athens, the early dating of some of the coins, Kroll shows, vitiates their arguments. He believes, rather, that the Salaminian bronze coins serve the same purpose as the fourth/third century bronze coins inscribed *Eleusi-* minted by the Athenian state,[8] i.e., the providing of a medium for small-scale trade around Attike. The Myrina and Hephaistia coins would have served the same purpose on Lemnos. In its own name, the fourth century Athenian state minted only in silver. Kroll's collection includes no pre-Hellenistic coins from Imbros or Skyros. This fact does not, however, necessarily warrant the conclusion that there were none.[9] In the period of Roman domination of Greece,

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[3] See, e.g., J.P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London 1966), *passim*.

[4] Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985), esp. 229-233.

[5] I am grateful to Kroll for allowing me to see copies of relevant pages of his pre-publication MS, although here I cite data and arguments via pages of the subsequently published volume. See also Kroll, *AD* 27 (1972) 101-104 and pl.40.

[6] Certain specimens of Kroll's variety 455 (Myrina) are firmly dated by their find spots at Olynthos in pre-destruction contexts; see pp.179 and 376 n.6.

[7] Here too, at least with respect to variety 640, find spots at Olynthos (p.215 and n.31) make the fourth century date certain, and Kroll even tentatively associates one such coin with a grave in the Kerameikos of ca. 400-395.

[8] Kroll (pp.27-29, especially n.8) shows that *Eleusi-* is not an abbreviated "ethnic" or demotic, but a reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries: the festival was the occasion of much small-scale business, facilitated by this coinage.

[9] Kroll's variety 452, from Imbros (p.178), is dated 276/261-166 B.C., while nothing from Skyros appears that is prior to the Romans' return of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros to Athenian control in the second century B.C. (p.111). However, Thompson, *IGCH* hoards 31 and 87 are said by the editors to contain Skyrian coinage of the fifth or fourth century. Lacking all personal expertise in numismatics, I can in no way either "verify" or "refute" editorially-suggested dates, so I have not attempted to examine these coins for myself; they are said to be in the possession of the American Numismatic Society in New York City.

coins for Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros were issued that had *Athe-* (in archaizing Attic style, with *epsilon*, not *eta*) in addition to abbreviated local ethnics.[10]

3.12 Horoi

The kind of simple inscribed marking-stones (*horoi*) used to indicate boundaries, particularly those of cultic precincts (*temene*), appear in the territories under discussion, although most examples seem to be pre-fourth century. Two *horoi* of a *temenos* of Artemis are extant from Myrina, one of them explicitly saying that the *temenos* is "in Myri[na]".[1] An undated stone from Skyros, very fragmentary, may or may not belong in this category.[2] All other relevant examples are from Samos. These include another *horos* of a *temenos* of Artemis that is editorially dated to the late fifth or early fourth century[3] and two *horoi* related respectively to *temene* of an "*Eponymos* at Athens" and of "Ion at Athens", both dated by Michel to the fourth century, but considered older by other commentators, whose interpretation seems to me preferable.[4] The remaining Samian boundary *horoi* all relate to the sanctuary(ies) of "Athena guardian of Athens".[5] See

[10] I paraphrase Kroll (pp.178-180) with reference to his varieties 159-161, 454, and 456: At the time the Romans returned the islands to Athens, the only ethnic employed was *Athe-*, but symbols on the coins' reverse sides reflected local cults. Apparently in the Augustan period, coins began to be minted, in Athens, with dual ethnics: *Athe-* on one side and *Imbri-* or *Skyri-* or *Lemni-* (not *Myri-* and *Hepha-* individually) on the other.

[1] Segre, *Ann.* #4 (sixth century) and #5 (fifth century). These are Segre's dates; Jeffery, *LSAG* 299f dates the two inscriptions respectively ca. 500-480 and ca. 450-425. Now *IG* i³, one of whose editors is Jeffery, reprints these *horoi* as, respectively, nos.1500 (dated 500-480?) and 1501 (dated 440-404). *SEG* 40.745 reports a fragmentary inscription (undated) recently found at Kornos, near Myrina, whose extant text reads [– – –] ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος [– – –]. Pariente, *BCH* 116 (1992) 923 cites a Greek newspaper of November 6, 1991, reporting discovery of a stone inscribed ὅρος Ἀρτέμιδος during construction of a hotel at the beach next to Myrina.

[2] *IG* xii(8) 678 has only HOP preserved.

[3] *SEG* 32.834 = Tsakos, *AD* 32 (1977) A.73 no.1.

[4] Michel 780 and 781; cf., e.g., Phillipucci, *BCH* 8 (1884) 160; Schede, *AM* 44 (1919) 2; Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 37 n.3.

[5] General treatments of the kinds of *horoi* referred to both in this sentence and the preceding sentence may be found in Barron, *JHS* 84 (1964) 35-48 and Tsakos, *AD* 32 (1977) A.70-79. See texts now at *IG* i³ 1492-1499. The discussion of Shipley, *Samos* 114-117 cites earlier literature; Figueira, *A&A* 116 n.31 compares the Samian *horoi* with similar stones from Aigina. Pre-fourth century examples of *horoi* of the *temenos* of *Athena Athenon medeouses* are *IG* i³ 1493 and 1493*bis*. *IG* i³ 1494 may be datable to the late fifth century (*IG* puts it there), although some editors have put it in the klerouchic period: see Schede, *AM* 44 (1919) 3. Schede treats this as a *different* stone from the one bearing Michel 779 (editorially dated to the fourth century), which seemingly has an identical text and line divisions: ὅρος τε|μένεος | Ἀθηνᾶς | Ἀθηνῶν || μεδεόσης.

Sec.1.1 above in connection with scholarly speculations based on the existence of such cultic *horoi*.

Similar stones were also used by Athenians, both at home and overseas, to mark tracts of land (*choria*) and/or houses (*oikiai*) under some form of legal encumbrance. These "security *horoi*",[6] mostly dated by editors to the fourth century, are rather well represented on Lemnos, although only rarely attested in other settlements. The process invoked in most of the stones is *prasis epi lysei*, literally "sale on condition of release", but the sale is a fiction. The "seller" (debtor) agrees to forfeit the marked property, or at least to employ it in making sure that the debt is satisfied, to the "buyer" (creditor), unless the sum owed is repaid. By paying his debt, he is "released" from the (unconsummated) "sale" of his property — which has as a rule remained in his possession all along. Finley suggests that the conjugated verbal forms of *prasis epi lysei* may best be paraphrased by "put up as security".[7]

The formulas employed are generally quite stereotyped, although various elements are often omitted. The simplest formula is to be seen in the only known example from Skyros, editorially dated to the first half of the fourth century: "*horos* of land put up as security", without further specification.[8] Various refinements include recording the name of the "buyer" (creditor) in the dative case, perhaps with his demotic if an individual, although some creditors are corporate, and specifying the amount of the debt secured by the property. Usually the latter is accomplished by just inscribing a number at the end of the text, with "drachmas" understood, although sometimes the word is also inscribed. Multiple or collective creditors (e.g., cultic officials) can be specified. An agreement (*synthekai*) relating to the transaction may be cited, along with

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[6] The classic study of such documents is Finley, *SLC*, with texts of all such stones known at the time of publication (1951). The institution, Finley shows, was specifically Athenian, extending only to Athenian settlements and to a few other places heavily influenced by Athens. Finley resists the common scholarly tendency to refer to the *horoi* as "mortgage" stones, finding such terminology anachronistic. See also J.V.A. Fine, *Horoi* (Princeton 1951) = *Hesperia* Supp. 9. P. Millett, *Opus* 1 (1982) 219-249 is reprinted in Finley's second edition (1986); *SLC* texts cited in the present study whose numbers are followed by an "A" are additions to Finley's collection made by Millett. In response to Millett's criticism (see *SLC*^{2} xxxiv), the editors at *SEG* 34.158 (1984) adopt the "security *horos*" phrasing explicitly. For *horoi* from Attike itself, see now also *Agora* XIX, Part I.

[7] Harris, *CQ* 38 (1988) 351-381 argues that differences in terminology on the security *horoi* are deceptive, insisting that the same process is referred to in different phrasing (see summary at *SEG* 38.167). Lalonde, editing the Part of *Agora* XIX devoted to *horoi*, still differentiates types by phrasing (pp.18f, 47), much as Finley does.

[8] *IG* xii Supp. 526: ὅρος | χωρίο | πεπραμ|ένο ἐπὶ || λύσε[ι].

the name of the person holding it. Finally, the inscription may bear an archon-date.

Two long-published *horoi* from Hephaistia have been editorially dated to the fifth century, but this dating is problematic and disputed.[9] A more recently discovered stone, dated to the fifth century by its editor, may be questioned both as to its date and its readings.[10]

Horoi from Hephaistia that appear to be of fourth century date include:

(1) one securing land and a house for someone from the deme of Rhamnous (**1459**) for 2300 drachmas, in the archonship of Nikodoros (**1015**), according to the agreement (filed) with Patrophon Phalereus (**1083**);[11]

(2) a stone inscribed with texts relating to two transactions, one of Nikodoros' archonship secured for 1000 drachmas for the *orgeones* of Herakles in Kome, "according to the Orgeonic Notebook", and one of the archonship of Archias (**238**), alike except that the amount is [?4]00 drachmas;[12]

(3) a fragmentary and heavily restored text, in which the creditors are the "*era*[*nist*]*ai* [wit]h Chair[– – –]", i.e., a group of contributors of the sum borrowed, with its leader (**1370**);[13]

(4) another in which the creditors are called simply the "*orgeones*", with an amount of 400 drachmas;[14]

(5) a stone that is unusual in replacing the normal *prasis epi lysei* formula with *pepramenou pantos*, followed by the name and demotic of the creditor (**443**) and the number 800. Finley argues that "selling all" is only acceptably variant language here, not

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[9] Fine, *Horoi* 38-40 disputes the fifth century dating of Segre, *Ann.* #11 and #12 (= *SLC* 103 and 105 respectively), and significantly alters Segre's restorations in #11. See also Graham, *Historia* 12 (1963) 127f; Finley, *SLC* pp.7 and 198-200; Susini, *Ann.* p.317 n.7. The editors of *IG* i³ discuss both these stones at p.927, but not from autopsy ("Haec nostro iudicio excludenda sunt"); of *SLC* 103 it is said that Fine rightly doubts Segre's date, "sed omnia incerta sunt"; Fine's fourth century date for *SLC* 105 is accepted. *SLC* 105 is very unusual in naming the "seller" (debtor, **1003**) as well as his three creditors (**478**, **1437**, **1440**: the creditors have demotics). See App. A for textual problems with this stone.

[10] Hatzis, *AD* 26 (1971) B.458 (=*SLC* 190A); see App. A for improved readings.

[11] *SLC* 104 = *IG* xii(8) 18 + Supp. p.147: ὅρος χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας πεπραμένων ἐπὶ λύσει [– – –]ίωι Ῥαμνου[σίωι] | XXHHH : ἐπὶ ἄρχ(ον)τος Νικοδώρου | κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς παρὰ Πατροφῶντι Φαληρεῖ.

[12] *SLC* 107 and 108 = the two texts of *IG* xii(8) 19, key words in the latter's lines 4f (ὀργειῶσι), cf. 12f (ὀργεῶσι), 6-8 (κατὰ τὸ γραμματεῖον τὸ ὀργειωνικόν), repeated in 14-16. See discussions relating to the archons of this stone and *SLC* 104 in Secs.1.10 and 3.4 above.

[13] *SLC* 110 = *IG* xii(8) 20, including lines 3-5 ("4-6" in the published texts): ἐρα[νιστ]αῖς τοῖς || [μετ]ὰ Χαιρ[.|– – –]. I follow Finley's interpretation of *eranistai*.

an indication of a true sale.[15] It might seem that the "all" of this *horos*, in combination with an inscribed record of the Attic *poletai* published by M. Crosby in 1941, would warrant the belief that creditors might (at least sometimes) be entitled only to *part* of the sale value of a house put up as security. Four separate claims are paid after sale of the confiscated house of Theosebes of Xypete, and still quite a bit of left-over sale money accrues to the city.[16] E.M. Harris, however, characterizes the latter inscription as being irrelevant to the issue, on the ground that "It deals with confiscation, not foreclosure...".[17] G.V. Lalonde hedges: "Disposal of the excess of security may in some cases have been negotiated as part of the contract..., but, in view of the basically substitutional character of Athenian security, the creditor must as a rule have had the right of the real security in its entirety".[18]

(6) a simple case of land secured for Meneklides Hamaxanteus (**918**) for 500 drachmas;[19] and

(7) a stone securing a house for some group described as "those around Gnathios Aphi(dnaios)" (**282**), for 50 drachmas, in the archonship of Eumelides (**526**) — the archon-date unusual for being in the nominative case. Finley says that no extant *horos* indicates an amount of debt smaller than 90 drachmas; this text supersedes that observation.[20]

The only published security *horos* from Myrina,[21] and the only one from klerouchic territory seemingly dated later than the fourth century, has a combination of formulas unique within the overseas settlements and rare among the more numerous Attic documents. It is a *horos*, of the archonship of Menaichmos (**915**), marking a "dwelling put down" (for security) for a woman (**1493**, name mostly

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[14] *SLC* 109 = *IG* xii(8) 21, including lines 5f: ὀργ|εῶσι.

[15] *SLC* 115 = *IG* xii(8) 22, including lines 2-4: πε|πραμένου π|αντός. Interpretation cited from Finley, *SLC* p.291 n.70.

[16] Crosby, *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 14-27 no.1(=*Agora* XIX.P5).14-39.

[17] Harris, *CQ* 38 (1988) 366 n.62, dismissing Finley's post-*SLC* description of Theosebes' house as "the first unequivocal instance of collateral security in Athens"; cf. 355 n.17.

[18] Lalonde, in his introduction to *Agora* XIX, Part I, p.20, citing *SLC* but without discussing Theosebes' house. Langdon, who edits Crosby's inscription anew in Part II, does not discuss this issue in his introduction.

[19] *SLC* 106 = Segre, *Ann.* #13, Segre using a smooth breathing on the demotic of Μεν[εκ]λίδει Ἀμ[αξ]αντεῖ.

[20] Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) B2.520; see App. A. Finley's comment at *SLC* p.213 n.47.

[21] I do not know whether the unpublished *horos* which Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 170 n.24 reports having seen outside the Myrina Museum in 1963, with an archon-date in its first line, comes from Myrina or from Hephaistia.

lost) with her *kyrios* (**4**, name also mostly lost, but his demotic is restorable), for (lost number) drachmas, "[so that she may ha]ve and have power (over it) [according to the *syn*]*thekai* depos[ited] with Kallistr[atos] Lamptreus" (**751**). The phrasing is not in the usual language of *prasis epi lysei*, but is derived from the verb *hypokeimai* ("to lie under"), and the female creditor, rather than the debtor, is to have the use of the property during the period in which the debt remains unpaid.[22] An inscription in the Myrina Museum, apparently unpublished and therefore uncertain as to provenance, seems to have an Attic tribe (see Sec.3.10 above) as its creditor.[23]

From Imbros come two fragments bearing only *numbers*, one of which is identified as a security *horos* by Fredrich, although its figure (recorded twice) of more than 16,600 is quite out of scale with those of the known Attic and klerouchic *horoi*, a fact that may explain Finley's omitting it from his study.[24] The second text, which is not so described, bears a number (something above 1666) which is in fact much more in scale, but this text also is really too fragmentary to classify.[25]

Finley's general observations about the economic class of Athenians involved in transactions recorded on security *horoi* are that they tend to be community leaders and that various categories among the poorer classes would not have been so involved. No *horos* in Attike known to him records a debt of less than 100 drachmas.[26] Aside from the one 50-drachma transaction mentioned above, such conclusions appear to be equally valid for the sub-set of *horoi* from Athenian settlements overseas. The evidence of the *horoi* is one of several factors to be taken into account in assessing the levels of affluence that existed among fourth century klerouchs. This direct, contemporary evidence, even though ambiguous, seems to me more relevant in discussing the possible economic status of fourth century klerouchs than the often-cited provision, itself capable of more than one interpretation, at the end of an amendment to the

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[22] *SLC* 10 = Segre, *Ann.* #6: ἐπὶ Μεναίχμου [ἄρχοντος· ὅρος | οἰκήματος ὑποκ[ειμένου – – –]|ηι μετὰ κυρίου Α[– – – Ὀτρ]υνέως δραχμῶν [– – –, ὥστε ἔχ]||ειν καὶ κρατεῖν [κατὰ τὰς σὺν]|θήκας τὰς κειμ[ένας | παρὰ Καλλιστ[ράτωι] | Λαμπτρεῖ *vacat.* Segre dates the inscription not later than the third century; Fine, *Horoi* 38 seems to accept this; see also Finley at *SLC* pp.12 and 204 n.11. Unless this text is to be interpreted as referring to a dowry, which seems doubtful, Finley's comment about the absence of women in most types of security *horoi* (p.78) seems to ignore this inscription.

[23] The creditor seems also (uniquely) to be indicated in the accusative case: Ἀ[καμα]|ντίδα? See App. A, last item.

[24] *IG* xii(8) 61, with the comment "Cippus hypothecarius".

[25] *IG* xii(8) 62.

[26] Finley, *SLC* pp.83f, 87, 96. None of the Attic texts added or corrected in the second edition (pp.xxii-xxx) appears to contradict this statement.

fifth century foundation decree for the *apoikia* at Brea, which says that the *apoikoi* to be sent to Brea are to be drawn from the *thetes* and *zeugitai*.[27]

3.13 Other Economic and Cultic Evidence

The *horoi* seem to show that klerouchs could use land and houses as security for personal loans, and that transfer of ownership could occur in the event of non-payment; otherwise such security would be worthless. Was real property within the fourth century settlements, at least in ones where security *horoi* have been found, therefore freely alienable? This question must be asked, because it is generally accepted that holdings in certain pre-fourth century settlements were conditional and restricted.[1] The fragmentary Attic inscription of 387/6 that concerns klerouchs and properties on Lemnos can also be interpreted as implying that certain restrictions were operative there and then, saying at least that someone "is not to lease except [– – –]".[2] That the general subject matter of the

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[27] *IG* i³ 46.43-46: ἐς δὲ | [B]ρέαν ἐχ θετôν καὶ ζε||[υ]γιτôν ἰέναι τὸς ἀποι|[ί]κος (some letters treated as extant here are in fact now lost; I simply follow published texts). S. Luria cites the quoted provision in restoring a passage in *IG* ii² 30 (now *Agora* XIX.L3) to produce a requirement that klerouchs on Lemnos are to come from the property classes [--- πλὴν ἱππέων κα]ὶ πεντακοσιομεδίμνων. Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 171f, seems generally favorable to the suggestion, although he refrains from printing the restoration in his revised text of the inscription (line 12). His caution is not shared by Hansen, *Ath.Democ.* 106, who cites him in asserting unambiguously: "*Klerouchoi* were chosen from *zeugitai* and *thetes*". This certainty is really more than a single word without epigraphic context can bear. Even the provision relating to the fifth century *apoikia* was, after all, only added in an amendment. Meiggs and Lewis, in their commentary on the Brea inscription (no.49 in their collection, comm. on p.132), appear to lean toward the interpretation that the original foundation decree "did not restrict membership at all". Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 82-92 discusses in great detail the question of whether the higher property classes were eligible for land allotments overseas, dealing explicitly with the Brea decree among much other evidence, and concludes unequivocally (and with reference to both the fifth and the fourth centuries) that "in der Regel jeder Athener berechtigt war, sich um einem Kleros zu bewerben" (p.92).

[1] See Asheri, *Historia* 12 (1963) 3 and n.12, and in general the literature cited in connection with *IG* i³ 1, the "Salamis decree", including Walbank at *Agora* XIX pp.151 (with n.9), 153, 165 and Figueira, *A&A* 146 (cf. 145 n.28); see also App. A. On the general issue of alienability, see Finley, *Eirene* 7 (1969) 25-32.

[2] *Agora* XIX.L3 = Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) no. 23; see especially Stroud's discussion (p.172) of fr. *b* (lines 28-36), which includes the phrase (line 31) μήτε μισθῶσαι πλὴν [---], which was presumably the inspiration for the comment: "Fragment *b* clearly contains restrictions on the leasing of land in Lemnos...". Stroud also notes (pp.172f) the phrase (line 34) [--- καθάπ]ερ τοῖς ἐς Σαλαμ[ῖνα ---], but expresses misgivings about certain scholars' tendency to see this as a direct reference to provisions of the Salamis decree; see Sec.1.4 n.1 above.

inscription appears to be "confiscation of certain lands on Lemnos" may itself imply the breach of conditions for allotment holding. But the rectification of the unsettled situation on the island in this year (the year of the King's Peace) could just as easily have required intervention from Athens, whether holdings were normally granted conditionally or unconditionally.[3]

I am aware, of course, that private ownership of real property is never absolute, and was even less so in ancient Greece than it is in certain places today.[4] But I differentiate between *every* Athenian citizen's liability to forfeit his property when, e.g., convicted of treason, and the concept of the forfeiting of a *kleros* for failure to perform certain specified duties that are conditions for receiving it. In short, the fact of confiscations *per se* does not necessarily indicate a general conditionality of land-holding on Lemnos, any more than confiscations in Attike indicate it there. But such things as restrictions on leasing, which do seem to be present here, may very well indicate such conditionality — unless such restrictions as are mentioned (in a fragmentary and unclear context) are narrowly applied only to certain cases or certain individuals, and are not the norm. The existence of contemporary *horoi* from Lemnos forces us at least to consider this possibility.

The whole problem may in fact be illusory. That the entire large island was in the fourth century apportioned to specific individual holders of *kleroi* seems extremely unlikely, especially if we think of *equal* allotments. There must have been land outside the parcels assigned to klerouchs, and changes must have occurred over time. Where did "the *demos* of Athenians living in Myrina" get the *chorion* to give to "the Chalkidians living in Myrina",[5] if extra holdings, holdings not assigned to individual klerouchs, did not exist? One scenario that would be compatible with all extant evidence would

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[3] The quoted phrase is from Stroud, p.170, in his discussion of forms of ἀπογραφή and ἀπογράφω in lines 6 and 7; he also discusses possible population shifts and land re-distributions on Lemnos in the period between the end of the Peloponnesian War and the imposing of the King's Peace (pp.170f).

[4] Wallace correctly points out to me that no fifth century klerouchic holding was secure, since Athens could and did terminate its entire occupation of certain territories. My concern, however, is with the fourth century settlements, and there is no evidence of any Athenian intent ever to abandon any of them.

[5] *IG* xii(8) 4.1-3. While I am sure that there were lands unused and untenanted, we would not even have to posit the presence of such lands; it would be sufficient if only some lands were alienable and available for purchase from their owners by the klerouchic state. Moggi, *ASNP* 8.4 (1978) 1304 reaches a conclusion about archaic Salamis similar to the conclusion expressed here about Lemnos, from the fact that an allotment was available to reward "Antidoros the Lemnian" (**102**) for his services (Hdt. 8.11.3).

be the following. Each klerouch is assigned a *kleros*, perhaps equal in size and/or value with that assigned to every other klerouch,[6] and perhaps with conditions attached to its retention, sale, lease, etc. But beyond this *kleros*, the klerouch is free to acquire unallotted properties, and any properties he thus acquires become his own, unrestrictedly, just as if they were properties in Attike. These he may sell, lease, use as security for borrowing (thus the Lemnian *horoi*), etc.[7] Perhaps he can even alienate his *kleros*, if the new holder (owner?) agrees to assume the obligations that go with it. After all, the fragmentary phrase "is not to lease *except* [– – –]" (see above; my emphasis) clearly implies that leasing is permissible under *some* condition(s),[8] although we do not know what condition(s) might suffice. If a troublesome pseudo-Aristotelian passage is reliable and if it refers to the fourth century settlement — both points very much subject to doubt — the wide disparity in properties said to be held by "the Athenians dwelling in Poteidaia", when an assessment for a wartime *eisphora* was made, might have reference only to holdings (if any) in addition to their difficult-to-alienate *kleroi*.[9]

An Attic inscription even more fragmentary than the one discussed by Stroud is also concerned with confiscations and properties on Lemnos. This text, apparently dated to 370/69, seems to involve sale by the Attic *poletai* of the confiscated property of convicted persons. A *chorion* in some Lemnian place called "Omphalia", belonging to the son of Theophilos Halaieus (**672**), its physical characteristics and bounds described, is apparently registered for sale by Medon Thorikios (**906**), who may be a resident of "Upper

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[6] It is possible, although hardly necessary, to infer such equality from the undifferentiated list of names under the heading "[To these] was [g]iven a *kleros*..." in *IG* ii[2] 1952*a*.2.

[7] Buckler, *Rsch.in Eco.Hist.* 2 (1977) 260f suggests a similar interpretation to account for inequality of holdings among *Spartiatai*, despite the tradition that each received a *kleros* from the Spartan state.

[8] Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 173 sees this: "Certain forms of leasing were prohibited, but line 31 shows that exceptions could be made".

[9] [Arist.] *Oikon.* 1347a.18-24: Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ οἰκοῦντες δεόμενοι χρημάτων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπογράψασθαι ἅπασι συνέταξαν τὰς οὐσίας, μὴ ἀθρόας εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δῆμον ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτῆμα ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἕκαστον εἴη, ἵνα οἱ πένητες δύνωνται ὑποτιμᾶσθαι· ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἦν κτῆμα μηθέν, τὸ σῶμα διμναῖον τιμήσασθαι. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν εἰσέφερον τὸ ἐπιγραφὲν ἕκαστος σῷον τῇ πόλει. See discussion of Moggi, *QUCC* 1 (1979) 137-142, who assigns the passage to the fourth century settlement, but explains its propertyless "Athenians" as including native Poteidaians, in general tying into the 'Second Athenian Empire' line questioned in Cargill, *SAL*, *passim.* Moggi cites several scholars preferring a fourth century date for the passage (p.138 n.6) and others opting for a fifth century date (pp.137f n.4). Among the latter is Alexander, *Potidaea* 76f. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 89 n.47 accepts Moggi's fourth century date.

Omphalia". Whether the registration implies that Medon is the prospective buyer, i.e., whether one klerouch is here seen buying up the confiscated property of another, is not clear from the preserved text. The other transactions recorded on the same stele are even less well preserved. I do not see why they must all even necessarily refer to Lemnos; the toponym is extant only within the item just described.[10]

Since, however, another document of the Attic *poletai*, long seen as being of the fourth century, but recently reinterpreted and re-dated to 402/1 B.C., clearly differentiates the person who "registered" a house on Salamis from the person who "bought" it, we should probably see Medon as some kind of local official on Lemnos, perhaps comparable to the man doing the registering on Salamis. Nothing more specific can be said about the position of the latter. All we are told is that Leukolophos *ex* Salamis (**849**) registered a house on Salamis belonging to Theomenes (**663**: its northern and southern neighbors are specified), and that Sosinomos (**1208**) bought it, being, in the interpretation of Meritt, "properly bonded"; another house was bought by someone else (**912**). Numbers beside each entry seem to indicate that the sale prices of the houses were [4]10 and [1]45 drachmas, respectively.[11] The sale of other property on Salamis is mentioned in yet another Attic document, this one relating to collection of a 1% sales tax (*hekatoste*). Someone *ek* Salamis, one Eikadeon (**413**), whose name is followed by the never-satisfactorily-explained *boul*[*archos*?] (see Sec.3.7 above), is mentioned at the beginning of the entry, but what he actually did is not specified, since the *chorion* on Salamis is sold by Olympiodoros (**1058**) and bought by Dorotheos (**409**) for a sale

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10 *Agora* XIX.P4 = *SEG* 19.133 = Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 25-28, no.33.6-10, as re-published by Langdon: Μέ[δ]ων Θορίκι[ος ...5..l... Ὀ]μφαλ[ί]ας τῆς ἄνω ἀπέγραψεν ἐν Λήμνω[ι ...6...l. το]ῦ Θεοφ[ί]λο Ἁλαιῶς χωρίον ἐν Ὀμφαλίαι [ἐν ὧι ἀμπ|έλο]υ ὄρκοι [κ]αὶ συστὰς κα[ὶ α]ὐλὴ καὶ ἐσχατ[ιὰ ...5..||..]δης οἷς [γεί]των βορρᾶ[θεν] ποταμὸς [κα]ὶ Κ[...7....]. Meritt does not speculate about the connection between Medon and "Upper Omphalia", or about any office he might hold; Robert, *BÉ* (1961) 264 is similarly unhelpful. Meritt's total restoration of Diodoros as the name of Theophilos' son has been rightly questioned by subsequent commentators, and is not accepted by the editors of *Agora* XIX. On the procedure, see *Ath.Pol.* 47.2.

11 *Agora* XIX.P2, lines *d*8-21 being relevant. The word "bought" (ἐπρίατο) is fully restored in line *d*12 of this passage, but mostly extant in the same formula in line *d*5. Being properly bonded is Meritt's interpretation of a word abbreviated ἐγγυ — for ἐγγυ(ηθείς), he says; the interpretation seems now to be generally accepted: see Langdon's comm. to P2. About the man registering the houses, Meritt says only that "it is obviously not possible to assume that Leukolophos (line 8) was a demarchos", as are those who register houses below. He says this presumably because Salamis was not a deme.

price of at least 2005 drachmas.[12] A fourth century inscription from Salamis listing leases of various properties names the properties themselves — Syptalia, Bo(s)phagea, Boeiotomia, and Kolouris — and provides amounts for the leases (respectively 80, 34, 2.5, and 16 drachmas), but not the length(s) or conditions of the leases.[13] The five inscriptions just discussed, along with the *horoi*, are the only fourth century evidence for the value of individual properties in the Athenian settlements, as far as I know, and the very few specific figures derive exclusively from Lemnos and Salamis.[14]

The entries of Appendix B, however, confirm the impression occasionally conveyed in this and the preceding chapters that numerous fourth century Athenian settlers are from families that can only be described as wealthy. I have found the suggestion tentatively offered in my 1987 article amply confirmed by my subsequent research. Whether that fact indicates a situation essentially different from the situation in fifth century Athenian settlements is difficult to say. Figueira has recently suggested that participation in fifth century *klerouchiai* was restricted to the lower Athenian property classes, but that participation in *apoikiai* was not. I do not wish to be drawn into controversy in connection with his re-categorization of many fifth century settlements, and anyway I need not, since he agrees with me that the fourth century Athenian settlements (he calls virtually all of them klerouchies) did not restrict participation on the basis of property classes.[15] W. Schmitz, who plays down any *klerouchia/apoikia* distinction, offers numerous examples of wealthy "klerouchs" from both the fifth and fourth centuries, and makes a strong case.[16]

I hope we may finally see a diminution in the kind of generalizations about fourth century Athenian settlements and settlers, based largely on literary sources, that continue to be made, e.g., by Bosworth:

> Fortunately during the naval ascendancy of the 360s the Athenians were able to establish a number of cleruchies (settlements of Athenian citizens overseas)....The Athenians were fiercely retentive of

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[12] *IG* ii[2] 1596.12-16; the word translated "sold" is ἀπέδοτο; "bought" is ὠνη(ται).

[13] *IG* ii[2] 1590a, with comm. of Walbank at *Agora* XIX p.158. On the individuals mentioned in this text, see Sec.2.9 above.

[14] *IG* ii[2] 7180.3, the epitaph of an apparent Lemnian klerouch (**1023**) buried in Attike, calls the deceased ἄνδρα φιλοπρόβατον, and this seems to indicate that some stock-raising occurred on the island, but this tells us nothing about its scale or importance.

[15] See Figueira, *A&A* 57-62, esp. p.61 top.

[16] Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 84-92.

> these enclaves, which guaranteed a modest competence to citizens who would otherwise have been indigent,[17]

and by Bugh, who refers to

> the apparent primary purpose of a cleruchy — to provide land for the needy and at the same time perhaps increase the numbers of hoplites for the Athenian army

and concludes that, despite my examples of klerouchs from wealthy families in the above-mentioned article,

> until Professor Cargill publishes his awaited major study on the Athenian cleruchies, it would be premature to discard the *communis opinio*.[18]

A potential index of agricultural production in some of the overseas territories exists in the well known inscription from Eleusis that lists first-fruits brought there in 329/8 B.C.[19] The relevant numbers of *medimnoi* of barley and wheat (all extant, none restored), converting fractional measurements into two-place decimals, are as follows:

Settlement	*Barley*	*Wheat*
Salamis	40.88	0
Skyros	48	8
Myrina	162	22.42
Hephaistia	252.21	23.88

Ingenious calculations have been based on these figures and others in the same inscription, although these are the only ones related to the settlements with which this study is concerned. Very far-reaching conclusions have been offered, all depending on undemonstrated and undemonstrable assumptions. Things assumed include, e.g., the percentages of the crops (different for barley and wheat) collected as first-fruits, continuity at the same respective percentages for almost a century, and the normality, or lack of it, of the production of the year 329/8. The results are necessarily arbitrary, however laboriously that fact is disguised. Then these arbitrarily-arrived-at figures are related to another unknown, the total population of Attike, and voilà! — the proportion of the Attic food supply

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17 Bosworth, *C&E* 14.

18 Bugh, *Horsemen* (1988) 213f, citing Cargill, *Nav.Hist.*, in which the traditional interpretation is challenged (see esp. my pp.34 and 37).

19 *IG* ii² 1672.274-279. Autopsy of this passage (May 1985) reveals the carelessness of the mason, not always editorially noted and/or corrected in *IG*'s text. Why does Kirchner not, e.g., parenthetically complete the misspelled σταττηγός of lines 275 and 276? Cf. the correct spelling in lines 272 and 277.

that is imported from outside is said to have been discovered. The extreme agnosticism that is, I trust, manifest in my phrasing here is not generally seen as acceptable, even by scholars who are quite conscious of the invalidity of the calculations that everyone cites. The tendency is rather to try to "correct" the figures. I prefer to admit the fact that the fragmentary sources do not permit responsible calculation.[20]

As little useful as the first-fruits figures are, no other figures relating to payments or collections that are even as useful as these are to be found. The unpublished 374/3 agora inscription does not provide quantities.[21] An Attic speaker of 352 says that the "revenue" from the Chersonesos is not more than thirty talents in peacetime, and nothing in wartime.[22] An Attic inscriptional passage dated to 305/4, i.e., too late to apply to the "normal" fourth century relationship between Attike and the territories in question, refers to "other money" from Lemnos and Imbros, and preserves a figure (perhaps incomplete) that is more than 3.5 talents. But it is impossible to know what the figure represents.[23] An unpublished klerouchic inscription from Samos refers to "money" (Dunst restores "sacred" money), perhaps stolen from the temple of Hera. Its further refer-

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[20] The calculations generally cited are those of A. Jardé, *Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité Grecque* (Paris 1925). The most sensible and critical recent treatment I have seen is that of P. Garnsey, "Grain for Athens", in *Crux* (1985) 62-75. Garnsey too, however, is willing to draw rather firm conclusions: "Lemnos had an average or good year" in 329/8, and the island produced in that year 248,525 *medimnoi* of barley and 56,750 *medimnoi* of wheat, totals that would work out to almost 83% of the amount of those grains said to have been produced in Attike itself. Bugh, *Horsemen* 210 and 218 derives similar (not identical) totals from Jardé. I do not know where he (or, probably, Jardé) derives the idea that Lemnos produced "about three times the amount of barley and wheat" as Imbros and Skyros combined (p.210) — since all the figures cited are supposedly based on *IG* ii² 1672, which has no entry for Imbros at all! Small wonder that I do not choose to dignify any of these numbers by putting them in my text. About such calculations, Hansen, *D&D* 24f expresses salutary skepticism, although he agrees that Garnsey's article is "by far the best treatment of the problem" (96 n.77). Garnsey returns to discussion of *IG* ii² 1672 and its implications in his *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988) 89-106. Stroud informs me that R. Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca 1991) argues that Attike grew enough grain to support itself.

[21] See *SEG* 36.146: soon to be published by Stroud, who discussed one problem associated with the inscription (not one that is relevant to this study) in an Archaeological Institute of America session of December 28, 1992 in New Orleans; his argument there is summarized in *AIA Abstracts* (1992) pp.23f.

[22] Dem. 23.110: ἐκ μὲν γ' ἐκείνης οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα τάλανθ' ἡ πρόδοσος μὴ πολεμουμένης, εἰ πολεμήσεται δ' οὐδέν . Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a (see Sec.1.1 n.26 for Greek).

[23] *IG* ii² 1492.132-134. See *SEG* 38.142 and 146 for recent improvements and reinterpretations of this text. See also Sec.1.10 n.37 above.

ence to "the talent" seems to be associated with the informer's reward. This inscription is fragmentary and ambiguous, however.[24] Beyond these we have only the presumably unhelpful figures occasionally supplied for the value of crowns bestowed by klerouchs on the Attic *demos* or *boule*,[25] or on Apollon at Delphoi.[26]

Michel 832 provides much varied information, both economic and cultic, to which I will only allude summarily here in deference to S. Aleshire's forthcoming definitive text, translation, and commentary. In this document it is possible to see some of the organization employed by the Athenian klerouchs in administering the large, ancient, and wealthy temple of Hera on Samos. Boards of "treasurers of the Goddess" have members from each Attic tribe. In addition there are other precinct officials whose functions are more mysterious: "the Euangelis" (**1549**, perhaps a priestess); Philostratos (**1328**, no title provided) who "recorded" certain holdings; and "the *hieros* of the Goddess, Pelysios" (**1093**), who seemingly has charge of a sealed book in which certain holdings are listed. Different buildings (or parts of buildings) within the sanctuary that is inclusively called the *Heraion* are identified. These include what seems to be an area around the cult statue of Hera; perhaps an area devoted to Hermes; apparently a different area devoted to Aphrodite, in which Hermes also has some participation; the Great Temple; the Odeion; the House (*oikos*), with at least five rooms and an area wherein are stored "weight-lots" (Aleshire's translation) of *phialai*, at least twenty-two of them. The garments, statuettes, furniture, etc. mentioned in this inscription are not assigned monetary values, although many of them would appear to be expensive luxury items; some items seem to have deteriorated through long storage within the temple precinct. Sometimes a given item's acquisition is dated by reference to an eponymous magistrate, and/or sometimes its

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[24] *Heraion* Inv. J24.

[25] *IG* ii² 1443.89-100, 117-121 (77+ drachmas for that bestowed on the *demos*, ?49+ drachmas for that bestowed on the *boule*, both by the *demos* in Samos; other crowns mentioned in this inscription have more fragmentary value figures and/or come from entities of doubtful status, i.e., it is uncertain whether they represent klerouchs or independent allies). The Myrinaian *demos* bestowed a crown on the Attic *demos* in the late fourth century, but the value figures are lost (*IG* ii² 1485.18-21; see *SEG* 38.143 revisions). Probably not properly classifiable here (see argument in Sec.3.10 above) is the crown ἀπὸ π[εντακοσίων δραχμῶ]ν, voted to the Attic *demos* and *boule* by "soldiers" on Samos: Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) 34-36 no.4.13f. I refrain also from listing the "60-talent" crown of Dem. 18.[92]: the figure is obviously unacceptable, even if the honorary decree itself might be defensible; see Sec.2.2 above for translation, Greek text, and discussion.

[26] *SEG* 18.200.11-15 (20 darics, a hemidaric, and a hemiobol); 202.11-15 (20 darics, an obol, and a hemiobol) — note the Persian-style monetary units.

specific donor is identified. A total value for each weight-lot of ten *phialai* is assigned. The seventeen lots whose values are extant or easily restorable have an average value of slightly over 925 drachmas. Assigning this average value to the five lots with lost or fragmentarily preserved totals would produce a twenty-two-lot total of around 3.4 talents' worth of *phialai*.

A dedicatory inscription of the Roman era from Imbros says that the donor has built at his own expense a stoa for the Great Gods, in the priesthood of a man with a demotic.[27] Another very late inscription, extremely fragmentary, seems to deal with the freeing of slaves, perhaps at a precinct of Athena Polias.[28] A few tantalizing words indicate economic/cultic dimensions in other poorly preserved late documents.[29] One late Imbrian inscription appears to be simply a list of gods' names.[30] Among late inscriptions from Skyros not discussed elsewhere are a sarcophagus lid whose fragmentary epigram seemingly includes several religious references;[31] an imperial-period epitaph of slaves;[32] and a mysterious inscribed second century vase in the shape of an old woman.[33] Several late documents within the Attic *Corpus* relate to the economic and/or religious spheres on Salamis. One such text is concerned with a procession and sacrifice, and with the contest at the Aianteia, also involving announcement of honors at the Dionysian tragedies on Salamis and erection of a stele at the temple of Aias.[34] Another honors the royally-appointed governor Herakleitos (**609**) for, among other things, repairing walls, resisting piracy, and punishing those responsible when someone was abducted from the island.[35] A *gymnasiarch* (**645**) is honored especially for outlays of money in cultic observances, repairing a stoa wall, etc., and provisions are made for the announcing of his honors at the Dionysia on Salamis and at the games dedicated to Aias.[36] Finally, honors are promised to certain *leitourgeitai* if they perform their assigned duties properly (which they do).[37]

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[27] *IG* xii(8) 73.

[28] *IG* xii(8) 58, especially lines 10 and 15.

[29] *IG* xii(8) 57.7 (θησαυρόν), 11 (ἱεροποιούς), 12 (δημοσίων); 59 (τὸ δέκα[τον? – – –]); 75 (vertically, [κ]αρποφορησαντ[– – –]); 141.2 (ἐπιτρο[π– – –]).

[30] *IG* xii(8) 74: Φεοὶ Μεγάλοι, Φεοὶ δυνατοί, ἰσχυρροὶ καὶ Κασμεῖλε ἄναξ πάτ[ρι]οι, Κοῖος, Κρεῖος, Ὑπερείων, Εἰαπετός, Κρόνος. Fredrich's comment cites a parallel in Hesiod, *Theogony* 132.

[31] *IG* xii Supp. 520.

[32] *IG* xii Supp. 523.

[33] *IG* xii(8) 679.

[34] *IG* ii^2 1008.75-88.

[35] *IG* ii^2 1225.

[36] *IG* ii^2 1227.

[37] *IG* ii^2 1228.

Every attested title of any cultic official among the fourth century Athenian settlers has already been mentioned somewhere above, I believe, as have almost all of the post-fourth century titles. The few remaining include a *mantis* and an "elected sacred herald" at Hephaistia.[38] On Imbros occur references to two men described as "*epime*[*l*]*oum*[*enoi* of the prie]st of Nemesi[s]";[39] to a woman with a Roman name (**1357**), said to have become priestess for the second time, probably of Isis and Sarapis;[40] to someone described as *ho hierasamenos* of Apollon Patroös;[41] and to a *zakoros*.[42]

I can offer few generalizations about cultic practices among the fourth century Athenian settlers. Local sanctuaries and their rites — as well as their revenues and treasures — were obviously taken over and operated by persons bearing Athenian demotics, notably the sanctuary of Artemis near Myrina,[43] the Kabeirion near Hephaistia and the *Heraion* on Samos. Local deities, or local versions of panhellenic deities, seem to have received as many dedications, and to have been mentioned as frequently in epigrams, as the familiar Olympians. Examples in each category are too numerous, and too difficult to differentiate and to date, for full citation here. A special relationship between Athenian klerouchs and the "Twelve Gods", whose altar in the Athenian agora marks the beginning point for measurements of distance from Athens, has been suggested.[44] As would be expected, the deities mentioned become much more numerous and exotic in post-fourth century sources.[45] W. Burkert effectively differentiates the cult of the Kabeiroi on Lemnos from that of the gods of the mysteries on nearby Samothraike, although

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[38] Mentioned in, respectively, Accame, *Ann.* #6.5 and #16.2f.

[39] *IG* xii(8) 79.1.

[40] *IG* xii(8) 81 (+ Supp.).1f.

[41] *IG* xii(8) 102.1-3.

[42] *IG* xii(8) 131.3.

[43] Parker, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 122 draws together the scattered evidence that makes it clear that Artemis' sanctuary was the chief cultic center of Myrina, and that numerous inscriptions of the Athenian klerouchs were found there. To the inscriptions cited at Sec.3.12 n.1, add *IG* ii^2 1224.24. Fredrich, *AM* 31 (1906) 246 had associated the temple with the "Great Gods" (see n.46 below), but Parker's argument is convincing.

[44] See *Agora* XIX.L3 = Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) no. 23.2; *IG* i^3 1022; *IG* ii^2 114.7; *IG* xii(8) 63.2. On the altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens, see sources and literature at *SEG* 10.319; 16.172; 38.22; and in Gadbery, *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 447-489.

[45] In addition to those listed in *IG* xii(8) 74 (see above), note the gods of *IG* xii(8) 24 (Βεῖθυς, Ἄδωνις); 52 (Ὀρθάννης); 79 (Νέμεσις); 80 (Τύχη Δημοκρατεῖα); 81 (Ἴσ[ις, Σάραπις]); 149 (Μῖτρα); 677 (Φυχὴ χρηστή); *IG* xii Supp. 516 (Σύρια Θεός, i.e., Atargatis); 520 (καταχθόν[ιοι] θ̣[εοί – – –]); Segre, *Ann.* #2 ([– – –]λανθιάς?); Accame, *Ann.* #12 ([--- Ἀφροδί]τη̣ Θρα̣[κία]); Susini, *Ann.* #1 (Ἴσις); Accame, *RFIC* 179f (οἱ κρείσσονες καὶ ὑ[περά]νω θεοὶ Ἀν̣[ακες – – –]).

S.G. Cole's book on the *Theoi Megaloi* there is useful for a general understanding of procedures and terminology associated with mystery cults.[46] Scholars' reports of visits to Lemnos, Imbros, Skyros, and the Chersonesos in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often describe the usually very limited remains of ancient sanctuaries, and depict and describe non-inscriptional finds such as statuettes of deities, relief carvings, etc.[47] Some of these places have in fact been *less* accessible to archaeologists in recent decades. A 1991 article entitled "Reminiscences on the Thracian Chersonesos" in reality discusses the Thraikian coasts in general, devoting only half of one page to the Chersonesos *per se*, and conveying no new information about the peninsula.[48] The Italian excavations at the Kabeirion on Lemnos were suspended from 1939 until 1978; little material relating to the fourth century appears to have been turned up since digging was resumed, although a few fragments of Attic vases with one-word graffiti have been published.[49]

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[46] Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, MA 1985) 281-285; see p.457 n.4 for literature on the Kabeirion; Burkert's subsequent *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge 1987) says nothing specifically about Lemnos. See also Cole, *Theoi Megaloi: The Cult of the Great Gods at Samothrace* (Leiden 1984). Note that Θεοὶ Μεγάλοι refers to different deities in different places. In Lemnian inscriptions (e.g., Accame, *Ann.* #11; 17; 19) the phrase apparently means the Kabeiroi; Imbros also has its own "Great Gods": *IG* xii(8) 51 and 71-74. Some conscious syncretism occurs in Hellenistic and Roman times, e.g., on Delos (Cole, p.77).

[47] In easily accessible journals, see. e.g., Fredrich, *AM* 31 (1906) 60-86, 241-278 and *AM* 33 (1908) 81-112; Picard and Reinach, *BCH* 36 (1912) 275-352; Sealy, *ABSA* 23 (1918/9) 148-174.

[48] Danov, *AncW* 22 (1991) 23-30, specifically p.28. Note also the comments of Isaac, *Gk.Sett.in Thrace* concerning the Chersonesos: "I do not know of any archaeological activity on the peninsula after the first world war" (p.158) and "It is still of strategic importance and that may be one reason why it is virtually unexplored by archaeologists" (p.292). Something similar about strategic importance and lack of recent exploration could probably be said for Turkish-held Imbros.

[49] Catling, *AR* (1978/9) 59; *Ann.* "Atti" 63 (1985) 338-343 (actually published 1989), esp. 342 figs.6f; letter to Cargill from L. Beschi, head of the Kabeirion excavation, September 1991: "Nessuna iscrizione su pietra, ma solo bolli d'angora e graffiti o iscrizioni dipinte su ceramica, come quelle già presentate da Doro Levi...e cioè: ΙΕΡΟΣ, ΙΕΡΑ, ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ etc.". Pariente, *BCH* 114 (1990) 805 refers to seventh century pottery from Chloë near Hephaistia and to a Hellenistic stone sarcophagus found at Myrina (no indication whether it bears any inscription), citing a Greek newspaper report of April 26, 1989.

APPENDIX A

EPIGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS

In doing the research for this project and other projects, I have had occasion to examine numerous inscribed stones in Greece. I have grouped my textual observations on inscriptions relating to Athenian settlements here, essentially in order of collection numbers. When dealing with long texts on stone, I have often looked only at passages of significance to me, and I can therefore comment only on those parts of such texts. Shorter inscriptions I have tended to read, and take notes on, in their entirety, sometimes observing things that have no real historical significance (an unimportant letter that is less, or more, clear than editors have asserted, e.g.). Still, accuracy of texts is always desirable, so I include certain more perfunctory corrections here, as well as historically significant observations. The date(s) and extent of my autopsy are indicated for each entry, as are my use of photo(s), squeeze(s), facsimile(s), etc. In the interest of saving space, I refrain from printing full texts here except in cases of drastic revision. Otherwise, the reader is generally expected to compare the readings and interpretations offered here with the appropriate published texts, side by side. With each entry I give its numbers in major collections and every citation of it (however tangentially) in *SEG* 1-40 and *BÉ* (1922-84).

Some of this work was done as early as my year as a regular member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (1973-74), when I benefitted from the guidance of R.S. Stroud (now co-editor of *SEG*) in organizing certain epigraphical observations for my School paper. Other work was done in summer of 1983 and in spring and summer of 1985, mostly in Athens, but a bit was done in Greek museums elsewhere, and one important phase of work took place at the *Heraion* excavation on Samos.

In fall of 1989, unable to visit Greece personally, I employed the epigraphical talents of Diane Harris (then working on her dissertation at the American School) in connection with several inscriptions at the Myrina Museum on Lemnos. Her answers to my specific questions, and the numerous facsimiles, squeezes, and photos she sent me, have been invaluable. Unfortunately, lacking accurate inventory numbers, I was unable to direct her to all the stones I would have liked to consult. The Museum's record keeping itself is imprecise, which is especially troublesome because many of the stones have been moved at least twice: from Lemnos to the

Mytilene Museum on Lesbos at some point after the publication of most of them, then back to Lemnos when the Myrina Museum opened up in 1961.

I must also offer here warm expressions of gratitude toward D. Peppas Delmousou, Director of the Epigraphical Museum during my periods of research there, as well as to her able assistant, C. Karapa, and the entire EM staff. In connection with the Samos research, I wish to thank H. Kyrieleis of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens and the *Heraion* excavation staff. The facilities and personnel of the American School have been of immense assistance in these endeavors, as in others, especially W. Coulson, J. Camp and T.L. Shear, Jr. and others associated with the Agora Excavations. Individuals are thanked in connection with certain specific texts, also (below).

Inscriptions Discussed in Appendix A

Attic and Salaminian Texts

IG i^3 1 + Add.	"Salamis Decree"
IG i^3 237	"*Apoikiai* and *Klerouchiai*"
IG i^3 341	Treasury List, Late Fifth Century
IG ii^2 1	Samians Athenian Citizens
IG ii^2 114	Klerouchs to Poteidaia
IG ii^2 550	Myrina — and Hephaistia?
IG ii^2 569	Decree Mentioning *Demos* in Hephaistia
IG ii^2 1053+	Late Lemnos-Associated Decree
IG ii^2 1222	Decree Concerning Athenians in Hephaistia
IG ii^2 1223	Athenians in Hephaistia Honor Epikles
IG ii^2 1443	Treasury List, 340s B.C.
IG ii^2 1952*a*	Tribal Lists of Klerouchs to ________
IG ii^2 1952*b* and *c*	Lists of Athenians by Tribe and Deme
Agora XVI.68	Decrees with Crowns Dedicated
Agora XIX.P4	Registration of Properties on Lemnos for Sale
SV 268	Decrees of Athenians and Allied Synedrion

Extra-Attic Texts

Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) nos.3(=*IG* i^3 1512), 5(=*IG* i^3 1514), 7.	Athenian Epitaphs from Poteidaia
SEG 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212	*Demos* in Samos Honors Diotimos
Heraion Inv. J24	Ariston's Resolution, in Samos, for the Son of Artemidoros
SEG 18.200-202	Delphic Inscriptions from Athenians on Samos
IG xii(8) 111	Gravestone of Olympiades and Theodoros, from Imbros
IG xii(8) 4	Resolution of Chalkidians Living in Myrina
IG xii(8) 5	Myrina Resolution Honoring *Epimeletes* in Hephaistia

IG xii(8) 7	*Demos* of Myrina Honors Lysimachos Lysimachou
IG xii Supp. 339	Magnesia's Gravestone
SLC 104	*Horos*, Archonship of Nikodoros
SLC 105	*Horos*, Nikias Debtor, Euainetos *et al.* Creditors
SLC 115	*Horos*, Epigonos Creditor
SLC 190A	*Horos*, Creditor's Name Garbled
Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a	*Horos*, Eumelides' Archonship
Unpublished	*Horos*, Tribe Akamantis(?) Creditor

Attic and Salaminian Texts

IG i^3 1 + Add. p.935. "SALAMIS DECREE". EM 6798+6798a+6815+12936 + Acrop.Mus. 7021 *IG* i^2 1 M&L 14 Fornara, *Tr.Doc.* 1.44B *SEG* 3.1; 10.1; 12.1; 18.1; 21.1; 23.1; 24.1; 26.39; 31.1; 35.1; 37.1 *BÉ* (1926) pp.259f; (1928) p.365; (1934) p.221; (1939) 59; (1941) 37; (1944) 45; (1966) 117 Autopsy Spring 1974 and May 1985 Photo

Line 1. The new fragment (*h*) recently added[1] at the right ends of lines 1-5 has strengthened the case of those who have preferred to follow S. Luria in restoring κλερόχος at the right end of line 1.[2] In the text of lines 1-5 in the Addendum to *IG* i^3 1, the word's final -ος is shown as extant. The new fragment eliminates the suggestions of Wilhelm (οἰκôντας), Wade-Gery ('Αθεναῖον), and Hansen (hοπλίτας), although that of Meritt ('Αθεναίος) remains possible.[3]

Line 3. The Attic *lambda* in τελε̃ν should be underdotted, contrary to *IG* i^2 and Luria (who bracket it) and to M&L and *IG* i^3 (who treat it as certain): the upper tip of the letter's vertical hasta is extant, a visible but ambiguous trace. The trace of the *tau* in the phrase that follows the three-dot punctuation mark[4] is not much larger. However, its nature (the left end of the horizontal stroke) seems to make it incompatible with any other letter in this early Attic inscription, so the *tau* should be printed as certain, as in *IG* i^2 and Luria's texts, rather than underdotted, as in M&L and *IG* i^3.

[1] Matthaiou, *Horos* 8-9 (1990-91) 9-14 and pl.1 (well after my autopsy and photo).

[2] Luria, *Kadmos* 3 (1964) 100f describes the development of his successive texts. The suggestion is actually earlier: Guarducci, *RFIC* 26 (1948) cites Kahrstedt (1934) for it, and herself expresses a preference for this restoration. Others favoring this restoration include M&L and *IG* i^3 (even before the new fragment was found).

[3] All these suggestions are cited by Fornara, *Tr.Doc.* 1.44B n.2, who declines to restore any of them in his translated text. Figueira, *A&A* 144 does not put any restoration at this point in his Greek text, not claiming autopsy. He describes Luria's restoration as a "less justified reading" than the others listed (p.145 n.26).

[4] Restored by M&L and *IG* i^3 as ṭ[ὰ δ' ἐ Σαλαμῖνι μ]-, by Luria in two different ways (both with a certain *tau*), and by *IG* i^2 as τ[ὸς δὲ κλέρος μ]-.

Line 6. Luria and both *IG* i^2 and i^3 bracket the *rho* and *omicron* of hεκάτερον, while M&L read both letters as "certain". The *omicron* is certainly not in any degree visible on the stone, and not in any photograph I have been able to locate. Conversely, the very slight trace of the upright stroke of *rho* which I believed I saw on the stone seems to be confirmed by the old photo of Wilhelm (1939), supported by the majuscule of Koehler, *AM* 9 (1884) 117, which is reprinted in the *first* edition of *IG*, Supp. 1a (1886), p.57. Therefore I underdot the letter and read hεκάτερ̣[ον].

Line 7. All that remains of the *epsilon* in Attic δε̣μόσιο[ν] is the right-hand tip of the topmost horizontal bar; such a trace, in isolation, could equally well belong to a *tau*; therefore I prefer the underdotted letter of *IG* i^2 over either the "certainty" of M&L and *IG* i^3 or the bracketed letter of Luria.

Line 9. Both M&L and *IG* i^3 underdot the *theta* in their largely restored phrase π[αρέχεσ]θ̣α[ι αὐτός : τ]–, a letter that is *entirely* extant on the stone and crystal clear in all photos that include the fragment. *IG* i^2 and Luria are correct in their certain reading.[5]

Line 12. I do not understand why several editors suggest a number of lost letters ("*c.* 11") at the end of this last line of the inscription, which of course need not have been completely filled out.

IG i^3 237. "*APOIKIAI* AND *KLEROUCHIAI*". EM 6843[6] IG i^2 140
SEG 10.100; 40.146 Autopsy May 1985 Squeeze

Although the critical phrase, ἀποικίαις καὶ κλεροχία[ις] (line 9), is indisputable, the stone may have suffered some deterioration around the edges. Lewis prints Lolling's readings in line 15, admitting not actually seeing anything there.[7] I would myself underdot the last letter printed as certain in the text of *IG* i^3 (and *IG* i^2) in lines 1, 3, 6, and 12. In line 2, the top of the *iota* of -λιον is missing: underdot it. My squeeze causes me to reverse *IG* i^3's treatment of the first two letters of line 3: the ends of both bottom strokes of *kappa* are extant, but only the tip of the right leg of *alpha*; therefore my κα̣, rather than κ̣α (*IG* i^2 treats both letters as certain). In line 7, the *theta* of μισθ̣õι has its center missing, and is therefore indistinguishable from *omicron*, so I underdot it. I read ἀπολαμ⟨β⟩άν̣ει in line 8. All I can make out of *pi* is its upper left corner, and of *nu* just

[5] *SEG* 37.1 adds Nemeth, *AArchHung* 39 (1987) 101 (claiming autopsy) to the growing consensus about the certainty of the *theta*.

[6] *IG* i^3's "(sic)" refers to *IG* i^2's mistaken reference to "EM 6845".

[7] The third trace copied from Lolling is incompatible with *IG* i^2's underdotted *rho*, incidentally.

maybe part of its slanting stroke, although I have no serious quarrel with *IG* i²'s bracketing of the letter; cf. *IG* i³'s "certainty". *Beta* is corrected from the mason's erroneous *rho*.[8] In line 13, the *omicron* of βολε̃ς was mistakenly cut as a *theta*; the dot in the middle of the letter is quite clear on my squeeze.[9]

IG i³ 341. TREASURY LIST, LATE 5th CENTURY. EM 7796
IG ii² 1383 *SEG* 10.200; 40.18 *BÉ* (1939) 72 Partial Autopsy May 1985

I examined only the beginning of this fragment, where (in line 1) *IG* ii² and *SEG* 10 both[10] have a reference to something which [- - - οἱ κληρ]ο̃χοι οἱ ἐπ[ὶ - - - ἀνέθεσαν - - -]. The editors' ἐπ[ί - - -] would seem to imply the presence of a dating formula here: the donors were the klerouchs of some archonship, a formula that would be unique.[11] Autopsy reveals, however, that a more conventional formula may have appeared here, because the "certain" *pi* of ἐπί may really have been a *gamma*. The letter's left vertical stroke and a fair portion of its top horizontal bar are preserved, but the stone is broken away within that bar, so that neither its right end nor (if the letter were indeed a *pi*) any second vertical stroke descending therefrom is preserved. The remains of the last two extant letters in line 1, in fact, look very much like the last two letters of line 2, just below them, the *epsilon-gamma* of a word restored in *IG* ii² as ἀπενεγ[κ- - -] and in *SEG* as ἀπενεγ[χθέντα - - -]. Thus the reference of the phrase in line 1 may be to something which [- - - οἱ κληρ]ο̃χοι οἱ ἐ̣ν [- - - ἀνέθεσαν - - -], i.e., to the dedication of a group of klerouchs identified by *location* rather than by date. Phrasing in which collectivities or groups are identified by location is

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[8] *IG* i³'s comment says only that it was "nunquam perfecta", while *IG* i² simply prints the *beta* as "certain".

[9] Therefore, on analogy with line 8, the more strictly correct reading would be β⟨ο⟩λε̃ς.

[10] *SEG* cites West and Woodward, *JHS* 58 (1938) 73-78, who offer sensible arguments for dating the inscription in (probably) 406/5 B.C. Their text (p.75) misspells the key noun "κληρ]αχοι" (without accent).

[11] Figueira, *A&A* 10 n.8 says: "If the restoration is correct, the phrase...has a particularly official cast to it". *IG* ii²'s cited parallel of *IG* i² 274.178 (now *IG* i³ 339.13), has in fact only [- - -]ι κλερο̃χοι ἀνέ̣θεσ[αν - - -]. In connection with the latter inscription, *IG* i³'s *apparatus* refers to many restorations by previous editors in lines 13-19, but concludes: "supplere non audeo". A limited "parallel" in *IG* ii² 1952*a* is also deceptive (see below). *IG* ii² 1609.88f is not exactly a parallel, either, with its dating formula of *epi* (two named men) *kleroucharchonton*. Wallace points out that in *IG* i³ 341 both the Ionic spelling of the restoration κληρ- and the Attic spelling of the restoration ἀνέθεσαν would have to be independently justified, and with them a date in the late fifth century rather than in the early fourth century. In Sec.3.7, however, I suggest that the mere fact of a dedication having been made by "klerouchs" rather than by some *boule* and *demos* might suggest a fifth century date.

common.[12] Such an interpretation makes more sense than supposing that contributions in a certain year have been taken from *all* the Athenian klerouchs, all over the empire, for this dedication — a rather unwieldy process.[13]

IG ii² 1. SAMIANS ATHENIAN CITIZENS.[14] Acrop. Mus. 1333 Osborne, *Nat.* D4-5 (entire text) Lines 1-40: *IG* i³ 127 + Add. p.949 M&L 94 Fornara, *Tr.Doc.* 1.166 Lines 41-75: Tod 97 Lines 41-55: Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.5 *SEG* 10.143; 12.42; 25.40; 31.271 and 276;[15] 33.18 and 213; 34.27 and 268; 36.23; 37.20; 39.324 *BÉ* (1955) 46; (1969) 178; (1972) 119; (1976) 59; (1984) 163 Autopsy of lines 41-75 December 1973 and of line 33 August 1983 Photo[16] of relief and lines 1-11 Squeeze consulted on two points

This inscription is *stoichedon*, with a normal line length of 60 letters, but syllabic division is usually observed, so many lines are shorter than this and some are a letter longer (and line 56 would apparently have to be restored as having 62 letters). This factor could perhaps make for some flexibility in restorations where the ends of lines are missing — especially since syllabic division is not *always* observed (see lines 60f, 69f). I did not examine lines 1-40 in their entirety on the stone,[17] but certain scholarly controversies led me to consult specific lines on a squeeze.[18] This shows that the conventional restoration of line 32, [τι ἐντελῆ· γνώμη Κλεσόφο καί],[19] is one letter long; it has 23 letters, only two of which are *iotas*, in an area where only 22 letters are lost.

Most editors agree that the lost part of line 33 should include the restoration [ἐ̑ναι δὲ --- Σαμίων τοῖς ἥ]κοσιν. On the key word or

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[12] See, e.g., *IG* i³ 1164.1; *IG* i² 1041.3; *IG* ii² 1672.271 and 276; *IG* i³ 1032.203f, 206f, and 217. *IG* i³ 417.[1] and 3-8 would fit this list of examples if the inscription were properly categorized by Hiller (as *IG* i² 375), but the editor of *IG* i³ seems to doubt this.

[13] Wallace, in a communication to me, suggests that the phrase (accepting the conventional ἐπί) might refer to a particular *klerouchic* archon, rather than to the archon in Athens. If so, the toponym was presumably also specified, and has been lost from the fragmentary text.

[14] For historical (not epigraphical) observations about certain phrases within this text, see Cargill, *GRBS* 322f and n.6.

[15] The index of *SEG* 32 erroneously indicates a reference to this inscription in no.38 of that volume; the reference there is in fact to *IG* ii² 2.

[16] Thanks to Carol Lawton for the photo (1985), which resembles the somewhat more inclusive version of Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*² 19, no.43. See also Kern, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Bonn 1913) pl.19 (two pages) and p.XII comment.

[17] Osborne points out erroneous readings by M&L in lines 5, 7 (Lawton's photo verifies him on both of these), and 32 (Kern's photo justifies this).

[18] At the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, with the generous permission of Christian Habicht.

[19] This is the restoration of *IG* ii², M&L, *IG* i³, and Osborne D4, but Merkelbach, *ZPE* 3 (1968) 124 restores only "?[τι ἐντελῆ]".

phrase to complete the passage, they differ between "the privilege" (τὴν δωρειάν)[20] and "citizenship" (πολιτείαν).[21] However, if the word πολιτείαν is restored within the phrase quoted above (its customary context), the restoration is one letter too short.[22] M. Feyel suggests restorations which use *politeian* but avoid the letter count problem,[23] but a further objection exists in the unlikelihood that the abstraction "citizenship" was referred to in an inscription of this date.[24] It is preferable, then, to restore τὴν δωρειάν, either within the most commonly employed phrase or in a different phrase.[25] The word with this spelling is extant in the inscription in line 59, though the alternative spelling δωρεάν also appears (line 68).

I turn now to lines I have subjected to autopsy, and where I have compared my observation of the stone with the old (1913) photograph of O. Kern and the careful majuscule of Koehler in *IG* ii 1b.[26] Kern's photo shows the stone in a slightly better state of preservation around the edges than it was in when I examined it, so in the following comments I treat traces I could see either on the stone or in the photo as equally certain. In line 44, I would underdot the *alpha* of Σα̣[μίων]: only the lower end of its left leg is visible.[27] In line 47, published texts seem to have the reliability of two letters backward. No trace of the first of the double *taus* of [συμπρα]ττόντων (*IG* ii², Osborne D5) or [συνπρα]ττόντων (Tod) is visible on the stone or in Kern's photo, so the letter should be bracketed. Conversely, the bottom part of the left vertical stroke of the *nu* of ἀγαθόν̣ is visible both on the stone and in Kern, although both *IG* ii² and Tod bracket the letter as entirely lost (Koehler's majuscule is accurate in

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[20] This is preferred by Koehler, Kirchner in *IG* ii², M&L, *IG* i³, and Fornara.

[21] This is restored by Wilhelm in *IG* ii² Add. p.655 (accepted by Dittenberger in *Syll.*³ 116), Pouilloux (*Choix* 23), and Osborne D4, and assumed in the translation of N. Lewis, *GHD:5C* p.42.

[22] Only 26 letters, including five *iotas*, in 27 available *stoichoi* from the left margin.

[23] Feyel, *RPh* 71 (1945) 127f; his letter count (p.126) agrees with my own, which is based on consultation of the stone in 1983, later confirmed via the IAS's squeeze.

[24] Wallace points out to me, however, that Hdt. 9.34.1 mentions citizenship (πολιτηίην) in contrast with kingship (βασιληίην).

[25] Such as another possibility mentioned (p.128) by Feyel: [κυρίαν δὲ ἐ̑ναι τὴν δωρειὰν τοῖς ἥ]κοσιν.

[26] Both of these show the inscription's many incompletely-cut letters (*alpha* without crossbar, *epsilon* without middle horizontal bar, *theta* without central dot) and the several *alphas* carelessly made indistinguishable from *deltas*. These letters I decline to mention separately.

[27] Koehler's larger trace would require the same treatment; cf. Osborne D5, who brackets it, underlined (as having earlier been read), and says it "cannot now be seen".

both cases).[28] No part of the *iota* in Νοτ[ιᾶς] of line 48 is actually visible, so the texts are correct in bracketing it, but extant blank space requires some letter that is narrow at the bottom and eliminates all that are not. In line 49, Osborne's underdotted *alpha* is preferable to the "certain" last extant letter of *IG* ii^2 and Tod.

Koehler's majuscule supports Osborne's Εὐ̣ for the beginning of the mover's name in line 57, over the "certain" *epsilon* of *IG* ii^2 and Tod. In my 1973 notes, I underdotted three letters in ἀγαθός of line 58 (all treated as certain by *IG* ii^2, Tod, and Osborne), but neglected to describe the traces; Koehler's majuscule, which shows only the upper portion of each letter, tends to make me think my caution was reasonable. In checking line 59, I saw clearly that Kern's photo showed several traces subsequently lost from the words δõναι αὐτῶι, but even accepting these traces as certain, I prefer [δ]õναι αὐ̣[τῶι] over *IG* ii^2's and Tod's [δ]õναι αὐτ[ῶι]: only Kern's photo justifies the certain *omicron* and *alpha* of the first word, while in the second word only the upper tip of *alpha* is visible, even in Kern's photo, and none of *tau* (likewise in Koehler's majuscule).[29] Kern's photo is discolored and unhelpful in connection with line 60's [ταμί]α̣[ι], where on the stone I see only the tips of the legs of the second *alpha* and nothing of the final *iota*, both of which are treated as "certain" by *IG* ii^2, Tod, and Osborne. In line 61, a trace at the bottom in Kern can justify an underdotted (but not a certain) *rho* in [πα]ρά. In line 62, Osborne mimics Tod in "regularizing" βουλῆς; *IG* ii^2 is correct (as Kern and Koehler show) in spelling βολῆς. Koehler's majuscule and Osborne are more accurate than *IG* ii^2 and Tod in line 74, where they correctly observe the upper tip of the *alpha*, still visible on the stone, in κα̣[ί]: it should be underdotted, not bracketed. My autopsy notes seem to support Osborne's certain *xi* in ξένια, the last word of this line, over the bracketed letter of *IG* ii^2 and Tod (the fragment on which it appears is not copied in Koehler's majuscule).

IG ii^2 114. KLEROUCHS TO POTEIDAIA. EM 6951 Tod 146
Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.58 Autopsy July 1983 and June 1985 Photo

In line 10, the first extant letter trace does look like part of an *iota* (its upper half), and it is understandable, given the trace's alignment under the center of the letter above it, that both *IG* ii^2 and Tod take

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[28] Osborne treats the letter as "certain" in his text, although his commentary describes the trace as here.

[29] Tod "regularizes" his spelling, as usual. Osborne has [δ]õναι αὐτ[ῶι]; his comment on both *alphas* is correct, as applied to traces currently visible (or even as applied to Koehler's majuscule), but if the first *alpha* is not certain, neither is the *omicron*, since both depend on Kern's photo for "certainty".

this letter as certain. But Tod rightly points out that Kirchner's restoration in lines 9f of [– – – ἐπαγγ||έλλουσ]ι "assumes that in l[ine] 10, and there alone, ου is represented by OY".[30] It is just conceivable, however, that the trace which both editors associate with an *iota* could be instead part of the right vertical stroke of a somewhat misaligned *nu*.[31] If so, the phrase [– – – ἐπαγγ||έλλοσι]ν οἱ ἥκοντε[ς – – –] could be defended, on analogy with [λ]έγοσιν οἱ ἥκοντες in line 5.

IG ii² 550. MYRINA — AND HEPHAISTIA? EM 7245 *SEG* 19.59 Autopsy May 1985 Facsimile

Given this inscription's quite fragmentary nature (an edge is preserved only on the left; the line length is unknown), Kirchner is circumspect in his title: *de Lemno insula*. This label is apparently based on the extant Μύριναν in line 16 and the less well preserved references to the town of My[rina] in lines 6 and 9; yet Byzanti[on] is just as clearly mentioned, in line 17. The Lemnian emphasis may, however, have more support than is made clear by the treatment of either *IG* ii² or F.G. Maier.[32] The first trace extant in line 1 (consistent with *IG* ii²'s recorded trace, although the upper part has apparently been subsequently lost) appears to be the bottom part of a right-hand stroke of some letter. It is good conservative technique to underdot the *eta* that I suggest here, given the possibility that the trace could be the lower end of a misaligned *central* hasta, but if the letter is vertically aligned as it should be, the *eta* is the only letter that would fit. Maier's text has an underdotted *eta*, but he does not discuss the traces. In the next *stoichos*, where both *IG* ii²'s and Maier's texts have only a dot symbolizing a wholly lost letter, I believed at the time of autopsy (though I was not absolutely certain) that I could see just the bottom tip of what looked like a central vertical stroke, a trace compatible with *phi* (among other letters). The traces would permit a top line of [...6...] Ἡφαιστ[ία– – –], i.e., it seems possible that Lemnos' other settlement, Hephaistia, is also mentioned.

While *IG*'s "certain" *alpha* in line 10's second *stoichos* seems overbold, the trace in my facsimile favors that same letter (underdotted) rather than Maier's underdotted *eta*. Moreover, the small trace pre-

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[30] Tod p.142; cf. extant *omicron* for the diphthong in lines 2, 3, 5, and 9 (twice).

[31] Some misalignment is visible in the photo, e.g., the placement of *tau* of τῶι in line 8 it relation to that of *sigma* of τός in line 9 (each being the sixth letter of its line, the fifth extant).

[32] Maier, *Gr.Mauerb.* I 199f, no.54; his title is as unassuming as *IG* ii²'s: "Fragment eines athenischen Beschlusses (?) uber Lemnos (Erwuhnung von Mauerbauten in Myrina?)".

ceding ΝΤΑΣ in line 19 looked to me more compatible with *IG*'s upper arc of a round letter than with Maier's underdotted *alpha* in "[...5.. π]ạντας(?)", and I saw nothing of his "certain" *alpha* in the tenth letter space of "line 20" (below the last line of *IG*'s text). I would add a firmly restored *omicron* at the beginning of line 11.[33]

In line 14, no problems of readings exist, but Maier constructs his argument for dating the inscription to 307/6 B.C. partly from the premise that in the phrase παρ' Ἀντιγό[νου – – –], Antigonos Monophthalmos "noch ohne Königstitel genannt ist". This would seem necessary only if the title *must* precede the name. Granted that it usually does, there are also handy late fourth century examples of the opposite sequence,[34] so it is impossible to assert absolutely that the title could not have fallen within the lost letter spaces *after* the name. Therefore a later date cannot be excluded.

IG ii² 569. DECREE MENTIONING *DEMOS* IN HEPHAISTIA.
EM 7328 Autopsy May 1985 Facsimile

Two letters of the *Corpus'* text can be strengthened, and another called into question. At the end of line 2, after *omicron*, *IG* ii² reads a full-length vertical stroke with damaged surface to its right, citing only in the *apparatus* Koehler's restoration of ὄṿ[τες – – – κτλ.]. I could see only the bottom half or two-thirds of the stroke, but there was definitely some blank surface to the right of the bottom end of it. Therefore, though *nu* still requires underdotting, certain letters with left hastas are definitely ruled out epigraphically, such as *epsilon* and *beta*. In line 4, *IG* ii²'s text records the entire word ἐπί as certain, but the *apparatus* indicates that its first two letters depend entirely on Koehler's earlier readings, since the letters "*nunc perierunt*". Actually, they have not entirely perished: the lower tip of the left vertical stroke of the *pi* is extant. Conversely, where line 7's restoration in *IG* ii²'s text, [στ]ρατιωτῶν εἰσελθ[όντων – – –], looks unshakable, autopsy seems to produce a problem. In the "lost" letter space where *omicron* has been restored, I thought I could see a trace, and one that would rule out *omicron*. Enough of the top end of an *iota* seemed visible to me at the time of autopsy that in my notes I described the

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33 Unless the lines of this inscription were very long indeed, it seems necessary to see line 11 as falling within a list of names in the accusative, with patronymics in the genitive and demotics in the accusative following each. If so, then the extant *upsilon* preceding Ἀλαιέα should be the last letter of a patronymic, so the preceding letter must have been an *omicron*, although neither *IG* ii² nor Maier restores anything here.

34 See, e.g., Tod 190, line 7 (Ἀλεξάνδρωι βασιλεῖ) and Tod 192, line 18 (παι[ρ'] Ἀλε[ξ]άνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως; cf. lines 1 and 7 of the same inscription).

letter as "probably certain". Is any restoration beginning with εἰς ἐλθι[– – –] available?

IG ii² 1051 + 1058+. LATE DECREE CONCERNING LEMNIAN AFFAIRS. EM 5267+7614+7615+7616+7618+13448 *SEG* 24.141; 28.93; 32.136; 33.254 *BÉ* (1968) 190; (1976) 537[35] Partial Autopsy May 1985 Partial Facsimile

IG ii²'s texts have already been superseded by the work of B.D. Meritt (building on observations of D.M. Lewis), and Stroud informs me that he and Robert Kallet-Marx will publish a combined text. Meritt shows that *IG* ii² 1058 joins fragment *a* of *IG* ii² 1051 at the upper right, raising all of the latter's line numbers by four and adding new text to lines 5-8 (formerly lines 1-4). A new fragment (Inv. no. I 6691, subsequently EM 13448) adjoins fr. *d* of *IG* ii² 1051 at the lower left, changing no line numbers, but adding text to lines *cd*23-27.[36] I can comment only on certain lines in which the new fragment augments fr. *d*. I had great difficulty seeing some of the letters of Meritt's text, although his photo (pl. 22) seems to support his readings in line 27; however, the *delta* of δέ in the last line of the new fragment is really cut as an *alpha*. In the right-hand half of line 24 (i.e., within old fr. *d*), Meritt's text omits the vacant space between Πειραιέα and ἵνα, which had been correctly indicated by *IG* ii². Both texts err in bracketing the *nu* of τούτων in the same line; the entire letter is faint but visible, both on the stone and in Meritt's photo (pl.22).

IG ii² 1053+. LATE LEMNOS-ASSOCIATED[37] DECREE. EM 7620+2655 *SEG* 24.142; 28.93 *BÉ* (1976) 537 Autopsy June 1985 Facsimile of EM 2655

Stroud confirms my suspicion that EM 2655 is unpublished. He and Robert Kallex-Marx will publish a full text that includes it. In the interim, I mention only that this fragment, which joins EM 7620 at the upper right, should add 11 lines at the top of the text (its line 12 overlaps *IG* ii² 1053's line 1). The only thing within the

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[35] No.166 mis-references no.537 (twice) as "357".

[36] Meritt, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 66-68, no.12 and pll.22f. Meritt offers no text of, or observations about, lines between *a*10 (*IG* ii² 1051's line 6) and *cd*23; *SEG* 24.141 follows Meritt's line numbers. Since no complete text of this inscription yet exists in print, throughout the present study I cite the unmodified lines as *IG* ii² 1051.*a*7-21, *b*1-10, and *cde*1-22; the lines modified by the addition of *IG* ii² 1058 are cited as *SEG* 24.141.1-10; and the lines modified by the new fragment are cited as *SEG* 24.141.*cde*23-27.

[37] Except for a speculative restoration (see below), only a reference to ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς δήμοι[ς], i.e., to both Myrina and Hephaistia (line 8, now line 19), establishes the Lemnian connection. The presence of the phrase here prompts restoration of the same phrase in *IG* ii² 1051, line *cde*22.

fragment that is readily intelligible to me is a reference to ambassador(s, embassy, etc.) in its penultimate line.[38]

Prosopographical implications of *IG* ii^2 1053 are affected by Meritt's substitute restoration, in lines 10f (which should become lines 21f), of Δι|[ονύσιον Πειραιέα – – –], where *IG* has no name at all but only δι|δόναι – – –];[39] and by J. Traill's [– – – Μενε]κράτην Ἅγνωνος Φλυ[εύς – – –] (**926**) for *IG*'s [– – –]κράτην Ἅγνωνος Ολυ [– – –] in line 4 (prospectively line 15).[40] I believe that the *phi* of Traill's demotic must be underdotted (all I can see on the stone is part of the letter's bottom left arc), although I agree that the *upsilon* appears certain.[41]

IG ii^2 1222. DECREE CONCERNING ATHENIANS IN HEPHAISTIA. EM 7723 Autopsy May 1985 Photo Squeeze Facsimile

Kirchner appears to have been unaware that the left edge of this stone is preserved. All the restorations at the left ends of lines in *IG* ii^2's text are therefore impossibly long — or at least out of place. Nothing prevents their being suggested for the *right* ends of the preceding lines; the right edge is not preserved.[42] Confusion is increased by the omission in the *Corpus*' text of the bracket which should have followed the group of restored letters at the beginning of line 7 (see below). While the inscription is not truly *stoichedon*, it is substantially so throughout the left half of the extant text, the pattern breaking down mostly within the right half. Therefore the number of letters lost at the *beginning* of each extant line can be estimated with fair certainty. Since the appearance of *IG* ii^2's text is so deceptive, I append my own text (based on autopsy, squeeze, and photo), followed by specific comments on differences between the two:

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[38] I read [– – –] πρεσ[β]ε[– – –].

[39] Meritt, *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 68; the name is mentioned in *SEG* 24.141.*cde*24; its restoration *here* is speculative, however.

[40] Traill, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 294, comment re line 30 (of another text).

[41] In my autopsy notes, I drew the left slanting stroke and the upright stroke below their point of contact as quite clear, although I neglected to indicate whether there was extant surface above this contact point to rule out *psi* epigraphically. In context, of course, the letter must be *upsilon*, so there is no genuine uncertainty.

[42] My squeeze makes *IG* ii^2's measurements (0.21m X 0.178m X 0.083m) seem suspect, even though I am restricted to two dimensions. The width figure of 0.178m seems close enough, but my rough vertical measurement through the fragment's fourteen lines yields a figure more like 0.14m than 0.21m.

[σωτ]ηρίαι *[--- Ἀθη]-
[ν]αίων τῶν ἐν̣ [Ἡφαιστίαι --- ἀνα]-
[γ]ράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα --- ἐν στή]-
[λ]αις δυεῖ καὶ στ[ῆσαι τὴν μὲν Ἀθήνησι --- τὴν ἄλ]-
λην δ' ἐν Ἡφαιστία[ι ἐν ---]
ὅπως ἂν ἅπασιν φανερὸ[ς ἦι ---]
ἐ̣υσεβῶν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς [θεούς --- τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ]
[γ]ενόμενον ε[ἰς] τὴν ἀναγ[ραφὴν --- καὶ]
[τὴ]ν ποίησιν μερίσαι τὸν [ταμίαν ---]
[..]των Πολύφιλον καὶ λογί[σασθαι ---]
[....]αι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρέσβε[ις ---]
[– c.4 – τ]ούτων φιλοτιμίας κ[αί ---]
[– c.7 –] τοὺς θεούς· ΧΡ**[---]
[– c.8 –]ν : Φιλόν̣εω Φ̣ι[λ ---]

Line 1. After the five certain letters is a trace, not recorded or discussed in *IG* ii² (represented by my *), that appears to constitute the lower end of some letter's left vertical hasta (squeeze and photo both show the trace), with a bit of blank surface area to its right.[43]

Line 2. I underdot *nu* of ἐν because all I could see in 1985 was a trace rather similar to the trace (described above) in line 1, although more of the vertical stroke is preserved. In *IG*'s restoration, [Ἡφαιστίαι] seems safe enough, based on line 5; [κατοικούντων] immediately following (as in *IG* ii²) is possible, but unnecessary, given the unknown line length.[44]

Line 3. The restorations (from *IG* ii²) seem reasonable. If something were known about the line length, I might be tempted to add τὸν γραμματέα.[45]

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[43] The obvious possible letters are *gamma, eta, kappa, pi*, and *rho*. But this inscription's variability in the slant (or non-slant) of strokes would probably also permit *mu* and *nu*; even a leftwardly-displaced *iota* or *tau* would also seem possible.

[44] The restoration is not strengthened by [– – – πρὸς τὸν δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἡ|φαιστίαι οἰκοῦντας – – –] in the much later non-*stoichedon* *IG* ii² 1223.3f. The similarly late *IG* ii² 1224 presents enough diversity within the lines of its fr. *abc* to indicate something of the range of possibilities, as the inhabitants of Myrina on Lemnos are referred to there in the following extant and restored phrases: [τῶν οἰκούντων ἐμ Μυρίνει] (line 5); [ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθ]ηναίων τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνηι (line 6); ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀ[π]άντων (line 12); τῶν ἐμ Μυρίνει πολιτῶν (line 15); [– – –] τῶν οἰκούντω[ν] ἐμ Μυρίνει (line 21); [τῶν ἐμ | Μυρίνει οἰκούντων] πολιτῶν (lines 21f); [ὁ δῆμ]ος | ὁ Ἀθηναί]ων | [τῶν ἐμ Μυρί]νη[ι] (lines 30-32, in crown). Tracy, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 261-266 re-dates *IG* ii² 1224 from *IG*'s ca. 166 to ca. 148/7-135/4. He also cites a suggestion of A. Raubitschek about a possible join with *IG* ii² 3215, saying that it seems probable, but that he has not confirmed it. I was unaware of this suggestion at the time of my autopsy, so I did not consult the latter fragment myself.

[45] Common Athenian usage might justify even τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς. But cf. *IG* ii² 1223.16f; 1227.33f; and 1228.10f, where the secretary of the *demos* is given similar instructions.

Line 4. *IG* ii^2 has δυσί, without comment, but the stone very clearly has an *epsilon* instead of a *sigma*. This appears to be a variant of the dative dual δυοῖν, δυεῖν.[46] The restoration (again borrowed from *IG*) seems to include the minimal necessary phrasing, given the clear reference to two stones and the δ' of line 5. Thus we can perhaps establish a minimum line length (approximate, because non-*stoichedon*) by simply deleting the hyphens within my brackets. But certainly more phrasing could intervene; an obvious possibility, for example (especially considering the find spot of the inscription) is ἐν ἀκροπόλει.[47]

Line 5. The large number of missing letters makes any location in Hephaistia highly speculative.[48]

Line 6. The first word clearly was ὅπως, but the center of the *omicron* is missing. At the other end of the extant text, only a small arc of the *omicron* of φανερός remains. Therefore I underdot the letter in both places. *IG* ii^2's restoration here, φανερὸ[ς ἦι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἡφαιστίαι],[49] would seem to suggest a determination of (approximate) line length for the inscription, but the restoration is really too speculative to bear such weight.

Line 7. I do not know where Kirchner meant to insert the omitted closing bracket, i.e., whether he meant to treat the first *epsilon* of εὐσεβῶν as lost or extant. I underdot it, believing upon restudying my squeeze and photo that a trace of the top horizontal bar of the letter is visible. At the right, the restorations of *IG* ii^2 are again accepted.

Line 8. None of my underdots appears in *IG* ii^2's text; they may only reflect deterioration of the stone over time. I see only the right-hand tip of the top horizontal bar of the first *epsilon* in [γ]ενόμενον and an even smaller upper-right-tip trace of *tau* in τήν. The trace of *gamma* in ἀναγ[ραφήν] is much more substantial: the entire upright and the left portion of its horizontal bar at the top; epigraphically, only *pi* could be another possible reading (and of course there is no real reason to doubt that the letter was *gamma*).

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[46] Stroud tells me he believes this to be the proper interpretation. Cf. *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*23 ([ε]ἰς στήλας λιθίνας διττάς) and 1227.34 (εἰστήλας λιθίνας [δ]ύο).

[47] Cf. *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*23f: [καὶ στῆσ]αι τὴμ μὲ[ν μίαν | Ἀθήνησιν ἐν] ἀκροπόλει.

[48] Cf. *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*24: ἐμ Μυρίνει ἐ[ν τῶι ἱερῶι] τῆς Ἀρτέμιδο[ς]. *IG* ii^2 1227.34-36 is a weaker parallel on both locations for such pairs of stelai.

[49] *IG* ii^2 actually puts [στίαι] at the beginning of line 7, but the preserved left edge (see above) makes this placement impossible. The restoration cited by Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) Intro. p.4 has only φανερὸ[ς ἦι ὁ δῆμος – – –]. See also comment on line 7 (below).

Line 9. Only the upper one-third of the *epsilon* of μερίσαι survives, a trace also compatible with *gamma*; hence my underdot.[50]

Line 11. At the left, I posit four lost letters in a horizontal space that in lines above and below I tend to fill with three (extant and restored). This is because the partially-extant letter that follows seems to be somewhat displaced in a rightward direction, as compared with the letter above it. Of that next letter only the upper tip survives; therefore my underdotted *alpha* in preference to *IG*'s "certain" letter. *IG*'s restoration of [– – – ἐπαινέσ]αι is acceptable to me, if divided (probably) and underdotted as follows: [– – – ἐπα|ινέσ]ạι.[51] Wallace's suggestion of [– – – κα|λέσ]ạι is equally acceptable.

Line 12. My underdotted *omicron* in [τ]ọύτων is a very conservative reading. Enough of the upper and right portions of the letter are preserved that I am almost convinced that the reading is certain, i.e., that (considered in isolation) there could have been no center dot of *theta* and no "leg" of *omega.*

Line 13. Here *IG* ii² reads the beginning of a name: Χρẹṃ[– – –] (**1422**). In place of the underdotted *epsilon* (represented by my first *), I would be more inclined to prefer *eta*, because I think I can see a fair amount of blank surface to the right of the upper tip of the letter's clearly preserved left vertical stroke. If the letter is an *epsilon*, its top horizontal bar would have to bear a quite unusual relationship to its upright. Such a possibility, however, cannot absolutely be ruled out in this text. The small, just-about-vertical trace that appears in the next letter space (represented by my second *) could in fact fit many letters, including *IG*'s underdotted *mu*. Perhaps, instead of a name, a word such as χρῆ̣ṃ[ατα – – –] could be restored in this line.

Line 14. The first letter, *nu*, is underdotted by *IG* ii², but its traces on the stone (more visible on my squeeze than in my photo) render it more certain, epigraphically speaking, than the *nu* of Φιλόνεω, which I (unlike *IG*) underdot. Part of the slanting stroke of the first *nu* survives, along with much of its right-hand upright; large parts of both uprights of the other *nu* are preserved, but the area between them is mostly lost, and the extant traces could also fit *eta.* The line's final extant letter trace probably came from an *iota* (its

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[50] Further restoration (not in *IG*'s text either) might be suggested by *IG* ii² 1223.17-19, where the inscribing and setting up of a stele μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν σ[τρ]ατιωτι[κῶν | Κ]αλλίστρατον Ἁλαιέα. But cf. the simpler form of *IG* ii² 1227.38f (μερίσαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν Φιλοκλῆ Πειραι|[έ]α) and the even less similar *IG* ii² 1228.12.

[51] I could just as easily restore the *iota* at the end of line 10, if my abovementioned four-space estimate should be doubted.

upper tip), but so little of the stroke is preserved, and so little surface to its right, that *IG*'s "certain" reading is deceptive. What makes *iota* preferable is the familiar pattern of Phil- names within families.[52] The two-dot interpunct tends to indicate that the extant name and its partial patronymic represent one element in a list of similar units. The extant *nu* prior to the interpunct (**1536**) obviously cannot be the final letter of someone else's patronymic (since no genitive singular ends thus). It could be the accusative ending of a demotic, in which case we should infer that Philoneos (**1323**) and probably also Chr— (line 13) were listed in full formula (presumably along with others).[53] Alternatively, the *nu* could be the final letter of a verbal form (probably an aorist infinitive), separated from the list of names that follow by an interpunct, or the end of a genitive plural such as δραχμῶν. In such cases, Philoneos' demotic need not have been provided, and *chi-rho* in line 13 need not have been the beginning of a name (see comment above).

IG ii² 1223. ATHENIANS IN HEPHAISTIA HONOR EPIKLES.
EM 271+7736 Michel Supp. 1510 Autopsy June 1985

The name of the Athenian citizen honorand (**445**) of this second century non-*stoichedon* text[54] appears in full formula in line 1, restored by *IG* ii² as [– – – Ἐπ]ικλῆν [Καλλ?]ίου Ἀχαρνέα.[55] The second *lambda* of the patronymic appeared to me to be impossible, because extant surface at the bottom left and bottom right of the letter space (surface *between* is lost) seemed to leave no place for the ends of the "legs" of that letter. A lost letter with a central vertical stroke seemed preferable, and in my autopsy notes I recorded [..]λ̣[.]ιου. Now I find my observations independently supported by a newly-published second century Panathenaic victors list that mentions an Ἐπικλῆς Κρατίου of Oineis (Acharnai's tribe). Christian Habicht identifies the victor with Epikles of *IG* ii² 1223 and re-restores the first four letters of his patronymic here accordingly.[56] Combining Habicht's prosopography with my autopsy yields a reading for the patronymic of [Κρ]α̣[τ]ίου, with the *tau* an extremely

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[52] Cf. *IG* ii² 6444: Φιλόνεως Φιλοξένο Κηφισιεύς.

[53] If the *nu* is the end of an *abbreviated* demotic, this would not alter the argument here.

[54] Some of whose phrasing may be relevant in restoring the fourth century inscription *IG* ii² 1222 (see comments above).

[55] At the time of autopsy, perhaps because of intervening damage to the stone, I could justify only [– – – Ἐπι]κλῆν and Ἀχαρνέα for the name and demotic, although my notes do not discuss all the non-problematic traces. The genitive form of Epikles' name is entirely extant in line 15, so brackets and underdots within the name in line 1 could not cause uncertainties.

[56] Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 189 (in Habicht's Part II: Prosopography); the name appears in col.II (victors of 166/5 B.C.), line 47.

strong restoration because of the extant surface space described above.

IG ii^2 1443. TREASURY LIST, 340s B.C. EM 426 + fr. *b* SEG 29.141 and 459; 32.157; 34.117 and 1686; 37.212; 39.157; 40.209 *BÉ* (1955) 78 Autopsy of fr. *a* August 1983

At the time of the publication of *IG* ii^2, and still at the time of my autopsy of fr. *a*, the more important fragment *b* was considered lost, and no epigraphic points could, therefore, be suggested relating to its many items dedicated by extra-Attic groups described in a variety of formulas. Textually, the most interesting item would have been the crown whose donors (*IG* ii^2's text, lines 97f) were [ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Χερρον]ήσωι καὶ [᾿Α]λ[ω]πε[κ]ονν[ήσιοι] καὶ [..|......13....... καὶ Μα]δ[ύ]τιοι καὶ ΓΦΗΣ[.]ΗΝ[.]Ο[. κ]αὶ [---]. The problematic misspelled ethnic is not discussed in *IG* ii^2's *apparatus criticus*, while Kahrstedt's emendation of Χερρονησῖται assumes at least five letters grossly miscopied.[57] The mystery may be about to be clarified, however, because M.L. Lazzarini reports (1985) that the missing fragment has been located in Pesaro, at the Museo Oliveriano, and that the collection of inscriptions there is being prepared for publication.[58]

IG ii^2 1952*a*. TRIBAL LISTS OF KLEROUCHS TO _____. EM 8066 *SEG* 15.129 *BÉ* (1940) 42; (1958) 197 Autopsy July 1983 and June 1985 Photo Squeeze Facsimile

It was suggested by W.K. Pritchett in 1946, and conclusively demonstrated by Daphne Hereward in 1956, that frs. *b* and *c* of the *Corpus* text do not in reality belong to the same inscription as fr. *a* — with its heading referring to [klerou]chs and *kleroi*. The names on frs. *b* and *c* (including another fragment joined to fr. *c* since its publication), which are listed (as are the names on fr. *a*) by Attic tribes and demes, are not necessarily names of klerouchs at all. Even if they *are* settlers, they are almost certainly not ones sent out on the same expedition.[59] Therefore I treat frs. *b* and *c* separately, below.

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[57] Kahrstedt, *Chers.* 32-35, also suggesting Αἰγοσποταμῖται for the wholly lost name.

[58] Lazzarini, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 34f (see summary in *SEG* 34.1686). My own efforts in 1993 to get a photo or squeeze of the fragment in Pesaro, assisted by my colleague William Connell (then working nearby while on research leave), proved fruitless. We were unable to locate the stone, despite Connell's diligent labors, for which I am grateful nonetheless.

[59] Pritchett, *Hesperia* 15 (1946) 164 n.69; Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 172-174; newer fr. published by Broneer, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 174f, no.39. See also Hansen, *D&D* 106f n.209 and Cargill, *Nav.Hist.* 36 and n.10. Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 111 cites *IG* ii^2 1952 (n.146) without argument as a list of klerouchs for Samos, but at p.338 n.12 the uncertainty of the inscription's connection with Samos is admitted (citing Cargill, *GRBS*).

Fr. *a*'s heading (line 1, in quite large letters) seems to indicate the location to which its listed settlers are being sent, beginning [κληρô]χοι εἰς.... *IG* ii^2's text indicates only lost surface for the remainder of this line, and several suggestions have been made for the toponym that would follow. Seeing that some traces of a letter were in fact extant, Hereward decisively (and correctly) ruled out the *sigma* of Samos, restored by E. Schweigert. Without offering a toponym herself, she asserted that the first letter could have been *eta*, *kappa*, or *nu*. M.H. Hansen, not arguing from autopsy but citing Dem. 23.158, suggests that the toponym might have been Krithote in the Chersonesos. My own observations, based on two separate occasions of autopsy (the second time conferring with C. Karapa of the EM) and on photo and squeeze, lead me to rule out Hereward's *nu* as a possibility. A visible substantial vertical trace, which is what eliminates Schweigert's *sigma*, would fit any of the letters she mentions, and also the *pi* of Poteidaia, suggested long ago.[60] But blank surface area is extant to the right of the top end of this vertical stroke, and therefore no horizontal or slanting stroke was attached to it at that point. This consideration eliminates *beta*, *gamma*, *epsilon*, *mu*, and *rho*, along with *nu* and *pi*. The only remaining possibilities are *eta*, *kappa*, and (one which no one else seems to have mentioned) *iota*, all of which are initial letters of known fourth century settlements: Hephaistia, Krithote, and Imbros.

My preference for *eta*, and thus for Ἡ̣[φαιστίαν], is encouraged by my photo, which seems to show the wearing-away of the stone surface as having been influenced by the cutting of *eta*'s horizontal bar, but this observation may be grounded in a trick of lighting — my squeeze does not clearly support it. On the other hand, the amount of extant surface area makes me suspect that some slight trace of the upper slanting stroke of *kappa* should be visible, if indeed the letter had been *kappa*. The likelihood of *iota* seems to be somewhat limited by the closeness of the vertical trace to the preceding letter (0.008m, as compared with 0.010m between *omicron* and *iota* and 0.011m between *epsilon* and *iota*, earlier in the same line). But none of these observations is decisive, so neither Κ̣[ριθώτην] nor Ἴ̣[μβρον] can be definitively ruled out.

Line 2 is still part of the inscription's heading, as is indicated by its fairly large letters, although they are notably smaller than those of line 1. In *IG* ii^2's text, line 2 is rendered as [τοῖσδε ἐ]δόθη κλῆρος ἐ[πὶ --- ἄρχοντος], i.e., a dating formula is inferred. Hereward (p.173 n.21) rejects the reading, preferring εσ̣ or ετ̣ rather than

[60] Vartsos, *AK* 124 n.5, citing Roberts and Gardner (1905).

ἐ[πί]. I can see no trace that would form a basis for either of her underdotted letters, and any trace that could belong either to *sigma* or to *tau* would have been ambiguous indeed. Probably the *epi*-formula was originally preferred because a formula embodying a preposition with the implication of location seemed redundant after the *eis*- phrase of line 1. But since both the width and length of this stone are unknown (fr. *a* comes from near the upper left corner), we cannot even certainly exclude the mention of *two* destinations in line 1 ([κληρο͂]χοι εἰς [X καὶ Y?]), in which case an *eis* in line 2 (referring to *one* of the two klerouchies) would be perfectly regular, and we would expect another similar heading within the lost portion of the inscription. Simple redundancy is a possibility, anyway; it is far from uncommon in Athenian inscriptions. Whichever situation applies, another εἰς could have been inscribed here, or (just to mention a couple of examples) ἐν or ἐγ. But ἐπί remains also possible, and in any case everything beyond the initial *epsilon* must be bracketed.[61]

In line 16, Hereward's underdotted *epsilon* in replacement of the bracketed letter of *IG* ii²'s Λευκονο[εῖς] may receive some slight support from my photo, though not from my squeeze.[62] Conversely, in line 17, the squeeze clearly justifies an underdotted *nu* at the end of the *Corpus*' Ἄνδρω[ν – – –] (**96**): much of the letter's left vertical hasta is extant (Hereward says nothing about this letter).

The lengths of names in fr. *a* are not quite as unknowable as the layout of *IG* ii²'s text would imply. Although the fragment is not truly *stoichedon*, the variations within its two truncated lists are minor. Tribal headings — [Ἐρεχθ]ηΐδος on the left (line 3) and Λε[ω]ν[τίδος] on the right (line 13) — are cut in letters of approximately the same size as those of line 2. In smaller letters below (lines 6-12 and 14-24) are demotic subheadings (each indented ca. one space vis-à-vis the tribal headings) and names of individual demesmen (each in turn indented ca. one more letter space). The extant portion of the right-hand column establishes the pattern. Therefore the largely-lost name including a *sigma* within this column itself (line 23) can responsibly be rendered [–c.7–]Σ[– – –] (**1456**). More importantly, in the left-hand column, the restorable deme-names of lines 8 and 12 yield reasonably reliable letter counts for the less certain deme-name of line 4 and for the names of

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[61] Also see the somewhat tangential discussion of *IG* i³ 341, above.

[62] I am unable to make out the *epsilon* of the tribal heading Λε[ω]ν[τίδος] in *IG* ii²'s line 13, or the *tau* of its deme subhead [Π]οτ[άμιοι] in line 22, neither of which is commented upon by Hereward.

individuals listed within the column. I suggest the following spacing, as a guide to responsible restorations:

['Ερεχθ]ηίδος
[– c.7 –]ῆς[63]
[–c.5–]ος καλλίο
[–c.5–]ς Εὐνόμο
[–c.5–]ης Λυσιμάχο
[Λαμπτρ]ῆς Καθύπερ.
[–c.4-β]ολος Ἰσχυρίο
[–c.5–]ς Ἰσχυρίο
[–c.5–]ας Φιλίνο
[Λαμπτρ]ῆς Πάραλοι
– – – –

The appearance of *IG* ii^2's text is particularly deceptive in line 10. The spacing of its " – – – Σ" seems to indicate that this name's final *sigma* appears to the right of the *sigmas* of the names both above and below it, i.e., that this name is longer than the other two. The stone makes it clear, however, that this name is the *shortest* of the three.

IG ii^2 1952*b* and *c*.[64] LISTS OF ATHENIANS BY TRIBE AND DEME. EM 8067 and 8065+12775 *SEG* 15.129 Autopsy July 1983 2 Photos Squeezes

Beyond their separation from fr. *a*, it is at least very possible that frs. *b* and *c* are themselves not from a single stone: as Hereward (p.173) points out, the letters on fr. *b* "are more crowded together" than those on fr. *c* — something my photos clearly show. But the two fragments may be treated together for present purposes. Both simply list Athenians, with patronymics, in columns subdivided by indications of their demes and (surely for *b*, apparently for *c*) tribes; neither provides any direct clue as to date or as to the purpose of the lists. No toponyms occur in either fragment, no headings (beyond the tribal and deme divisions) are extant, and no wording remains from the text of any resolution, dedication, or treaty. If the Athenian citizens of either fr. *b* or fr. *c* (or both) are to be thought of as klerouchs, the *only* reason for considering them as such is the analogous form of these fragments' lists to the lists of fr. *a* — a very weak criterion indeed. Since it nevertheless remains *possible* (on this weak basis) that either or both of the fragments might include the names of settlers, it is worthwhile to establish reliable texts.

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[63] This spacing would permit the six restored letters of [Εὐωνυμ]ῆς that the argument of Schweigert, *AJPh* 61 (1940) 195 requires — although without justifying his inference that these klerouchs' destination is Samos. Names listed here: **728**, **531**, **889**, **714**, **715**, **1295**.

[64] See preceding comment for general situation and bibliography.

The lines of fr. *b* are numbered 25-44 in *IG* ii^2 1952. Although Hereward's commentary twice refers to line 25 as "line 24" (p.173 text and n.21), she is correct in preferring to underdot the *iota* treated as certain in that line by *IG* ii^2 and in seeing a mistaken center dot in the *omicron* ending the line.[65] I would add that it is possible to suggest the loss of about seven letters prior to -ι̣ος Δημέο (**309**); neither *IG* nor Hereward indicates any number (the inscription is non-*stoichedon*). I cannot see most of the letter traces Hereward finds "above line 24" (i.e., above line 25), one of which, as she draws it, would have to belong to a certain *delta*, although she does not point this out specifically. Some tiny chisel marks are visible, but neither the photo nor my squeeze would justify my recording of any particular traces. Hereward is certainly correct in pointing out that *IG*'s "space of .025 is above, not below" the tribal heading (in large letters) in line 26.

IG restores lines 28-32 as follows:

['Αριστο]μέδων 'Αριστονα[ύ]το
[...αν]δρος Λυκίνο
..μαχος Προθυμίδο
[Φιλ]όμηλος Φιλομήλ[ο]
[Κ]αλλίας Θεοτέλος

The implication seems to be that only (ca.) two letters are lost in line 30, prior to the *mu* that would at present have to be underdotted, since all that is extant is a small part of its right "leg". But the upper tip of *alpha* of the name in line 30 aligns vertically with the lower left corner of the *delta* of line 29 (its sixth letter, as restored). The same *alpha* is just barely to the left of the *mu* of line 28 (its seventh letter, as restored), overlaps the right-hand half of the *mu* (letter no.5) of line 31, and is directly above the *iota* (also letter no.5) of line 32. Therefore it seems very unlikely that *alpha* was line 30's fourth letter; it is much more likely to have been its fifth or sixth. Consequently, I restore line 30 as [-3 or 4-]μαχος Προθυμίδο(υ) (**1117**; other names listed here are **191**, **863**, **1321**, **727**).

Fr. *c*'s lines in *IG* ii^2 are numbered 45-51. The newer fragment (EM 12775) adds one deme subhead, which would create a new numbered line between *IG*'s lines 48 and 49 (thus it should become line 49, and the former lines 49-51 should become 50-52). The lines joined by the new fragment (the first two lines being unaffected)

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[65] Hereward says that an underdotted *nu* is as possible as the *iota*, and my photo seems to verify this; the center dot in the *omicron* is not as visible in the photo as it is on the stone.

should consequently be numbered 47-52. Yet Hereward's text of these *six* lines (p.173) is referred to in her commentary as "lines 47 to 51", while the marginal line numbers beside her text itself would indicate that it includes lines 46-50. This is wildly confusing in either case, since neither range of *five* numbers can fit a six-line text! In the interest of minimizing confusion, I present my own text of EM 8065+12775, based on photo, squeeze, and the notes taken at the time of autopsy. I follow the line numbers of *IG* ii^2 1952*c*, except in adding the new line 49 and increasing subsequent line numbers by one.[66]

[– – c.10 – – 'Ε]ξηκεστίδο
[– – c.10-11 – –]ωνος
(Deme subhead lost)
[–c.4-5–]Σ̲[–c.4–]οδωρίδο
[Λ]υσίμαχ[ος Λ]υσάνδρο
Ὀαιε͂ς
Χαριδημίδ[η]ς Εὐρήμονος
Κηφισόδοτος Στράτωνος
Μένων Μην̣ίο
vacat

Line 45. The *xi* of the patronymic (**424**), bracketed as lost in *IG* ii^2's text, is actually quite certain on the stone: only its upper left corner is missing.[67]

Line 47. I underline the *sigma*, trusting that Hereward (who prints it as certain in her text and shows enough of a trace in her facsimile to justify such a reading) really did see it. Unfortunately, however, the extreme upper tip of the new fragment, where this letter would be cut, has now been broken away, so I cannot verify the trace through autopsy. Many Greek names end in *sigma*, and if this letter ended a name, its position would give us a rough length for both the name and its patronymic. It would also make *IG*'s restoration (**648**, based on the older fragment) of [– – – Θε]οδωρίδο (followed in *PA* 6811) extremely unlikely. But the *sigma* obviously does not have to be a final letter.[68]

Line 48. Hereward underdots the *chi* of [Λ]υσίμαχ[ος] (**887**), although it is hard to imagine what other letter the trace in her

[66] *SEG* 15.129 reprints Hereward's six lines of text "*numeris versuum correctis*", but calls my line 49 line "48a". I will cite the augmented text by my line numbers here, and refer to it as "*IG* ii^2 1952+*c*". Names in lines shown here that are not discussed individually are **1430**, **1405**, **933**.

[67] Hereward does not include this line in her text (since it is unaffected by the addition of the newer fragment), but her facsimile correctly shows the mostly-preserved letter.

[68] Thus my ambiguous capital Σ, instead of either final ς (which Hereward uses) or non-final σ.

facsimile would fit. In my judgment, anyway, more is visible than her facsimile shows: not only the lower left slanting stroke she depicts, but also part of the upper left stroke converging toward it (this is admittedly clearer on my squeeze than on my photo). Either stroke would make *chi* a certain reading.

Line 50. Hereward's facsimile shows a slanting stroke at the extreme right-hand edge of the extant surface (resembling the left leg of a *lambda*), and uses it in estimating the space between columns, "if the mark...is part of a sub-heading in the next column" (pp.172f), though she does not read or restore anything at this point in her text of the line. I cannot see the stroke on stone, squeeze, or photo.

Line 51. In bracketing the last *omicron* of Κηφισόδοτος (**762**), Hereward's text belies her facsimile. The facsimile is correct; part of the letter is extant: therefore my underdotting.

Agora XVI.68. DECREES WITH CROWNS DEDICATED.
Agora I 5212 Autopsy July 1985 Squeezes Facsimiles

I looked at this opisthographic stone, discovered in 1938, when I was in Athens in 1985, upon request by Carolyn Steppler and with the assistance of John Camp. The inscriptions on it are to appear in *Agora* XVI by A.G. Woodhead, which is in press at this writing, not yet seen by me.[69] Each side of the stone seems to have borne the text of some sort of deme decree above several inscribed crowns (probably originally four per side), whose donating agencies are inscribed within them. Six lines of partial text are extant on each side (the concluding lines of the respective resolutions), and below each side's extant text are two crowns, one above the other. About half of the line-length appears to have been broken away; thus only the left half of the end of Side A's text and the leftmost two of its four crowns are extant, and *mutatis mutandis* for the right half of Side B.

Without prematurely discussing the texts, I mention one fact that is relevant to the present study: the lower of the two extant crowns on each side of the stone appears to have been dedicated by a group of Athenian klerouchs. No reference to either of the settlements with which they are associated (Samos and Hephaistia) seems to appear within the extant lines of either face's decree. I agree with Woodhead (by report) and Steppler that this stone provides evi-

[69] I know of some of Woodhead's readings and restorations from Steppler's descriptions of them, and of the stone's prospective number in the *Agora* volume through the help of Marian McAllister, head of American School publications, whom I thank.

dence for continuing contacts of klerouchs with their home demes. Citizens from an Attic deme seem here to be honored both by their fellow demesmen in Attike and by their fellow settlers on Samos and Lemnos.

Agora XIX.P4. REGISTRATION OF PROPERTIES ON LEMNOS FOR SALE. Agora I 4478 *SEG* 19.133 *BÉ* (1961) 264 Autopsy July 1983

Langdon, in his re-publication, has correctly heeded Davies' objections to Meritt's total restoration of one property owner's name (**672**, lines 7f) as "Diodoros".[70] I here add only the observation that the first demotic of line 3 is more certain than either Meritt or Langdon indicates. The bottom part of the vertical stroke of the first *upsilon* of their [Φ]λ[υ]εύς is extant, so the letter can be underdotted rather than bracketed.

SV 268. DECREES OF ATHENIANS AND ALLIED SYNEDRION. EM 12821 *BÉ* (1941) 42; (1944) 61 Partial Autopsy July 1983 Squeeze

J.H. Oliver published this text in 1936, but the fuller version of S. Accame (1941) has become canonical; H. Bengtson's collection has bibliography but no text, so comments here apply directly to that of Accame.[71] He claims to have seen a great many letters not seen by Oliver. I closely examined only lines 1-9 on the stone (plus occasional key words in subsequent lines). Frequently, I was unable to verify all of Accame's readings, but the inscription is *very* faint (even my squeeze is often not much help) and the surface had probably deteriorated in the several decades between our consultations. Here I restrict myself mostly to suggestions of readings *more* certain than those of Accame, and to pointing out obvious printing errors.

In line 5, I believe I can see the lower part of the vertical stroke of *tau* in τυγχάνοσ-, which is bracketed by both Oliver and Accame; it should be underdotted instead. In line 6, Accame has "regularized" the spelling of the genitive δήμο by adding an *upsilon* that was not inscribed on the stone (Oliver's text is correct on this point). In the same line, I see the underdotted *iota* of Accame's ἄποικοι as certain. In fact, I am extremely surprised to see how doubtful both

[70] Meritt *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 25-28 no.33 (the *ed. prin.*) has [.Διοδώρlo το]ῦ Θεοφ[ί]λο Ἁλαιῶς. Cf. *APF* p.155; see also Cargill, *Nav.Hist.* 36.

[71] Oliver, *AJA* 40 (1936) 461-463, no.2 (photo in fig.2, p.462); Accame, *Lega* 230. To the bibliography of Bengtson, *SV* (1975), add Cargill, *SAL* 115, 121, 163f (all comments made there were pre-autopsy; p.164 is incorrectly referenced as "169" in the Index of Sources Cited). An English translation appears in Wickersham and Verbrugghe, *GHD:4C* 31.

Accame and Oliver (who takes it as entirely lost) were about this letter: it is totally preserved, and quite clear on my squeeze. In line 18 occurs another "typo" (again not shared by Oliver): the second bracket of ἐ[ά]ν is turned the wrong way in Accame's text.

Extra-Attic Texts

Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) nos.3, 5, 7. ATHENIAN EPITAPHS FROM POTEIDAIA. Mouseion Polygyrou Chalkides 229, 231, 253 *IG* i³ 1512 (no.3) and 1514 (no.5) *BÉ* (1976) 458 Indirect Consultation of Inv. 229 and 231 June 1985

I asked Carolyn S. Snively, who would be visiting the museum, to try to verify on the stones certain quite specific readings (or non-readings) that A. Romiopoulou's photos[1] had suggested to me. I am grateful for her help in this.

Text no.3 (Inv. 229) is the gravestone of someone whose name Romiopoulou, followed by *IG* i³, restores (lines 1f) as Ξενο[κλῆ]ις (**1046**), but in her photo (fig.3) large traces of the bottom half of *kappa* seemed clearly visible. Snively confirmed my suspicion and agreed with me that the *kappa* is a certain reading: remove its brackets.

Text no.5 (Inv. 231), in line 1, underdots the *omicron* of [Δι]ογένης (**337**), again followed by *IG* i³ (in whose text only [..] precedes), but Romiopoulou's photo (fig.5) shows more than half of the letter preserved, enough to rule out any central dot of *theta* or any "leg(s)" of *omega*, so the letter seemed to me to be certain. Snively's consultation once more confirmed my suspicion: eliminate the underdot.

Text no.7 (Inv. 233) needs the most serious textual revision, but unfortunately my friend was unable to consult this stone, amid a heap of inscriptions next to a wall in the Museum. Nonetheless, Romiopoulou's photo (fig.7) alone is clear enough to require revision of her text, which offers ΜελΙανθιΙοδιΙ...κουΙΙ.... in five short lines. The photo shows that line 3 has four letters (not three), and that a letter comes between its *omicron* and *delta*; the traces in the photo favor *sigma* (which I will underdot for now, but which autopsy may prove certain). In line 4, Romiopoulou's three lost letters appear (on the photo) to be instead the two letters *omicron* and *sigma* (again I underdot, pending autopsy). In line 5, where Romio-

[1] The article, pp.190-198, includes photos and texts of eight gravestones. The photos alone are clear enough to show that no problems of readings exist for Romiopoulou's nos.1(=*IG* i³ 1510), 2(=1511), 4(=1513), 6, and 8, which are the texts, respectively, of Inv. 227f, 230, 232, and 234.

poulou's text shows only four lost letters, her photo indicates to me that there were four partially preserved letters, followed by a completely preserved ***upsilon*** which she apparently did not see. Continuing to practice extreme conservatism, I offer ο̣ι̣δ̣ο̣υ, but again I expect autopsy to justify printing at least some of these now-underdotted letters as certain. Thus instead of a largely meaningless collection of letters which Romiopoulou makes no effort to interpret, we can see here a quite reasonable combination of name and patronymic (both well attested in *PA*): Μελ|άνθι|ος̣ Δι|ο̣σ̣κου||ρ̣ί̣δ̣ο̣υ (**911**).[2]

SEG 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212. *DEMOS* IN SAMOS HONORS DIOTIMOS. *Heraion* Inv. M169 + J212 Autopsy of Inv. J212 and one detail of M169 Summer 1983 Facsimile of Inv. J212 G. Dunst prepublication materials

The right-hand fragment *b* (Inv. M169) was published by M. Schede in 1919, and Schede's text was reprinted in 1923 in *SEG* 1. The left-hand fragment *a* (Inv. J212) has also been known about for decades, as has the fact that the two join to form a single text; Christian Habicht refers to the linkage (twice) in an article of 1957.[3] Yet no composite text has yet been published. This inscription and others (including Inv. J24: see next comment) were assigned to Günter Dunst, who died before completing his Samian *Corpus*. The German excavators at the *Heraion* in summer of 1983 allowed me to examine Inv. J212 and to make my own hand-drawn facsimile of it. Subsequently, Michael J. Wörrle, director of the DAI's Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik, sent me photocopies of Dunst's MS Greek text, typescript commentary, and photo of the combined fragments. Editors of the already-published fragment *b* have correctly inferred most of the formulas of the unpublished fragment *a*, while the name of the honorand (**391**, which is indeed knowable only from Inv. J212) was mentioned in print (as quotes above show) in 1957. Dunst read a few letters in a line higher than line 1 of Schede's fragment, so the line numbers of *SEG* 1.349

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[2] J. and L. Robert, in discussing Romiopoulou's article, quote this epitaph as Μελάνθιος Διοσκουρίδου, without underdots and without comment. On the other hand, the Roberts (also without comment) give the name on Romiopoulou's no.8 as Φιλιννώ, although the photo accompanying the text makes it crystal clear that the spelling on the stone is Φιλλινώ (**1306**), which is how Romiopoulou spells it in her text. I prefer my own cautious readings (made prior to seeing the *BÉ* entry) over the Roberts' casual certainty.

[3] Schede, *AM* 44 (1919) 3f, no.4; Habicht, *AM* p.159: "dem...Beschluß der attischen Kleruchen fur Diotimos (AM 1919 nr. 4 = SEG I 349; dazu die linke Seite Inv. J 212)" and p.165: "Die Wendung ἐν τῶι πρόσθεν χρόνωι...findet sich...in einem neuen Fragment der älteren Urkunde der attischen Kleruchen fur Diotimos (AM 1919 nr. 4 und Inv. J 212)".

should be raised by one; the inscription is therefore cited in this study by Dunst's higher line numbers.

Heraion Inv. J24. ARISTON'S RESOLUTION, IN SAMOS, FOR THE SON OF ARTEMIDOROS. Autopsy Summer 1983 Facsimile G. Dunst prepublication materials

This very important text, found in 1926(!) and not yet published, was alluded to unspecifically by Habicht in 1957 and more directly in two of my own articles.[4] My readings from autopsy, without benefit of a squeeze or usable photo, agree almost exactly with those of Dunst, although he has been much bolder in making restorations and offering interpretations. Naturally, I do not present a copy of Dunst's text, but I offer some description and mention a few problematic points. Only the left edge of the stone is preserved, and the inscription is non-*stoichedon*, so the length of each line in unknown, although certain quite likely restorations have the effect of putting rather narrow limits on the possibilities.[5]

In the first extant line begins the listing of the names of an *epistates* (**641**) and his eight *symproedroi*, in conventional Attic tribal order with names and demotics, the latter usually if not invariably abbreviated, but no patronymics.[6] The proposer's (**209**) name is in full name-patronymic-demotic formula. The honorand (**570**) has only name and patronymic; Dunst infers that he is not an Athenian, is indeed perhaps a Samian who has remained on the island. Dunst's restoration of the name of the honorand and his rejection of other possibilities are based partly on line-length inferences derived from (in my view) unwarranted conclusions about syllabic division at the ends of lines. In the second half of the nineteen extant lines, the text becomes even more conjectural, since more letters are missing on the right. Dunst's historical interpretations throughout, including his date of shortly before 346/5, are heavily dependent on his restorations.

SEG 18.200-202. DELPHIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM ATHENIANS ON SAMOS Delphoi Museum Inv. 3867, 7633, 1768+4039 *SEG* 29.458 *BE* (1960) 181 Photos of *SEG* 18.200 and 201 Autopsy of *SEG* 18.200 and 201 July 1983

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[4] Habicht, *AM* p.153 n.3: implicitly one of "drei Urkunden der Kleruchenzeit" (Dunst gives the find-date and provides this reference); Cargill, *GRBS* 328 n.19 (by Inv. no., mentioning four names) and *Nav.Hist.* 34f (described only, mentioning one name).

[5] Dunst's fully restored lines range from 35 to 46 letters in length — a variability that I consider suspect.

[6] Dunst attributes one partially preserved name (**1191**) to a deme of VI.Oineis, which would imply that VIII.Hippothontis is in prytany, but the opposite (*proedros* from Hippothontis, therefore Oineis in prytany) is equally possible epigraphically.

Jean Bousquet, in 1959, republished texts and photographs of *Syll.*^{3} 276A and B, adding a third dedicatory inscription from Delphoi (found in 1956/7), all three relating to Athenians living on Samos.[7] I was able to look at two of the stones, with the kind permission of the Ephor at the Museum, although I was unable to locate the two fragments of *Syll.*^{3} 276B (=*SEG* 18.202) in the storeroom there.

The text of *Syll.*^{3} 276A underdots the *rho* ending line 8, which Bousquet and *SEG* 18.200 treat as certain. Autopsy shows the plausibility of both interpretations, and the marginally better case of the later editors: the returning stroke of *rho* in this inscription tends to curve slightly upward as it approaches the letter's left vertical hasta, unlike the flatter middle bar of *beta*.[8] The *alpha* of Apollon's name in line 9 is bracketed by *Syll.*^{3}, but underdotted by *SEG*; I am not at all sure that any trace of this letter is extant — if so, only its extreme upper tip — but blank surface definitely rules out any letter with a wide top. The older text's underdotted *theta* in ἀνέ̣θ̣[ηκ]|εν (line 10) is definitely preferable to *SEG*'s "certain" reading: only a very small part of the letter's upper left arc survives (as Bousquet's own fig.8 clearly shows).

In line 13, *Syll.*^{3} 276A appears to have underdotted *iota-kappa* of εἴκ[οσι] on the pointless basis that the letters are incomplete; they are, but both are quite certain readings, correctly recorded as such in *SEG* 18.200. The texts agree in bracketing this word's *omicron*, but it should be noted that extant blank surface rules out any letter with a left upright stroke (cf. the above comment on line 9). Bousquet believes there might have been another line below line 15, "si les traces évanides [he draws traces that would necessarily have come from a *pi* and from a second letter with a vertical stroke] ...ne sont pas une illusion"; this uncertainty apparently accounts for *SEG*'s "*vacat*(?)". *Syll.*^{3}'s text suggests no traces, but a note, analogizing from 276B, suggests: "Videntur nomina theororum secuta esse...". Some scratches are visible under line 15, but when looking at the stone, I could have no confidence that they came from letters.

SEG 18.201's text of the newer fragment (not in *Syll.*^{3}) is full of epigraphic uncertainties, notably in the names of the archons on Samos (line 2) and in Athens (line 4), and autopsy makes the readings and restorations even more doubtful for me. The inscription is

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[7] Bousquet, *BCH* 83 (1959) 152-155, with photos as figs.8-10; his texts A-C appear as *SEG* 18.200-202, respectively; the newer text (Inv. 7633) is no.201. Cf. similar dedications in Attike: *IG* ii^2 1437.20f; 1440.24 (see *SEG* 36.208); 1443.89-93.

[8] Cf. *rho* in lines 3, 7, 12, 14, and *beta* in line 15.

non-*stoichedon*, is nowhere preserved on the right, and is broken off within its sixth line of text. Thus any estimates of line-length are based on restorations and are rather chancy.[9] Bousquet's ἐΣάμωι at the beginning of line 6 seems to support the restoration ἐ[Σάμωι ---] in line 3, and thus the line length there. But I can see little to justify the underdotted letters of line 6. Even accepting that the break in the stone's surface seems to follow the right leg of an *alpha*, a better reading would be [.Σ]άμωι. It is possible, therefore, that the contracted form ἐΣάμωι did not in fact appear either in line 3 or line 6, but rather ἐν Σάμωι (as extant in *SEG* 18.200.4 and 7) or ἐς Σάμωι (as restored in *SEG* 18.202.3f and 7), or perhaps the even longer εἰς Σάμωι — or some combination of any of these.

But the variability of the phrasing restored in lines 3 and 6 (not even to mention the inscription's non-*stoichedon* nature, which is also relevant) could affect the line-length to be restored in (for example) lines 2 or 4 — the lines containing the names of the respective archons. To be sure, only certain alternatives are possible for the name of the Athenian archon in line 4, even given the doubtfulness of the *sigma* which Bousquet underdots in his Ἀρισ[....8....], of which I am not sure any trace is actually extant. Aristophanes of 331/0 B.C. and Aristophon of 330/39 (both mentioned in the *apparatus* of *SEG* 18.201) are still the most likely suggestions,[10] but I see no reason why Aristodemos of 352/1 should not be added to the list of possibilities. The identification of the archon on Samos (**1249**, line 2) is much more wide open to speculation. *SEG*'s Ἐπὶ Τιμοσ[..... ἄρ]|χοντος ἐ[Σάμωι ---], with its apparent indication of five lost letters in the genitive form of the name, itself seems to contradict Bousquet's suggestions of Τιμοσ[θένους] or Τιμοσ[τράτου], both of which spellings require *six* letter spaces, not five, after the underdotted *sigma*. Moreover, here again, the *sigma* itself is even more doubtful than Bousquet indicates, at least in my opinion, based on autopsy. Where he claims to see "une faible trace (pointes de la partie gauche)", I can see no traces of the letter at all.[11] A safer reading would be Ἐπὶ Τιμο[--- ἄρ]|χοντος. Suggested restorations should be based on names of attested Athenian settlers on Samos, but no such names (if we rule out that of the general Timotheos) appear in my database. A further minor point: the "certain" *theta* of

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[9] The formula of line 1 -- Θεός, τύχ[ηι ἀγαθῆι] -- is no sure clue, since such formulas need not fill the entire line-length; cf. Tod 164A & B (*IG* vii 4250f) and 182.

[10] Robert, *BÉ* (1960) 181 mention only these two possibilities, also.

[11] This amplifies a brief statement in Cargill, *GRBS* 328 n.18.

SEG's 'Αθ[ηναίων] in line 5 should be underdotted: its center is definitely missing (only part of the left arc remains).

It was presumably the discovery of the newer text (*SEG* 18.201), which differs from no.200 in that it names the archon on Samos prior to the archon in Athens,[12] that has led to the altered sequence of eponyms in *SEG* 18.202's revised text. Thus *Syll.*³ 276B's [ἐπὶ 'Αριστοφῶν|τος(?) ἄρχοντος 'Α|θήνησι, ἐν Σάμω||ι δὲ Λεω?]κρίτου (lines 2-5) has given place to *SEG*'s ['Επὶ....9.....|.. ἄρχοντος ἐς | Σάμωι, 'Αθήνησι || δὲ Εὐθυ]κρίτου. This revision is certainly plausible, given the attested Athenian archon of 328/7, Euthykritos. But of course no epigraphical considerations rule out a sequence like that of *SEG* 18.200, with [– – –]κρίτου representing part of the name of the archon on Samos (**1505**). These six letters, in fact, form the very *beginning* of the extant text, despite their designation as part of "line 5" of the restored version in both *Syll.*³ and *SEG.* Everything preceding them is in reality quite speculative, and suggested restorations depend entirely on the formulas of the other two texts — which differ substantially from each other.

IG xii(8) 111. GRAVESTONE OF OLYMPIADES AND THEODOROS, FROM IMBROS Myrina Mus.2153 Photo on postcard sold at museum Partial facsimile and Photo by D. Harris

Fredrich's commentary says that the epitaph of Theodoros (**654**, line 2) is later than that of Olympiades (**1056**, line 1), and dates Olympiades' epitaph to the second century B.C. But *IG*'s own majuscule of the two lines caused me to question the suggested sequence, if not the dating itself — especially given the fourth century date of a Theodoros of the same deme, *PA* 6894 (cited by *IG*). It carries little authority, but the stele's label at the Myrina Museum calls it fourth century work, as does the picture postcard of the stone that Diane Harris bought at the Museum. Unfortunately, her own photo is smaller and less clear than that of the postcard, and she was unable to get a squeeze.

To judge from Harris' facsimile of line 2, the only manifestly quite late letter forms there are the broken-crossbar *alpha* and probably the very "curvy-toed" *omega*; the other letters in this line could seemingly be fourth century. Harris' two *sigmas*, in particular, seem less horizontal at top and bottom than *IG*'s majuscule would indicate, and I believe I can see a bit of the older-style "flare" in these letters in the postcard photo. Harris reports incidentally that *IG*'s

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[12] I assume, with the editors, that [– – – 'Αθή]|νησι is a necessary restoration in *SEG* 18.201.3f.

majuscule is correct in showing the *theta* of Theodoros' name without a center dot (which means that *IG*'s text really should have ⟨Θ⟩ rather than the unmodified letter), but incorrect in indicating the same deficiency in the *theta* of his demotic: the dot is visible there, so the text at this point is correct. Harris provides no facsimile of Olympiades' epitaph (line 1), and the photos are too faint to enable me to draw any conclusions. I remain dubious about the temporal order of the epitaphs. Given the Greek custom of alternating names every other generation, Olympiades Theodorou could be *either* the father or the son of Theodoros Olympiadou — or the names could be more than a single generation apart.

IG xii(8) 4. RESOLUTION OF CHALKIDIANS LIVING IN MYRINA. Myrina Mus.2049 Michel 160 Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.81 Facsimile, Squeeze, 4 Photos by D. Harris

Harris observes that this inscription's "letters are carefully carved but very shallow. Some are filled with brown sediment"; the observation helps to explain why her photos are more useful than her squeeze for certain letters (notably *lambda* of line 4's στήλην and *alpha* of line 5's ἀνειπεῖν). In the fifth and sixth letter spaces of line 2, *IG*'s majuscule shows traces resembling the bottom half of *iota* and the lower arc of a round letter (*omicron* or *theta*), the first of which is incompatible with the text's underdotted *alpha* in 'Ạθ[ην]αίων. The inscription's first editors, G. Cousin and F. Dürrbach, had showed nothing in either space, and had treated both letters as totally restored.[13] Harris reports from autopsy: "I *only* see the lower left curve of the theta — no iota or alpha", and her squeeze and photo clearly verify the statement. The proper reading is thus ['A]θ̣[ην]αίων.

In line 3, τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν in *IG*'s text is compatible with the traces of its own majuscule, even though that of C&D shows nothing at all in the letter spaces of ΣΧΑ and brackets all of ΣΧΑΛ as restored. How *sigma* could ever have been regarded as lost is a mystery to me: it is complete, large, clear, and has plenty of extant surface area on all sides, to judge from Harris' squeeze (it is in an area not included in any of her detailed photos). The same squeeze, moreover, seems to show virtually all of *chi* as extant (excluding perhaps only its extreme upper right tip), even though Harris herself draws a less decisive trace in her facsimile. Relying on the squeeze, I read τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσιν.

The final letter of line 10 (*alpha*) is mostly extant and an absolutely certain reading; *IG*'s bracketed "restoration" contradicts its

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[13] Cousin and Durrbach, *BCH* 9 (1885) 54-58, no.3 (majuscule on p.49).

own majuscule (as well as C&D's) and Harris' squeeze, photo, and facsimile. In the final word of line 12 (οἰκοῦντας), *IG*'s text mistakenly replaces the word's *iota* with another *upsilon*. The top half of this letter, which is what *IG*'s majuscule indicates as being present, would by itself be compatible with *iota* and not with *upsilon*; in fact, however, the entire letter is extant, as indicated by C&D's majuscule and confirmed by Harris' squeeze, photo, and facsimile. The genuinely problematic letter in this word is not the *iota*, but the *nu*: despite agreement on its certainty by C&D and *IG*'s majuscule and text, Harris' facsimile shows it as an erroneous *eta*, and her squeeze and *two* photos seem to bear this out. Therefore I prefer οἰκοῦ⟨ν⟩τας.

IG xii(8) 5. MYRINA RESOLUTION HONORING *EPIMELETES* IN HEPHAISTIA. Myrina Mus.2053 Michel 161 Partial facsimile, 2 Squeezes, 3 Photos by D. Harris

Cousin and Dürrbach assert that the characters of line 2 (line 1 being merely Θεοί) are larger than those of the following lines;[14] the suggestion is not picked up by *IG*. Probably the letters are simply more legible, rather than larger: Harris observes that line 2 "may have been recut over a rasura — it is at a deeper level than [the following lines] and the surface appears cleaner and whiter", adding that lines 3f "are exceptionally shallow in depth of letter carving — perhaps sanded down but not recarved". Her squeezes seem to reflect these conditions, except that the first three letters of line 3 are clear and deeply cut like those of line 2, and the faintness only begins in fact with the fourth letter (Harris' detail photo of the left end of the inscription, although too fuzzy to help on finer points, is able at least to support this observation). Working almost exclusively from the better of Harris' two squeezes, I cannot see nearly as many letters as either C&D or *IG* claim to have seen, nor does Harris venture to produce anything approaching a complete facsimile. In general, therefore, I necessarily defer to the earlier editors' autopsy; the condition of the text may have deteriorated over the past century.

The particular question I hoped that Harris would be able to answer[15] was the reliability of *IG*'s Σα[υρί]ας — with the *iota* exceeding the normal *stoichedon* letter count — for the name of the *epimeletes* in Hephaistia (**1140**, line 6), especially since C&D had read only

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[14] C&D 48-54 no.2 (majuscule on p.49). *IG*'s comment on line 4 refers to this text indirectly via "Kirchner II 596 vs.170" (i.e., p.596 of *PA* vol.2, the deme list for Pallene, line 170), even though *IG*'s own bibliography cites C&D itself, which is the citation provided by *PA*'s deme list!

[15] See my pre-consultation misgivings in Cargill, *GRBS* 325f.

the final *sigma* and had offered no restoration of the name. In lines 5f, C&D have 'Επει|[ιδὴ ....]ς ὁ ἐπιμελητής where Fredrich, dividing the lines differently, has ἐπει|δὴ Σ̣α̣[υρί]α̣ς ὁ ἐπιμελητής. In both the majuscule and the text of *IG*, line 5 extends one letter beyond lines 2-4 on the right; a "certain" *iota* is indicated at the end of line 5. C&D had not seen or inferred this *iota*, but had, instead, treated it as a restoration at the *beginning* (i.e., the left end) of line 6. I believe that Harris' squeeze probably can support an *iota* at the right end of line 5. In any event, both Harris (from autopsy) and I (from her squeeze) believe we see in the second *stoichos* of line 6 traces that could be the top parts of the vertical strokes of *eta*, i.e., in this *stoichos* comes the end of the word ἐπειδή. This means that the *epimeletes*' name definitely begins in the next (third) stoichos, and not (as C&D's text indicates) in the fourth. Thus it is clear that six letter spaces, including that occupied by the extant final *sigma*, are available for the name *IG* restores with seven letters. The problem is not so great as it would be if we had to accept the total of *five* spaces that C&D's text implies. I believe that I can see on Harris' squeeze a substantial trace (resembling that in *IG*'s majuscule) of the top stroke of the name's initial *sigma*, a trace which would seem to fit no other letter. Not understanding the "trace" in Harris' facsimile (which does not match *any* letter), I am tempted to see *sigma* as certain, refraining only because I have not examined the stone myself. The next letter definitely comes to a point at the top, although I am not certain (from her squeeze) of the crossbar Harris' facsimile indicates she sees. The crossbar would make *alpha* certain, but I think an underdotted version is safer. *IG* shares in this ambiguity: the complete letter appears in the majuscule, but the *alpha* of the text is underdotted. In the space preceding the name's final *sigma*, the upper point that had accounted for *IG*'s other underdotted *alpha* is definitely not visible today: Harris' notes refer to a "surface chip" now missing, on which the content of this and the preceding two *stoichoi* would have originally appeared. I am not willing to deny that the *IG* editor could have seen a trace here, even though C&D indicate nothing present at this point. In sum, Σαυρίας, despite the awkwardness of the letter count, remains possible for the name of the *epimeletes*, although readings could range from an extremely generous Σα[υρί]α̣ς to a minimalist Σ̣α̣[υρία]ς — a range within which *IG*'s Σ̣α̣[υρί]α̣ς falls. Names one letter shorter would of course also be possible, as Wallace points out.

IG xii(8) 7. *DEMOS* OF MYRINA HONORS LYSIMACHOS LYSIMACHOU. Myrina Mus.2051 Squeeze and 2 Photos by D. Harris

Harris' photo shows the Museum's partially reconstructed stele, including frs. *c* and *b* at the bottom, which provide the stone's full width (her measurement is 0.35m). Nothing appears to have been carved on these fragments except a large crown, the upper right part of which extends onto fr. *a*, the only extant fragment containing any inscribed text. Neither C&D's *ed. prin.*[16] nor *IG* indicate awareness by the editors of any fragments other than *a*, yet their full-line restorations have in general proved to be of appropriate length. The inscription is non-*stoichedon*, but eight of *IG*'s eleven fully restored lines fall in the range of 33-35 letters, and another has 32. Only lines 11 and 12 look somewhat anomalous, restored with 30 and 28 letters, respectively.

The range of line lengths thus indicated affects the length of the ethnic or demotic of the honorand, Lysimachos son of Lysimachos (**886**), to be restored in lines 10 and 18. Assuming the correctness of *IG*'s restorations of lines 17f, if line 18 held 35 letters (the maximum restored by Fredrich in any line) and the honorand's patronymic ends in *omicron* (rather than *omicron-upsilon*), his ethnic/demotic would have eight letters in the accusative case, and this figure would be a maximum: [– – – Λυ]σίμαχον Λυσιμάχο | [....8.... χρυσῶι στεφ]άνωι.[17] But in lines 9-11, where *IG* restores [– – – ἐ]παινέσ[αι] Λυσίμ|[μαχον Λυσιμάχο – *ethnic.* – καὶ] στεφανῶ|[σαι, κτλ], the same spelling convention and 35-letter length applied to line 10 would yield a *twelve*-letter ethnic/demotic. Therefore it would instead make sense to restore a length of no more than 31 letters in line 10. This argument assumes that the same name is mentioned in both places, i.e., I accept *IG*'s ΛΥΣΙ, rather than the ΟΥΣΙ of C&D's majuscule, at the end of line 9. The trace of the key letter is too faint on Harris' squeeze for certainty, but both majuscules (and the squeeze) agree on the presence of enough of the preceding word (ἐπαινέσαι) to make it certain, and who would be commended except the person crowned?

At the end of line 13, *IG*'s ε[ἶν]αι δὲ αὐτῶι is considerably more acceptable than the [.]ΩΙΑ[...]ΩΙΤΩΙ of C&D's majuscule. On Harris' squeeze, the consecutive letters ΙΔΕ are visible, and the traces (admittedly more ambiguous) seem also to favor the ΑΥ of *IG*'s αὐτῶι over C&D's penultimate ΩΙ. I cannot really make out

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[16] C&D 59-62, no.5 (majuscule on p.60). The majuscule does not include *IG*'s totally obliterated lines 1-3 and 6f, nor its fragmentary lines 4f, so C&D's line numbers are smaller than *IG*'s by seven. No restorations in C&D's text are suggested for majuscule lines 1-6 (*IG*'s lines 8-13).

[17] Cf. C&D's 3*8*-letter Λυσ]ίμαχον Λυσιμάχο .....10..... χρυσῶι στεφ]άνωι, when no other line as restored is longer than 35 letters (although lines preceding *IG*'s line 14 are not restored at all).

any letters to the left of the *alpha* of εἶναι, but that letter itself is quite clear, crossbar and all. Contrary to both majuscules and the underdotting of *IG*'s text, the letter is a certain reading.

IG xii Supp. 339. MAGNESIA'S GRAVESTONE. Myrina Mus. 2055 Squeeze and Photo by D. Harris

The text of this gravestone is given in the *Corpus* as follows:

Μαγνησία
Ζωτίχου,
Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνή,
χαῖρε.

No dimensions, no description of the stone, no discussion of letter forms, and no suggestion as to date appear, beyond the comment that the inscription should follow no.37 in the collection (itself undated, but obviously late). Picard and Reinach, the *ed. prin.*, had merely published a text provided for them by a local archaeologist.[18] There is no indication that the editors themselves ever saw the stone, and in fact it is now evident that they did not. I had expected Harris' squeeze and photo only to confirm for me through letter forms the apparent likelihood (from content) that the inscription could not be dated as early as the fourth century. They certainly did that, but they also prompt the more surprising observation that line 3 of the published Greek text is manifestly inaccurate and misleading.

Here I offer a full description of the stone and an improved text of the epitaph. Harris reports the stone's height as 0.52m, width as 0.215-0.225m, and thickness as 0.09m. It is (in her words) "grey marble with light brown surface accretions", has "rough hewn sides", with "top [and] bottom partly preserved", and "a rough raised band is carved around the stone 0.06-0.08 m. from the top". Left and right edges are both preserved. The epitaph's script is clearly of late Hellenistic or Roman times, with apices at the ends of most strokes. *Alpha* has a broken cross-bar; *nu*'s right upright is as long as its left, with the slanting stroke joining it a bit above the bottom; *sigma* is a left upright with two horizontals attached, a bit below the top and a bit above the bottom; *zeta* is like a Roman-

[18] P&R 338: "De Palaiopolis, probablement, vient encore l'inscription suivante, dont une copie nous a été donnée à Kastro par un archéologue local. Elle avait été trouvée à Drepanidi peu de temps avant notre passage". The associated footnote calls the copyist Εὐσ. Δράκος. Except for a few items of bibliography (other publications by Drakos), nothing else appears except the text itself (at the top of p.339), with the letters subsequently reproduced in *IG* xii *Supp*. 339, although P&R add a "(?)" after the patronymic, for no apparent reason (which is probably why the *Corpus* editor drops it).

alphabet "Z"; *omega*, *omicron*, and *chi* are of about the same size as the other letters; the "tail" of *upsilon* does not descend vertically, but rather is part of a single long slanting stroke that continues from the letter's upper right corner to a point well below the imaginary "line" on which the other letters rest; *epsilon* is like *sigma*, with the addition of a central horizontal stroke of the same length as those above and below it; *xi* has a shorter horizontal stroke in its center, and no vertical element; one *rho* is somewhat taller than adjacent letters, but another is not.

My text of the epitaph is as follows:

Μαγνησία
Ζωτίχου
Ἀλεξανδρῖτις,
χαῖρε.

Despite the published texts' Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνή in line 3, the line's first ten letters (through *tau*) are crystal-clear in Harris' photo. The last two letters are more crowded, but her squeeze makes their reading obvious, also. The only mildly confusing element (visible on both squeeze and photo) is an apparent horizontal (actually slightly slanting) stroke that, at first glance, seems to connect my second *iota* with another vertical element close by and to its right. If nothing more were extant, one would tend to read such a combination of strokes as a thin, compressed *eta*, and record the word as Ἀλεξανδρίτη. But no such form of the ethnic is to be found among the epitaphs of Alexandrians in *IG* ii^2 7999-8038, and in any case the squeeze shows substantial portions of two horizontal strokes joining that second vertical element, on *its* right, near its top and bottom. What we have here, then, is another *sigma* like that of line 1 — except that it is narrower because of lack of space at the edge of the stone. The "stroke" between this *sigma* and the preceding *iota* turns out to be illusory, the product of breakage or a slip. The only other possible reading (if the said "stroke" were genuinely intended) would be a ligatured Ἀλεξανδρίτης, which grammatically could not fit here and is another form unattested in *IG* ii^2 7999-8038. The preferred feminine form is in fact what I read here, Ἀλεξανδρῖτις (nine attestations among those same epitaphs under this precise spelling, plus three others under minor variations of it, – εῖτις and – ῖτι).[19] Magnesia (**896**) is therefore *not* identified, as the published

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[19] Note also that another inscription from Hephaistia on Lemnos (Accame, *Ann.* #14b II.2f) mentions Ἀλεξάνδρα Στύ[ρα]κος Ἀλεξανδρεῖτ[ι]ς (**52**). To *IG*'s Attic epitaphs add Peek, *AM* #195; *Agora* XVII.401 (=*SEG* 21.942); Osborne, *AncSoc* #100.

texts would indicate, by her relationships to her father (Zotichos) and her husband (Alexandros). Rather, she is identified by her relationship to someone (Zotichos) who is probably her father, but also could be her husband, and by her city of origin (Alexandria).

Below Magnesia's epitaph is another inscription that has never even been mentioned — in the *ed. prin.*, in the *Corpus*, or anywhere in the scholarly literature. It seems to have three lines of (respectively) five, four, and six characters. Below the third line, traces of one additional character may be present; it is possible, however, that there is only surface damage here. Neither Harris nor I could recognize the script,[20] although some of its characters could pass for ancient Greek letters (sometimes retrograde). A suspicion that the writing was in an early epichoric Greek alphabet was rejected because of the inscription's physical context: the stone seems to have been prepared for Magnesia's epitaph, and it appears that the other inscription was later added below it. Several specialists in various ancient scripts were unable to identify the script or language, when I asked their advice and/or sent them my facsimile.[21] Alexander Fol of the Institute of Thracology in Sofia, Bulgaria, was initially hopeful that we had chanced upon an inscription in an otherwise unattested Thraikian script, but seeing Harris' photo and squeeze left him convinced otherwise.

Finally, unable to identify the script, I submitted my facsimile, photo, and discussion of the mysterious inscription to a scholarly journal, in hopes of at least alerting others to its existence. One anonymous referee finally offered a specific suggestion, i.e., that the text below Magnesia's epitaph is in Byzantine Greek, and is merely a "run-of-the-mill Mediaeval scribble" (in the referee's words), unworthy of publication. While I am not absolutely convinced of the accuracy of the referee's specific readings, the basic point is probably correct. After accepting the Byzantine-Greek interpretation, I belatedly consulted my own department's Byzantinist, Stephen Reinert, who independently confirmed the referee's suggestion that the last word of the inscription (if indeed the trace below line 3 is a letter) could be transliterated into Μαν̣οῖ̣σ|α̣. The referee had "nothing satisfactory to propose" in connection with this reading, although hinting that "a personal name" might be present. Reinert

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[20] By find spot (near Hephaistia), it is clearly not one of the two "non-Greek inscriptions" seen in Myrina by Hereward, *AJA* 67 (1963) 72. These too might warrant investigation, although I am in no position to do the leg-work.

[21] My thanks, anyway, to M. Bernal (Cornell), J.D. Ray (Cambridge), R. Gusmani (Udine), O. Masson (Paris), S. Aleshire (*SEG*), and M. Vickers (Ashmolean Museum), all of whom graciously responded in person, by telephone, or by letter.

pointed out that this combination of letters would be pronounced "Manisa" in Byzantine and early modern Greek — which happens to be the current (Turkish) name of the city that was in ancient times Magnesia on the Maiander River in Asia Minor. Perhaps, then, the two inscriptions on the stone are, in some odd way, related: did some traveler from Manisa recognize the name of his or her home town in old Greek letters and add this graffito, consisting simply of the date (the referee's interpretation of lines 1f) plus "Manisa"? I cannot help reacting negatively to the referee's suggestion that an inscription already "kept secret" for ca. 80 years should continue to be "sat on". At least its existence is now public knowledge.

SLC 104. *HOROS*, ARCHONSHIP OF NIKODOROS. Myrina Mus.2056 *IG* xii(8) 18 + Supp. p.147 Facsimile, Squeeze, 2 Photos by D. Harris

The text published in *IG* xii(8) is derived from the minuscule of Kontoleon (1902), neither stone nor photo nor squeeze having been seen by Fredrich. *IG* xii Supp. (1939) includes the inscription with an improved version of lines 5-11, based on the text of Picard and Reinach (1912).[22] By this time, the portion of the stone bearing lines 1-4 had already disappeared. Segre (1932/3) confusingly lists *IG* xii(8) 18 among inscriptions that are lost, but also says that *BCH* (1912) p.347 (i.e., P&R's text) is in the Mytilene Museum on Lesbos, Inv. no.10.[23] I asked Harris to look for this inscription mainly just to see whether the upper part is indeed still lost, or the stone has been reassembled, or the two parts are in two separate museums. Unfortunately, P&R's observation still holds true: only lines 5-11 are extant, and the lower fragment (now Myr.Mus.2056) was formerly Myt.Mus.10 (its old inv. no. is still painted on the stone, clearly visible in one of Harris' photos). No one at the Myrina Museum has any knowledge of an upper portion, and they are sure that no such portion has ever been seen there, nor do any Museum records appear to refer to it.

No problems of *readings* occur in the extant lines, which are quite legible, but inconsistencies in editorial conventions may be noted. In lines 6f, the pointed brackets of *IG* xii Supp. in ἄρχ⟨ον⟩|τος, implying "correction" of erroneously cut letters, is only slightly less deceptive than the square-bracketed ἄρχ[ον]|τος of the original *IG*

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22 P&R 346-348, text on p.347.

23 Segre, *Ann.* p.291; note the confusion this causes for Susini, *Ann.* p.318, in his entry for *IG* xii(8) 18: "data per perduta dal Segre, è conservata al Museo di Mitilene, inv. n. 10".

version, indicating "restoration" of something once present on the stone but since lost. Actually, the letters were never cut. Both the right and left edges of the stone are preserved, and the *chi* actually touches the right edge, as Harris observes. In effect, the word has been "abbreviated", and the ἄρχ(ον)|τος of P&R is more accurate than either *IG* version. Considering these different ways of handling the missing letters of line 6, it is surprising that all three texts treat the final four letters of line 5 (**1459**) as a "restoration", when in fact the surface there is quite simply blank: it should not surprise any student of Athenian inscriptions to see the abbreviated dative demotic Ῥαμνου(σίωι). Not mentioned by any editor is the odd small circle, like a symbol for "degrees" of temperature, that appears *above* the blank area where the final letters of the aforementioned demotic might have appeared. I do not know whether the circle has any textual meaning, but it is clearly visible in photos and squeeze.

SLC 105. *HOROS*, NIKIAS DEBTOR, EUAINETOS *et al.* CREDITORS. Myrina Mus.2169 *BÉ* (1949) 135 Facsimiles, Squeeze, 2 Photos by D. Harris

My own conservative text of the creditors' names (lines 5-10) is as follows:

Εὐαινέτωι
Ἐρχιε̣ῖ̣ [– – –]
[– –(name)– –]
[(dem.)]ειεῖ [*vv*?]
[(name)]ρῶι Ἐρ-
[(dem.)] *vacat*

In line 6, Segre in the *ed. prin.*[24] treats the entire dative demotic Ἐρχιεῖ (**478**) as certain, but the extant traces of the last two letters do not seem, in isolation, to rule out all other possible readings, so both letters should in strict epigraphic propriety be underdotted. Conversely, the trace of the first *rho* in line 9, which is pointed, rather than rounded, like all five others in the inscription, makes the letter certain (**1440**), although Segre has underdotted it. In line 8, Segre underdots all four partially preserved letters of his restored demotic [Διομ]ε̣ι̣ε̣ῖ̣, but most, if not all, of these letters seem as legible as, or more legible than, the above-mentioned "certain" letters of line 6. The first *epsilon* consists of most of the bottom horizontal stroke, missing its extreme left end, but with ample space above and to the right. The only remotely-possible other readings (in isolation) would be a Z-form *zeta* and (barely conceivably) a *xi* without vertical element, in each case being of the same size as the

[24] Segre, *Ann.* #12.

other letters (the trace is clearly at the very bottom of its letter space). Although no example of either of these letters is present for comparison, both possibilities seem extremely unlikely, i.e., this *epsilon* is virtually a certain reading. The other *epsilon* is even less ambiguously so, since all its lower portion is preserved, both the horizontal bar (entire) and a substantial part of the left upright: certain, unquestionably. The *iota* between the two *epsilons* is also close to certain, since the available space would not appear to permit the extant trace to be the bottom of a letter that becomes wider higher up. The fourth trace, Segre's other underdotted *iota*, is at first glance more ambiguous: it is considerably farther away from the preceding *epsilon* than an *iota* would need to be. Still, blank surface to the right of the trace seems to make it likely that it is part of the last letter of the line. Most lines of this inscription do end between words, and an *iota* would be expected at the end of an unabbreviated dative demotic (**1437**, like the one in line 6).

In my text lines above, I am consistently imprecise about line length. I would be more inclined to give approximate letter counts if I knew exactly what frs. *d* and *e* look like. Segre says that they come from the back surface of the stele, but I do not know whether they would to any extent determine line lengths in this irregularly tapering stele; the plaster in Harris' photo conceals them. If I am correct in suspecting that line 8 ends with ca. two blank spaces, and if the stone's original left edge was as the plaster indicates, then I do not see how Segre's restoration in line 9 of five letters plus half of *rho* ([Διοδώ]ρ̣ωι Ἐρ-) can be likely. In Harris' photo, it appears that the four and one-half extant letters that complete the line occupy well over half of the line's length. Still, the bizarre disproportionality of the entirely preserved line 4, ὑπὸ Νικίο, where ὑπό takes up almost exactly the same space as Νικίο (**1003**), prevents negative certainty about line 9. Segre's restoration of [Διομ] at the beginning of line 8 is less problematic, since even if it is too long, some of the same letters could have appeared in line 7 (which is entirely lost, along with the last third or more of line 6).

Below the text was a number (of drachmas, understood), of which only the final character *chi* (=1000) is preserved. From the placement and large size of the *chi*, and invoking the above-mentioned supposition about the plaster and the reassembled stele, it seems that the epigraphic issue is only whether the extant *chi* was preceded by two others, or one other, or stood alone, i.e., whether the debt secured by the property was 3000 or 2000 or 1000 drachmas. In Paul Millett's revised table of Finley's *horoi*, for loans secured by land alone through *prasis epi lysei* (as in the case of this

particular *horos*), the median value is 1000 drachmas.[25] While I might countenance restoring double the median, trebling it seems excessively adventurous; therefore I would restore line 11 as [X?]X.

SLC 115. *HOROS*, EPIGONOS CREDITOR. Myrina Mus.2048 *IG* xii(8) 22 *Syll.*[3] 1193 Facsimile, Squeeze, 2 Photos by D. Harris

I asked Harris to check this stone because of several apparent anomalies in *IG*'s majuscule: the reversed *nu* in line 3 (cf. regular ones in lines 4 and 5), the lunate *sigma* of line 4 (cf. normal four-bar types in lines 1 and 2), and the long-tailed *upsilon* in line 5 (cf. line 3's ordinary variety). Harris confirms them all, supported in this by her squeeze and photos. I tend to quibble slightly on the lunate *sigma*. Within its "arc" there is a kind of point and possibly some missing surface area. I suspect that another four-barred *sigma* was cut here, but even more sloppily and shallowly than most of the letters in this very sloppy text.

Fredrich does not mention that the mason has apparently corrected his own error within the *rho* of line 3. A long and quite clear slanting stroke extends from the upper left point of the *rho* to a "connection" with the bottom end of the left "leg" of the *alpha* that follows. Probably the stone-cutter made an awkward *alpha* (its left "leg" vertical) after *pi*, then realized that he had omitted the *rho* between them, so he simply cut the curved part of *rho* over the slanting right "leg", incorporating his *alpha*'s crossbar as the bottom of the *rho*'s rounded element. The squeeze and photos show that we need not worry very much about a given stroke's verticality or slantedness in this inscription. The supposedly "vertical" shafts of *pi* in the penultimate letter space of line 2 and of another *pi* immediately below it (at the end of line 3) both slant, for example — and in opposite directions!

SLC 190A. *HOROS*, CREDITOR'S NAME GARBLED. *SEG* 34.882*bis* *BÉ* (1977) 357

This text was among those I asked Harris to examine, but she was somehow misled into believing that it was the same stone as Segre's no.12 (see above), which it is not. Therefore she did not examine this *horos*, and I do not know its museum inventory number. But the photo accompanying the *ed. prin.* shows that a better reading of the creditor's name (**499**) — and one that is intelligible and not gibberish — is easily possible. Therefore I offer it, without even indirect autopsy. The text of the *ed. prin.* of Hatzis is as follows:

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[25] Millett, *SLC*[2] xxxii = *Opus* 1 (1982) 222.

[hó]ρος χ[ω]-
[ρ]ίο [πε]-
πραμ[έ]-
[ν]ο ἐπὶ λύ-
[σ]ει γυθ̣
.ημω..
.νοσ..

After the conventional formula of lines 1-5 comes the creditor's name in lines 5-7, which Hatzis, followed by both Millett and *SEG*, renders as γ̣υθ̣ǀ[.]ημω[..ǀ.]νοσ[..], without restorations or comment.[26] In Hatzis' photo, the traces that permit the underdotted *gamma* would equally well permit *epsilon*, while the underdotted *theta* looks certain to me. The photo also shows damaged surface at the right end of line 5 (where I restore one more letter); most of an *iota* seems to be visible after the *omega* in line 6; and Hatzis' two dots (for precisely two lost letters) at the end of line 7 are unwarranted, since any number from two to four would be possible. In lines 5-7 I restore Ε̣ὐθ[υǀδ]ήμωι̣ [ʽΑǀγ]νοσ[ίωι], or perhaps [ʽΡαǀμ]νοσ[ίωι].[27] Euthydemos is a perfectly good Athenian name, well attested in a Lemnian connection, not to mention among settlers elsewhere.[28] The O=OY spelling in his demotic parallels that of lines 2 and 4. Published texts also neglect to indicate that nothing is inscribed below line 7, i.e., that "*vacat*" should appear there.

Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a. *HOROS*, EUMELIDES' ARCHONSHIP. Myrina Mus. no inv. no. *BÉ* (1979) 344 Facsimile, Squeeze, 2 Photos by D. Harris

Hatzis provides a photograph but no text.[29] From published photos alone, I was able to come up with a fairly secure text for everything except line 4, which Harris' materials now allow me to complete. Harris describes the stone as "brown poros, soft stone, deeply carved, rough picked back, roughly hewn sides, irregular shape". Her dimensions are 0.40m X 0.19m X 0.09m. She seems to have some doubt as to whether the original sides are preserved (to judge

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[26] Hatzis, *AD* 26 (1971) B.458 and pl.460d; Millett, *SLC*² xxvi = *Opus* 1 (1962) 238. J. and L. Robert, *BÉ* are entirely unhelpful, misciting the inscription as being on p.438 and providing no text, only a description of it as "encore une borne de πρᾶσις ἐπὶ λύσει".

[27] The second possible demotic is suggested to me by Wallace. It requires one more letter at the end of line 6 than the editor's two dots would suggest, but the published photo is not sufficiently clear to rule this out — indeed my own treatment of line 5 practically invites it.

[28] See especially **495**, **498** and also **496**, **497**, **500**.

[29] She is content (B2.520) to describe the stone: λίθινον ὀρόσημον τοῦ συνήθους εἰς Λῆμνον τύπου. Her photo, also without text, is reprinted by G. Touchais, *BCH* 102 (1978) 728, fig.180.

by her photos, any doubt must apply only to the right side), but in any event the inscribed text is completely preserved.

This is my version, mindful of Harris' facsimile, as well as of her squeeze and photos:

ὅρος οἰκίας
πεπραμέν-
ης ἐπὶ λ̣ύσ-
ει ΜΙΟ χύτρ-
οις τοῖς πε-
ρὶ Γνάθιον
Ἀφι(δναῖον): Γ :ἄρ-
χων Εὐ-
μηλίδης
vacat

I underdot the *lambda* of λ̣ύσ|ει (line 3) very conservatively: substantial traces of both "legs" are extant, but surface damage prevents the assertion that, in isolation, there absolutely could not have been a crossbar, although in reality of course there was none.

No parallels in other known *horoi* exist either for the archon date in the nominative case (lines 7-9) or for the formula ΜΙΟ χύτ|ροις τοῖς πε|ρὶ Γνάθιον | Ἀφι(δναῖον) of lines 4-7. What is one to make of the apparently nonsensical letters ΜΙΟ (Harris and I agree on the reading) in line 4? Wallace suggests a whimsical collective name, Μ(ε)ιοχύτροις (which I would render as "pot-lighteners" or some such), comparable to the Ἰθύφαλλοι or Αὐτολήκυθοι of [Dem.] 54.14. In any event, line 4 requires emendation or expansion to become intelligible. We are, after all, dealing with a stone cutter who does not even follow the normal genitive-phrase archon-dating formula (**526**).[30]

Unpublished *HOROS*, TRIBE AKAMANTIS(?) CREDITOR. Myrina Mus. no inv. no.

When I employed Harris to do her research in the Myrina Museum in the fall of 1989, I asked her especially to be on the look-out for a mysterious unpublished security *horos* that had been seen there by Stroud in 1963 and referred to in an article he published in 1971. In summer of 1989 Stroud had confirmed for me by letter that it was still unpublished, so far as he knew.[31] Almost thirty years hav-

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[30] An Attic decree supposedly quoted in Dem. 18.115 begins with Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, but the decree is bracketed as spurious and its archon seems to be fictional. Stroud reminds me, however, that the deme decree *IG* ii[2] 1176.8f, as improved at *SEG* 33.143, includes the phrase [ὁ δὲ χ]ρόνος ἄρχει τῆς μι|σθώσεω[ς] Ἡγησίας ἄρχων.

[31] Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 170 n.24. In 1991, Lalonde was still citing this still-unpublished inscription via Stroud's comment of twenty years earlier: *Agora* XIX p.20 n.131.

ing elapsed since he saw it (and who knows how many, prior to that), I was determined to locate the *horos*, and I asked Harris to inform me of any likely candidates, especially inscriptions lacking inventory numbers. She thought that the above-discussed *horos* of Eumelides' archonship, having no inventory number, might be a possibility, but I recognized it as the stone whose photo was published by Hatzis in 1973 instead.

Another *horos* lacking inventory number was, however, seen by Harris in a corner of the ephor's office in the Museum, and she sent me a description of it. Naturally I do not publish a photo or text, but for reasons of historical accuracy connected with my study, I must offer a few comments. The script could be either fifth century or fourth century; the text is non-*stoichedon*; no amount of drachmas seems to have been indicated. Most importantly, the creditor seems to have been an Attic *phyle*, which would be unique among known *horoi*. But since a tribal cult center is attested on Lemnos,[32] and since a tribal cult center on Samos could make loans,[33] such new evidence would not seem to cause any problems of historical interpretation. Surprisingly, however, the tribal name appears to be in the accusative case,[34] when all other attested creditors' names on *horoi* are in the dative. Perhaps yet another attribution of extreme carelessness (see preceding comment) must be made.

Alas, this stone is in any event clearly not Stroud's long-lost *horos*, since he describes his as having the archon's name (**1540**) within its first two lines, whereas this *horos* is undated. My current guess for Stroud's stone is Myrina Mus.2189, based entirely on Harris' summary of an entry in the Museum's inventory book (p.67): "Ε[ΠΙ] Α]ΡΧΟΝΤΟ[Σ ΟΡΟΣ ΧΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΙΜΗ 11 lines" [*sic*!]. I cannot check this without visiting the Myrina Museum.[35] Or perhaps someone else will.

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32 See *SEG* 3.117.

33 Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) no.5 (= *GHD:4C* 41).

34 Wallace views this interpretation as "implausible", but I see no other way to read the stone; its publication may eventually clarify matters.

35 I wrote in May 1991 to L. Beschi, current excavator of the Kabeirion near Hephaistia, asking for information about both these inscriptions (the one seen by Harris in the ephor's office and the one seen in 1963 by Stroud) and about the *horos* whose photo (without text) was published by Hatzis in 1973 (above). He was unable to supply me with any clarificatory information.

APPENDIX B

PERSONS CERTAINLY OR POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH ATHENIAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

This Appendix is derived from a database in the program "dBase III+" listing all ascertainable persons attested as having been present in overseas territories settled by Athenians in the fourth century B.C. (regardless of citizenship or origins), officials sent out to them from Attike, honorands in decrees passed by the settlers, etc. Since dating of sources, particularly inscriptions, is often imprecise, the database includes most such persons during *any* period in which a substantial Athenian-descent population contingent in such territories can be inferred. Categories *not* included are fifth century Athenian commanders,[1] Samians outside of Samos unless apparently naturalized Athenian citizens, and Roman names with no Greek element and no apparent connection with anyone with a Greek name.

Main or Primary Entries

Of 1579 total entries, 1157 are "primary", i.e., they constitute attestations of discrete individuals who were or might have been settlers in the locations with which this study is concerned. In primary entries, certain types of information invariably appear within definite sequences in specific lines. The layout may be approximated as follows (this outline is repeated at the beginning of each section of the Appendix, as a reminder):

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

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[1] Alkibiades' apparent holdings in the Chersonesos might warrant making him an exception, but I have refrained; see Schmitz, *Wirt.Pr.* 85 n.29 for sources.

Line 1, indented, always begins with the boldface entry **Number**, while the item at the extreme left of Line 2 (assuming the line 1 material has not had to "wrap") is always an abbreviation (usually of three letters) for the **Location** with which the person is associated. Line 3 (on an analogous assumption) begins with **Cross-References** (if any) to other prosopographies. The majority of names in this Appendix have entries in *PAA*, so Line 3 often begins with the person's *PAA* number, but even that cross-reference is sometimes lacking. Almost never does an entry's collection of prosopographical cross-references fill the entire line. Therefore the **Other** categories of relevant information usually begin also in Line 3, and continue for as many lines as are required.

Immediately following the entry **Number** in line 1 is a "**Residence** code" which reflects the person's basic categorization in the database (see Sec.2.3, Table 1 above for statistics). Some possible connection with a territory that had a fourth century Athenian settlement is required, and the code attempts to take several nuances into account. Persons whose gravestones were found in a settlement's territory are assumed to have resided there; so are persons participating in local governing bodies or serving as local cultic functionaries (priests, etc.). Most others are treated as doubtful residents. This large group includes, e.g., initiates at local myteries, persons making a dedication or votive offering, honorands in settlers' decrees, and officials sent out from Athens whose "residence" (if that is the proper term at all) is presumably brief. Another subset of persons treated as doubtful residents in the settlements consists of persons bearing "ethnics" appropriate to such territories (except "Samians") whose attestations are in Attike or elsewhere outside the settlements their "ethnics" evoke. The theory is that they may have resided in the settlement prior to moving. The specific code a particular person gets can depend on ethnicity (especially "Athenianness", certain or probable) and on date, in addition to residence. There are six possible Residence codes:

E = Early, i.e., clearly pre-4C: a small and loose category that includes persons attested in connection with the appropriate territories, regardless of their ethnicity or their likelihood of residence (as opposed to mere presence)

4 = Fourth century resident, certain or quite probable, regardless of ethnicity

? = Questionable 4C resident: possibly so, but some uncertainty exists as to residence and/or 4C dating (ethnicity is again not considered)

L = Late, i.e., clearly post-4C, but probably resident — and probably of Athenian descent
D = Doubtful as to residence and/or Athenian-ness (although neither is actually impossible), as well as definitely late
X = External to the strictly relevant sample: either late resident clearly identifiable as non-Athenian, or apparently non-resident honorand (regardless of date), or other person included on a rather long chance of being relevant

Next comes the **Name-formula**, in Greek script, as much of it as is extant or confidently restorable; for a woman, this sometimes includes indications of *both* father's and husband's names. Epigraphic-style conventions are employed, although an unknown number of lost letters in a line is always symbolized by exactly 3 hyphens (if I can suggest an approximate number of lost letters, I do so explicitly). Any element of the name-formula that is known from elsewhere (when, for example, the directly-relevant source preserves only the patronymic, but the full name appears in another source) is supplied within parentheses; if the suggestion is conjectural, a "?" is added. The primary name is always entered in the nominative case, regardless of the case in which it appears in the source, with analogous portions bracketed (etc.), if necessary. Men's demotics or ethnics, like their names, are always entered in the nominative case. The source's case(s) for names and/or demotics, if any are other than nominative, are specified within the comments that begin in line 3. In a primary entry for a female whose name is associated with a male name in the genitive case, if the woman's relationship with the associated male is explicitly indicated by the source, the appropriate relationship term — θυγ(άτηρ)=daughter or γυνή=wife — appears in the position where it occurs in the source itself. When the relationship is not specified, the genitive male name is treated as a patronymic. A demotic in the genitive following the genitive patronymic of a woman, or following her husband's name, is of course the demotic of the man. The same is sometimes true for ethnics, but women frequently have nominative-case ethnics of their own, following the genitive-case names of fathers/husbands. The case of the ethnic reveals whether it belongs to the man or to the woman. Resident aliens (*metoikoi*) are sometimes associated with Attic demes by a formula for "living in" said demes. An Athenian whose deme connection is unknown, but who is connected with an Attic tribe (*phyle*), is identified by phyle-name (Anglicized). When an epitaph redundantly supplies tribe as well as deme, that fact is indicated in the commentary.

The Name-formula of every person associated with either deme

or **Phyle** is followed by an Arabic numeral indicating the associated tribe's position in the official order of Kleisthenic phylai:

1 = Erechtheis	6 = Oineis	P = Post-Kleisthenic (all 307 B.C. or later, thus marginally relevant)
2 = Aigeis	7 = Kekropis	
3 = Pandionis	8 = Hippothontis	
4 = Leontis	9 = Aiantis	
5 = Akamantis	10 = Antiochis	

When homonymous demes make two phylai equally possible, one possible tribe's number is followed by "or" and the other possible tribe's number, with a similar usage when a deme may or may not have been switched into a P tribe (depending on the source's imprecise date). If the patronymic or demotic of a primary person has been lost, as opposed to simply not having been supplied, this fact is explicitly indicated.

The full Name-formula, with or without Phyle-number, is followed in every case by my estimate of the person's "**Athenian-ness**", i.e., the likelihood that the person is of Athenian citizenship or descent. The sources are usually not precise enough to differentiate between these, so I make no attempt to do so (see Sec.2.3, Tables 2 and 3 above for statistics). The "Athenian-ness" codes are:

c = certain p = probable d = doubtful n = not

Men bearing demotics and/or holding office or participating in council or assembly deliberations in an Athenian settlement are treated as certain Athenians. Men or women bearing ethnics foreign both to Attike and to the territories that had fourth century Athenian settlements ("Milesians", etc.) are treated as definite non-Athenians. Persons with "ethnics" local to the territory with which they are associated, or persons with such "ethnics" attested in Attike or elsewhere (except "Samians"), are generally considered "doubtful" Athenians ("Salaminians" are the largest such group). The boundary between "doubtful" and "probable" is fluid, depending on context and judgment in each particular case, but I have in general been very cautious about attributing "Athenian-ness" to anyone; many persons treated here as doubtful might with equal reasonableness be treated as probable. A woman whose name is followed by a masculine name in the genitive case is assumed to share the man's deme-connection or ethnicity, unless hers is apparently differentiated from his (e.g., certain women identified as "Salaminians" are described as the wives of men bearing demotics; thus they are doubtful Athenians but their husbands are certain). Conversely, when the ethnicity of the wife is given, but that of the

husband is not, he may be treated as a doubtful Athenian while she is treated as a non-Athenian (etc.).

The "Athenian-ness" code is the last item in line 1 of a male primary entry. If the person appears to be a **Woman** (or a female of any age), her "Athenian-ness" code is followed by a "w".

The **Location** code that normally begins the second line of each primary entry indicates the settlement with which the cited source associates the primary person (the three Tables of Sec.2.3 above are all subdivided by location). Note that this is not automatically the same as the find spot of the source. Doubtfulness is indicated by a "?" following the location code; the nature of the problem is indicated in the commentary. Codes for settlements' Locations:

>1	=	Associated with more than one settlement
Adr	=	Adriatic settlement, precise location unknown
Unk	=	Unknown, and no reason for preferring some settlement(s) over others appears to exist
Unc	=	Uncertain, but some such reason does exist
Pot	=	Poteidaia
Chr	=	Chersonesos, any of several towns there
Lem	=	Lemnos in general, or impossible to specify town
LMy	=	Myrina on Lemnos
LHe	=	Hephaistia on Lemnos
Imb	=	Imbros
Sky	=	Skyros
Sam	=	Samos
Sal	=	Salamis

Immediately following the Location code is a citation of the specific ancient **Source** that connects the person with an Athenian settlement — or more than one source, if more than one indicate the connection. Citations are in brief forms explained in the "Bibliography and Abbreviations". In general, the *latest* version of an inscription in an accessible collection is cited, even if I prefer the readings, dating, and/or interpretation of an earlier edition; sometimes parenthetical notations indicate the inscription's appearance in more than one current collection. When a text in a collection has been improved, but no newer text of the relevant passage has been published, the collection text's number is generally cited, followed by a "+". Unpublished inscriptions are cited from the inventories of museum or excavation collections. In my citing of lines of an inscription or sections of a literary source, "f" immediately following a number means the single next line or section; longer sequences

are indicated with hyphens; and discontinuous citations are separated by commas. The range of line(s) entered here covers *all* elements of the name-formula (name-patronymic/husband's name-demotic/ethnic, even θυγ. and/or γυνή) that are present or restorable in the source, not simply the primary person's name alone. Frequently, as in the case of many epitaphs, the line(s) cited constitute the entire text.

An indication of **Date** follows the source citation. The figures in this Appendix are copied directly from my database, where their form — each date beginning with a 3-digit number — is useful for purposes of chronological sorting. The date-ranges suggested constitute my numerical interpretation of editorial phrasing (e.g., "mid-4C" is interpreted broadly as the half-century centering on 350 B.C., i.e., as "375-325"); my compromise of conflicting opinions (usually the range of earliest and latest dates suggested); or my own best guess when no date is supplied or when an editorial date seems manifestly wrong. The ranges are broad rather than narrow, and conservative rather than bold. Post-4C estimates are expressed with little precision (e.g., "299+"), and C.E. dates are all in the form "001", followed by a number of "+'s" equivalent to the century C.E. ("001+" = 1C CE).

The Date is followed by parenthetical information about *who* has assigned this date and/or *why*, plus occasionally an indication of published dating that differs from that assigned here, and who suggests it. All such information is in severely abbreviated form. Among sources for dates, for example:

IG or *SEG* = the editor(s) of the cited volume of *IG* or *SEG* (regardless of whether such dating is new with these editors or is borrowed from earlier scholarship)

ed = the *ed. prin.* of the text (used only when the text is not yet in a readily-available collection, or when the *ed. prin.*'s date is preferred to the dating of the collection cited)

JC = my own dating, either in disagreement with published date(s), or because no one else has yet suggested a date.

Reasons for the assigned date (sometimes only inferred) may be, e.g.:

arx = Archon-dated source

ctx = Context, i.e., something in the context or content of the source makes the dating likely (datable institutions present, known events mentioned, archaeological considerations, e.g.)

pro = Prosopography, i.e., datable person(s) mentioned in source

scr = Script, i.e., letter-forms, spelling, grammar, style, etc. give clues to dating. This code does not differentiate between judgments from autopsy, squeeze, photo, facsimile, majuscule, and editorial description
com = Compromise, i.e., editors differ; range suggested incorporates more than one editor's opinion
gss = My own guess, perhaps unreliable

Colons signify responsibility. Thus "(JC: scr; cf. *IG*: E5C)" = my date, on the basis of the script, which date differs from that of *IG*, whose editor prefers a date of the early 5C.

The second line of primary entries concludes (assuming there is room without "wrapping") with codes, usually of 3 letters, for the **Role(s)** — always 1, frequently 2, very rarely 3 — indicated by the cited source for the person in connection with the settlement. I put the role I judge to be more important first, but this is obviously somewhat arbitrary. Doubtful roles get a "?", and the doubt may be explained in the comments that follow. Role codes used (see Sec.2.3 above for statistics, subdivided by sex) are the following:

Bur = Buried, i.e., name of deceased on epitaph
Rel = Relative, i.e., appears to be related to someone else mentioned in the same source (not used when the "relative" is only the person's patronymic — unless the father is also otherwise mentioned). This code normally appears as a secondary role; it generally appears as a primary role only if it is the *only* role assigned; all other codes (except "DK") "outrank" it.
Hon = Honorand, i.e., person honored in decree or dedication
Mov = Mover (*rhetor*), i.e., proposer of a decree
Arx = Archon, i.e., eponymous magistrate in a settlement
Pro = *Proedros*, i.e., one of a presiding committee
Epi = *Epistates*, i.e., chairman, normally of a board of *proedroi* (in this case, however, double-coded with Pro, because other kinds of *epistatai* exist)
Trs = Treasurer (*tamias*) of any kind
Mag = Magistrate of a type not specified by these codes (see commentary)
Eco = Economic, i.e., involved in some sort of economic activity (not specifically Trs), perhaps explained in commentary
Amb = Ambassador (*presbys*)
Str = *Strategos*, i.e., general
Hip = Hipparch, i.e., cavalry commander

Mil = Military officer other than those in codes here
Pri = Priest (*hiereus*) or Priestess
Mys = *Mystes*, i.e., initiate at mysteries
Ded = Dedicator of votive offering, statue, etc.
Cul = Cultic official or participant of some type not listed in these codes
Kt = Knight, cavalryman (*hippeus*)
Oth = Some classifiable role not listed here (see commentary)
DK = Don't Know, i.e., person attested, but role entirely unclear. This code appears only as the primary role, and only if no other role code appears.

The third line of a primary entry normally begins with **Cross-References** to entry numbers for the same person (in the same source citation) in *PAA*, *PA*, *APF* (page citation, since *APF* uses *PA* numbers), and/or *AO*, in this order — any that exist.[2] To obviate excessive page-flipping, the person's father's *PAA* and *PA* numbers, if any, are also supplied here.

All other types of relevant information — possible **Identifications**, possible **Relatives**, textual **Problems**, **Findspot** (if important), **Comments**, etc. — follow, usually beginning at some point within the third line. Again, the style is highly abbreviated. Thus "*IG*: ?=*PA* 4054" means that the *IG* editor says this person *may* be the same person as *PA* 4054. Relationships are abbreviated: wf, hus, fa, mo, dtr, neph, gfa, gson, ggfa, conn., etc.

Secondary Entries

Two kinds of secondary entries — 422 of them in all — are included in my database and in this Appendix. Both are considerably briefer, as a rule, than primary entries. Line-by-line arrangement of data is therefore observed only to a limited extent in secondary entries, since observing it fully would waste too much space. The *sequence* of categories of information (whenever present) is definite, however.

Some secondary entries constitute "**Problems**" or "**Variants**". Published readings or restorations of names that are problematic or rejected have entries that give cross-references to the preferred/

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[2] Not cross-referenced, because it became available too late for me to consult it systematically, is M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Vol.II: *Attica* (Oxford 1994).

accepted versions. Others are secondary entries of "**Patronymic**" type. As in *PA*, persons with patronymics generate secondary entries under their fathers' names, omitting those (e.g., fathers with names identical to their sons' names) that would merely refer the reader to the immediately adjacent record. Names of *kyrioi* and even the very rare matronymics are handled in the same way as father's names.

Since both types of secondary entries essentially refer the reader to related primary entries, most information other than the cross-reference itself is simply omitted. A few kinds of information are supplied, however, to spare the reader the necessity of consulting the primary entry for even very basic details. Thus secondary entries always include the **Residence** code, **Location**, and **Date** — all of which are usually simply copied from their respective primary entries. Note that the date assigned to a name in my database and in this Appendix is the date of the *source* cited, not (except in very rare cases, such as entries from ancient biographies) the life-span or *floruit* of the person listed. Therefore the person's father gets the *same* dating, signifying that the patronymic is also attested (or restorable) in a source of this date.[3]

A "**Variant**" secondary entry begins with the mistaken or rejected reading, which is followed by "See" and then the preferred reading, i.e., the primary entry that should be consulted. The full Name-formula of this cross-referenced primary entry is provided, including the number of the Attic phyle (if appropriate), plus the bold entry **Number** in parentheses.

A "**Patronymic**" secondary entry begins with the name of the primary person's father (or *kyrios* or, in a very few cases, mother), converted from the normal genitive case of the source's name-formula into the nominative case. This is followed by a comma, then "pat." (or "kyr." or "mat."), a colon, and "see", then the Name of the person's child or wife, i.e., the associated primary entry — again in full form, including phyle number and entry number, although within the name-formula the patronymic (or husband's name or matronymic) itself is represented only by its initial letter. Secondary entries of this type (unlike the other type) also include the father's (husband's, mother's) *PAA* and/or *PA* numbers, if any.

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[3] Cf. the quite different usage of *Agora* XV's Index, in which fathers are arbitrarily assigned dates 33 years ("one generation") earlier than their sons. All references here to *Agora* XV's dating for fathers of attested persons have been recalculated to maintain consistency in the system employed here.

General Principles of Alphabetization

Alphabetization is by the normal form of each name in the *Ionic* alphabet, even if the Name-formula itself is entered in the source's Attic or late or unusual spelling. Homonymous persons are listed in the following sequence:

Name unmodified
Name with some problem or preferred variant ("See ...")
Name with patronymic (etc.) only (if more than one, alphabetizing these by patronymics)
Name with phyle but no demotic (if more than one, sequencing in traditional tribal order, rather than alphabetically)
Name with Athenian demotic or apparently non-Athenian ethnic (treating these together because in Athenian settlements local "ethnics" seem sometimes to conceal Athenian-ness, and it is very difficult to distinguish when they might and might not)

Within each phyle/demotic/ethnic group of homonyms, those without patronymic are listed before those having both elements. Demotics/ethnics appear in alphabetical order, and homonyms with the same demotic/ethnic and different patronymics are alphabetized by patronymics. Where all extant elements so far mentioned are identical, the order is chronological. If even the dating is identical, the sequence follows numbers within source collections, and ultimately line-numbers within the same text.

An entry whose primary Name is lost or unalphabetizable (i.e., its beginning is lost and cannot be safely restored) is alphabetized by its patronymic, if one is extant or restorable, treating the father's name as if it were a primary name (in the nominative case), itself lacking a patronymic. In all sections of the Appendix, secondary entries are interspersed alphabetically among the primary entries. Problem/Variant secondary entries are alphabetized as if they consisted of the single incorrect or rejected element. The alphabetization of Patronymic-type secondary entries takes into account any attested or inferable demotic, ethnic, etc., and/or also the names of children.

Entries lacking alphabetizable name *or* patronymic, and thus categorizable only by phyle, demotic, or ethnic, and entries that are utterly fragmentary, or entirely anonymous, are listed in separate sections at the end of the database. Within these sections, such **Phyle**, **Demotic**, and **Ethnic** entries appear in alphabetical order of the spelling of these modifiers. **Fragmentary** entries appear in alphabetical order of extant or obviously restorable letters of name

or patronymic (never including the *first* letter, of course, since such entries would be alphabetized within the main list); when the only extant letters appear to belong to demotic or ethnic, these entries are put at the *end* of this section. **Anonymous** entries are in chronological order.

ALPHA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1 D A[-2or3-]δ[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*2 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
From *IG*'s maj. (not in text).
2 E A[---] of phyle Aiantis 9 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.24 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 100480 All of name now lost. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.
3 ? A[---], pat.: see Φάυλλος A[--- Ἀχαρν]εύς (**1271**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 100595
4 ? A[--- Ὀτρ]υνεύς 2 c
Lem *SLC* 10(=Segre, *Ann.* #6).3f 350-200 (ed: scr) Eco Rel
PAA 100710 Gentv. *Kyrios* (rel.?) of fem. creditor [---]η (**1493**), L2f.
5 4 Ἁβραγόρα d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10533.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 101320 Marble lekythos from Sal. None in *PA*+.
6 4 Ἀβροκόμας Κυδαθη(ναιεύς) 3 c
Sam Michel 832.43 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 101350 *PA* 1 Unique in *PA*+.
7 E Ἁβροτόνον? See Εὐτέρπη? (**551**) Kardian? Thraikian? w
Chr? 550-500
8 ? Ἀγάθαρχος, pat.: see Νικόστρατος Ἀ. Κυζικηνός (**1030**)
Pot 429-350
9 D Ἀγ⟨αθ⟩ήμερος Ἀγα⟨θ⟩ημέρου Ἴμβριος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 131.1-3 299+ (JC: gss) Bur Cul?
Maj.: ΑΟ, Ο. Nikephoros reads ζάκορος (servant, minister, deacon — Christian?). None in *PA*+.
10 D Ἀγαθόπους Ἀλεξάνδρου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10171.1-3 050-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 104760 Fa's *PAA* 119985 Epitaph from Theseion.
11 L Ἀγαθοσθένης, pat.: see [Ἀγή]σαρχος Ἀ. Ἱππ[οτομάδης] P (**17**) LHe 250-200 *PAA* 104787

12 4 'Αγασίας 'Αχαρ(νεύς) 6 c
Sam Michel 832.7, 59 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 105915 *PA* 96 Gentv., then nomtv. Aleshire's breathing; Ohly inconsistent. Habicht nts., *Agora*: Cf. 'Α. Σωσίου 'Α. *Agora* XV.225.4f, ?46f *prytanis* (155/4).

13 4 'Αγασίας, pat.: see Χαιριγένης 'Α. 'Ικαριεύς 2 (**1387**) Imb 399-300 *PAA* 105930 *PA* 97

14 ? 'Αγασικλῆς 'Αγασίππου Εὐωνυ(μεύς) 1 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 67(=*CEG* 845).3f 399-300 (*IG*) Ded Rel
PAA 105990 *PA* 104a Fa's *PAA* 106060 Fa's *PA* 104b Cf. *PA* 98 'Αγασικλ. of phyle Erechtheis *IG* i[2] 929.115 Bur (M5C). Bro='Αγασικράτης 'Α. Ε. (**15**), L3.

15 ? 'Αγασικράτης 'Αγασίππου Εὐωνυ(μεύς) 1 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 67(=*CEG* 845).3f 399-300 (*IG*) Ded Rel
PAA 106040 *PA* 101a Fa's *PAA* 106060 Fa's *PA* 104b Bro='Αγασικλῆς 'Α. Ε. (**14**), L3.

16 4 'Αγάσιππος, pat.: see 'Αγασικλῆς 'Α. (**14**); 'Αγασικράτης 'Α. Εὐωνυ(μεύς) (**15**) Imb 399-300 *PAA* 106060 *PA* 104b

17 L ['Αγή]σαρχος 'Αγαθοσθένου(ς) 'Ιππ[οτομάδης] P c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #4.6f 250-200 (ed: scr) Mov Cul
PAA 106312 Fa's *PAA* 104787 None in *PA*+ (only 10 names from deme). Patc. not in *PA*+. Moves that initiates honor Trs [of sacred funds]. ?Conn.=Hon 'Αριστοκράτη[ς---] (**183**).

18 4 'Αγνίας Ε[---] Αἰθαλί[δης] 4 c
Unc *IG* ii[2] 1952.*a*19 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 106695 *PA* 128 Fa's *PAA* 380675 Demotic from plural heading. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

19 ? 'Αγνόθεος p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.5 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. Cf. 'Α. Πειραιεύς (**20**) and homonyms at *Agora* XV.32.12; XVII.52; XIX.P20.62 and P38.4 (all 4C).

20 ? 'Αγνόθεος Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii[2] 1590a.8 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PAA 107070 Inscription from Sal. Name in rasura: no patc.? Surety — ἐγ(γυητής) — for renter on Sal, also in rasura: Διόφαντο[ς ---] (**393**), L7. *IG*: ?=*PA* 156 'Α. Π. on curse tablet (4C).

21 4 'Αγνοκράτης 'Αλαι(εύς) 2 c
Sam Michel 832.6, 58f 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 107100 *PA* 157 Gentv., then nomtv. Habicht nts.: Cf. ['Αγ]νοκ[ράτ]ης 'Α. *IG* ii[2] 791d.23ii (L3C), suggested by *PA*'s deme list.

22 4 "Αγνυλλα Χαριάδο(υ) Κηφισιῶς 1 c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 101.7-9 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 394-318) Bur Rel

PAA 107255 *PA* 160 Fa's *PA* 15313 Unique in *PA*+. Hus=Χαρίας Εὐξιθέο(υ) Κήττιος (**1401**), L4-6. Son=Χαριάδης Χ. Κ. (**1397**), L1-3. Stemma at *PA* 15312 (son).

23 L Ἄγνων, pat.: see [---Μενε]κράτης Ἄ. Φλυ[εύς] 7 (**926**) Lem 050-001 *PAA* 107395

24 ? [Ἀ]γων⟨ο⟩[τ]ιμο[ς]? See [Γε]λωνὸ[ς? Κ]ίμω[νος]? (**272**) LHe 499-375

25 L (Κορνήλιος) Ἀδείμαντος Ἀναφλύστιος 10 c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.11 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys Rel
PAA 107912 From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). Dtr=(Κορνήλια) Ἀλεξάνδρα (Κ.) Ἀ. Ἀ. (**53**), L12.

26 D [Ἁ]δήα [Κλέ]ωνος [Κο]ρινθ[ία] See Ἡδήα Κλέωνος ⟨Μ⟩υριναία (**595**) w LMy? 001+

27 L [-c.4-]τ[-c.3-]? [Ἀθ]ηναίου Ἀνακ[αιεύς] 8 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #16.12f 099-001 (ed: scr) Eco Cul
PAA 109457 Non-*Stoichedon*: letters estimated. Roles (=freeing slaves to *paramone*, at Oraia) inferred from analogy with those of Σκαμάνδριος Ὀλυμπίχου Ἀφιδναῖος (**1152**), L8-10.

28 D Ἀθηναῖος Ἡρακλείδου Σφήττιος 5 c
Lem *IG* xii(8) 26.7f 001+ (*IG*: E1C CE) Str
PAA 109715 *PA* 231 Fa's *PAA* 486072 Gentv. Στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Λῆμνον mentioned in LHe decree. *PA*: Bro=*PA* 6482 Ἡ. Ἡ. Σ.; sis=*PA* 6481 [--- Ἡ.] Σ. θυγ. Cf. Ἡρακλείδης *Agora* XV.375.25; 440.6.

29 ? Ἀθηναῒς Διονυσίου Μιλ[η]σία n w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 136.1-3 399+ (JC: scr) Bur
3 in *PA*+ (1 with single *iota*), but cf. *SEG* 39.272, Attic gravestone of Ἀθηναῒς Στύρακ[ο]ς? Μειλησ[ία] (late Hellenistic).

30 ? Ἀθηναῒς Σηστία d w
Chr *IG* ii² 10262.1(right), 2 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 110095 Gravestone from Athens (*CIG* 892), now in Brit. Mus. Plural Σήστιοι of L2 apparently refers to all 3 names of L1, including ?rels Ἀριστοδίκη (**174**) and Ἀρίσταρχος (**149**).

31 L Ἀθηνίων c
Sky *IG* xii(8) 666.2f 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Arx
Gentv.; *IG* erroneously sees reference to Dionysos as his patc. (Dionysiou), inserting parenthetical *iota*. Deffner, *EA* (1923) 163-6 and *IG* agree he is Arx on Sky, not in Athens.

32 ? Ἀθηνο[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*28 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Conze reads, not *IG*.

33 D Ἀθηνόδοτος, pat.: see [Ἡρ]ῶ Ἀ. (**619**); [Λε]οντὶς Ἀ. (**843**) Imb 199-100

34 4 Ἀθηνόδωρος p

Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.9 360-300 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Hon
Accus. *IG*: ?='Α. ὁ Ἴμβριος (**37**), but age would be a problem. ?Conn.=Mov [---]τέλης Διοδώρ[ου---] (**345**), L7.

35 L Ἀθηνόδωρος, kyr.: see Ἑλικὼ Θεογένου Λευκονοέως 4 θυγ., Ἀ. Αἰξωνέως 7 γυνή (**418**) Sal 099-075 *PAA* 111465 *PA* 266

36 4 Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἑστιαι(όθεν) 2 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*7 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 111590 *PA* 270 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*. JC: ?='Α. ὁ Ἴμβριος (**37**), if *IG*'s tentative ID (**34**) is not. Cf. also homonymous fa and son of this deme (L2C) in *Agora* XV.331.47 and *IG* ii^2 2065.60.

37 4 Ἀθηνόδωρος ὁ Ἴμβριος c
Imb Dem. 23.12; Plut. *Phok.* 18.4; Ain.Takt. 24.10; Polyain. 5.21+ 360-324 (ctx) Mil
PAA 110950 *PA* 280 *PA* makes the ID of the men(?) mentioned in these and other literary sources. If the same, he is called both τὸν Ἴμβριον Ἀθηνόδωρον (Plut.) and ὁ δὲ δὴ γένει πολίτης Ἀθηνόδωρος (Dem.). Other possible ID's (**34**, **36**) are epigraphic.

38 E Ἀθηνόδωρος Ὀαεύ[ς] 3? c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #10.2 450-400 (ed: scr) Ded Mil
PAA 111845 Deme could be Oe 6. Dedicates a *pronaos* at LHe's Kabeirion (from the spoils of piracy? —ed). ?= [---δωρος Ὀ]αθε[ν] *IG* ii^2 1378.4 Trs (399/8) in *PA*'s Ὠαιεῖς list. Cf. Ἀ. Ὄαθεν *SEG* 40.145 inscr. G, Hon Mil at Rhamnous (3C).

39 4 Αἴαντις Διομέδοντος d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10595.1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 112300 Epitaph from Sal: specifically Salaminian name? None in *PA*+ (only 3 men named Aiantides). On fa Diomedon, see *PA* 4065=*AO* 884; see also *AO* pp.157 and 180, and Thuc. 8.73.4. A Diomedon was among the generals condemned in 406 after the battle of Arginousai (Xen. *Hell.* 1.7.2). A bolder suggestion would be the identification of the fa with the Str of 412/1, associated with Leon as pro-democratic commanders with the Athenian fleet at Sam during the time of the oligarchy of the "400" — especially if, as some believe, Str Leon = Leon "the Salaminian" (**853**), victim of the 2nd set of oligarchs in 403. Perhaps the 2 generals were alike in being dwellers and/or property owners on Sal, and closely associated themselves with the island.

40 ? Αἰνέας Δημοστράτου Ἀθηναῖος c
Sam *CEG* 684.1 399-300 (ed) Bur
PAA 114082 Fa's *PAA* 319295 Epigram found on Sam.

41 ? Αἰσχητάδης (Μελιτεύς? 7) c
Sal Paus. 1.35.2 (with Polyain. 4.11.1f?) 317-304 (JC: ctx) Str

PAA 114670 *PA* 322 *APF* p.425 Gentv. Demotic is JC's guess from *APF* treatment. Chosen Str for Sal; condemned to death in connection with loss of island to Kassandros in either 317 or 304 (key passages imprecisely dated). He seems implicitly to be connected with a family of Melite (see *APF* p.425 re *PA* 11473, and *PA* 322). *PA* 322a, homonymous Ded of *IG* ii^2 4413.1 (L4C), also mentioned by *APF* in the same discussion, could just as easily be the same person as the general.

42 D [- - - Αἰ]σχιν[- - -] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 55.1 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Hon?
Very fragmentary and ambiguous.

43 ? Αἰσχίνης Διονυσοδώρο[υ] Ποτειδαεύ[ς] d
Pot *IG* ii^2 10109.1-3 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 115240 Only person called Poteidaian in *IG*'s epitaphs; fa's and son's names not found in combination in *PA*+.

44 4 [Α]ἰσχ[ρ]αῖος Παλληνεύς 10 c
LMy *IG* xii(8) 5.4f 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Epi Pro
PAA 115302 Wilhelm's restoration.

45 4 Αἰσχρύβας Εἰτε⟦αῖος⟧ 5 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*17 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 115545 *PA* 417* Ending of demotic erased, apparently to make it belatedly consistent with other demotics in the inscription. *PA* errs on demotic: Ἑρμ(μειος), and even the name itself is out of order (it belongs between *PA* 392 and 393). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

46 ? Αἴσχρων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*31 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. homonyms of appropriate date: *PA* 395a, 396, 412a.

47 L Αἴσχρων Αἰξωνεύς 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1228.19, 22-25 150-100 (JC; cf. *IG*: 116/5) Hon Cul Eco
PAA 115675 *PA* 402 Nomtv., then accus. Cf. *PA* 398 and 399 name Ais. and patc. Ais. of phyle Kekropis; 401 and 6787 name Ais. and patc. Ais. of Aixone (all 4C).

48 ? Αἰσχύλος d
LHe *IG* ii^2 569.4, 9 307/6-301/0 (Fredrich) Mag
PAA 116035 Gentv., then case unclear. Only extant name in fragmentary Attic inscription mentioning *demos* of LHe. Billows, *Antig.* 365: ?=Aischylos of Rhodos, Antigonos' governor (c.310-7) of Lem (and Imb?), but could also be an Athenian officer.

49 ? Αἰσχύλος Ἐρχι[ε]ύ[ς] 2 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1672.276 329/8 (arx) Cul Eco
PAA 116145 *PA* 443 *AO* 67 Demotic from autopsy. *AO* p.393f calls him ?Str. Cf. *PA* 436-436f homonyms. Brings 1st-fruits to

Eleusis, with Str Σθένυλλος Εἰρεσίδης (**1145**) and Σώπ[ατρο]ς Ἀλωπεκῆ⟨θ⟩εν (**1202**).

50 4 Ἀκο(υ)σίας, pat.: see Σμῖκρος Ἀ. (**1157**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 117075

51 L [Ἀ]κ[ρ]όπολις Ἀπολλωνίου ἐκ Κηφεισιέων 1, γυνὴ δὲ Κότυος Κηφεισιέ⟨ω⟩ς 1 p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 103.1-5 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 117160 Fa's *PAA* 148180 Kyr's *PAA* 583218 Maj. would suggest underdotted *rho*, and has *omicron* where *IG*'s text brackets a "restored" *omega* in hus's demotic. Metic family, or just fem. form of fa's demotic? For fa, cf. homonymous *PA* 1536-8, and cf. very late men of his name and deme in *Agora* XV index.

52 D Ἀλεξάνδρα Στύ[ρα]κος Ἀλεχανδρεῖτ[ι]ς n w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14bII.2f 001+ (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
?Hus=Καλλισθένης Φίλωνος Μαραθώνιος (**745**), L1f. Alex. joins Kall. in freeing [θρ]επτάς at Kabeirion. Ethnic: cf. Μαγνησία Ζωτίχου Ἀλεξανδρῖτις (**896**), also at LHe.

53 D (Κορνηλία) Ἀλεξάνδρα (Κορ.) Ἀδειμάντου Ἀναφλυστίου 10 θυγ. c w
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.12 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys Rel
PAA 117637 Fa's *PAA* 107912 From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). Fa (**25**), L11.

54 D [Ἀ]λέξανδρος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.7 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
Preceding names Roman.

55 D [Ἀ]λέξανδρος, pat.: see (Αὐρ.) Ἀπολλό[δωρος] Ἀ]λ. (**125**) Imb 001+

55A X Ἀλέξανδρος (kyr.) See Μαγνησία Ζωτίχου Ἀλεξανδρῖτις (**896**) LHe 199+

56 L Ἀλέχανδρος, kyr.: see Θάλλουσα Ἀ. Κολλυτέως 2 γυνή (**624**) Imb 001++ *PAA* 118846

57 D Ἀλέξανδρος, pat.: see Ἀγαθόπους Ἀ. Σαλαμίνιος (**10**) Sal 050-001 *PAA* 119985

58 D Ἀλέξανδρος, pat.: see Ἐπαφρόδιτος Ἀ. Σαλαμίνιος (**437**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 119987

59 ? Ἀλεξίμαχος, pat.: see Σωκλῆς Ἀ. Εὐωνυμεύς 1 (**1193**) Sal 320 *PAA* 120345 *PA* 540

60 4 Ἀλκίας Πρασι(εύς) 3 c
Sam Michel 832.6, 59 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 121475 *PA* 589 Gentv., then nomtv. Aleshire (cf. Michel and Ohly) says spelled Ἀλχίας in L6.

61 ? Ἀλκίμαχος, pat.: see Εὐαλκίδης Ἀ. ἐκ Κεραμ(έων) 5 (**479**) Sal 320 *PAA* 121960 *PA* 618

62 D [Ἄλ]κιππος? See [Νί]κιππος (**1010**)
Imb 001+

63 4 ⟨'Α⟩λ⟨φ⟩ίνος, pat.: see Διονύσιος ⟨'Α.⟩ (Κολλυτεύς 2?) (**365**) Sam 346-338 *PAA* 122745 *PA* 660a

64 E Αμε[---] of phyle Aiantis 9 c
LMy *IG* i[3] 1164.23 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 122930 All of name now lost. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

65 ? 'Αμεινίας Φείδωνος Αἰξωνεύς 7 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.9f 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 123192 Accus. 1 of 5 *hieromnemones*; colleagues **74, 276, 463, 935**. JC: ?Fa=Φ. A. creditor on *horos* from Thorikos for property valued at a talent (*IG* ii[2] 2747.6f, N.D. in *IG* but cited as 4C at *PA* 14180); also cf. *Agora* XIX.P33.7 Φ. Λυσίου A. (c.330/1).

66 L 'Αμεινίας 'Ιεροκ[λ]έους 'Ανακ⟨αι⟩εύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii[2] 5643.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 123195 Fa's *PAA* 532245 Epitaph seen on Sal, but text of *CIG* 586 from copy; demotic has *eta.* Cf. 'Ιεροκ[λ- demotic lost] of phyle Hippothontis *Agora* XV.493.58 *bouleutes* (343/2).

67 4 'Αμεινίας pat.: see Πυθόδωος 'Α. Αὐρίδης 8 (**1124**) Sky 399-300 *PAA* 123198

68 D 'Αμεινοκ[---], kyr.? see Μυρρίνη 'Αμεινοκ[---] γυνή (**970**) LHe 275-225

69 D [---]τη? ('Αμεινοκ[---]?) θυγ. p w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #12.2f? 275-225 (ed: scr) Rel?
Fragmentary and ambiguous phrase that includes [---]ιτῆς θυγατρὸ[ς ---] with line-lengths unknown: fully preserved gentv. fem. article (as ed infers)? or partly preserved gentv. fem. name? Ameinok[—] could be fa of [—]te (or fa of a dtr whose name is entirely lost) if he is hus of Myrrine (**970**) of L1 (the word *gyne* is extant, L2, in another fragmentary context). A dedication to [Aphrodi?]te Thra[ix?] may be a vow for the dtr.

70 4 'Αμεινοκλείδης, pat.: see Εὔθιππο[ς] 'Α. 'Αχαρνεύς 6 (**494**) LMy 399-300 *PAA* 123435 *PA* 693

71 4 ['Α]μεινοκλῆς Λυσ[---]ου Παλληνεύς 10 c
Sal *IG* ii[2] 7107.1-3 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 123505 *PA* 699 Fa's *PAA* 612090 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*: Patc. editorially restored as Lys[ani]ou (Pittakis) and Lys[ipp]ou (Rangabé). Since the text has no indication of letter count, other restorations may be suggested, which might lead to possible conns. Cf. Λυσίδημος Λυσιθέου Π. *Agora* XV.43.220f *bouleutes* (335/4) or Λυσιφάνης 'Ισο[---Π.] *ib.* 78.32 *bouleutes* (273/2); see also Λυσ[---] Διοκλέους Π. *Agora* XVII.273 (=*IG* ii[2] 7125) Bur (1C). ?Wf= Φιλ[..]τα[---] Λε[---]? (**1282**), L4f.

72 D 'Αμι[ν]ίας, pat.: see [---Τ]ελεσίδημος 'Α. 'Εκαλῆθεν P (**1225**) Lem 166-134 *PAA* 123805 *PA* 716

73 E Ἄνπυκίδες of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LHe *IG* i[3] 1477.3 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 124438 Attic spelling. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

74 ? Ἀμύ[νανδρ]ος Θουκλέους Αἰξω[ν]εύς 7 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.8f 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 124532 Fa's *PAA* 508122 Accus. 1 of 5 *hieromnemones*; colleagues **65, 276, 463, 935**. ?= or ?Rel=[– – –] Theokleous Aix. *IG* ii[2] 143.9 (383/2), who appears in *PA*'s deme list as -οκλης Αἰξων(εύς). Cf. also *PA* 6934 Θεοκλῆς (whose patc. begins with a letter having a left vertical stroke) of phyle Kekropis *IG* ii[2] 2385.69 (M4C) and Ἀμυ[– – –] of Kekropis *Agora* XV.62.207 (303/2).

75 X Ἀμύν[τ]ας, pat.: see Ξενόκριτος Ἀ. (Μακεδόνιος) (**1048**) Pot 359-357

76 ? Ἀμφαινέτη d w
Sal *IG* ii[2] 10649.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 124960 Accus. Epitaph found on Sal; text from copy, only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. None in *PA*+.

77 ? Ἀμφικλῆς d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*36 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. Ἀ. Αἰγιλιεύ(ς) (**78**).

78 4 Ἀμφικλῆς Αἰγιλιεύ(ς) 10 c
Sam Michel 832.8, 60 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 125535 *PA* 764 Gentv., then nomtv. Cf. Ἀ. (**77**); Ἀμφικ[– – –] *IG* ii[2] 1607.60 trierarch (370s: see *APF* p.25); [– – –]ΑΜΦΙΚΛ[– – –] *SEG* 13.53.9 (new frag. + *IG* ii[2] 2220) ephebic list (L3C).

79 D Ἀμφικλῆς Πολυνίκου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii[2] 10172.1-3 125-100 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 125600 Fa's *PAA* 780445 Epitaph from Peiraieus.

80 ? [Ἀ]μφιχάρης Ἑλίξο(υ) [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii[2] 1952.*b*35 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 126235 *PA* 796 *APF* p.26 Fa's *PAA* 386535 Fa's *PA* 4666 Demotic from restored plural heading. *PA*, *IG*, *APF*: =[Ἀμφιχ]άρης Ἑ. Ἀ. *IG* ii[2] 1930.8 *diadikasia* participant (383/2). *APF* p.175 calls fa's name "very rare".

81 D Ἀναξήνωρ, kyr.: see Ὀνασὼ Τιμοκράτου Σαλαμινία, Ἀ. Οἰναίου 9 or P γυνή (**1064**) Sal 199-100 *PAA* 126765

82 ? Ἀναξικράτης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*32 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. *PA* 805a, patc. of *PA* 7821a [Κα]λλίας Ἀ. [– – –] *IG* ii[2] 3824 statue base (400-350).

83 4 [Ἀν]άχαρσις [Ἀρχ]αγάθου [Ἀγ]νούσιος 5 c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 31.1-3 399-300 (ed; cf. Kokula: 340-30) Bur
PAA 127165 Fa's *PAA* 208165 Grave stele with amphora relief,

now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum; see Kokula, *Marmorlutrophoren* 204 no.O 49, cited at *SEG* 35.244. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 2291ff (referring only to other bearers of fa's name, regardless of demotics). One of the names suggested by Fredrich for comparison with Anacharsis is no longer relevant because of a subsequently-discovered mismatch in demotics; Kokula shows that *PA* 821 (M4C) and his son Prokleides (*PA* 12191) are now known to be of the deme Aphidna (see *AO* p.286 for sources, including unpub. *Agora* I 7495, which seems to be treated as decisive).

84 L [- - -]σόδωρος Ἀνδρ[- - - demotic lost?] c
LMy Accame, *Ann.* #3.18 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 127310 Accus. Among *theoroi* (total number uncertain) from LMy honored by initiates at LHe.

85 ? Ἀνδρίας? See Μανδρίας? (**900**)
Imb 350-250

86 4 (Ἀνδρίας?), pat.: see Ἀνδροκλῆς (Ἀ.?) Ἁλαε(ύς) 2 (**90**)
Sam 365-322 ?*PA* 840

87 E Ἀνδρίσκος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.16 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 127835 *PA* 842 Name in now-lost portion of list in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

88 L Ἀνδροκλείδης Εὐφράνορος Στειριεύς 3 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #9.2-4 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon?
PAA 127977 Fa's *PAA* 450835 Accus., demotic ends -ιέ{ι}α. On ?statue base, with ὁ δῆμος above; ed unsure whether *demos* of Attike or LHe.

89 L Ἀνδροκλείδης, pat.: see Ἀρχίας Ἀ. Φηγαιεύς 2 (**237**)
LHe 299+ *PAA* 127980

90 4 Ἀνδροκλῆς (Ἀνδρίου?) Ἁλαε(ύς) 2 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.2 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro
PAA 128107 ?Fa's *PA* 840 Dunst: ?=*PAA* 128107=*PA* 857=*AO* 145 [- - - Ἀν]δροκλῆς Ἀνδρίου Ἁλαιεύς *IG* ii² 2824.4, *epimeletes* of 340/39 (*IG*) or 313/2 (Wilhelm). *SEG* 36.239 improves *IG* ii² 2824 and says it is a dedication of Aigeis of 313/2; see also discussions of *APF* p.535 and *AO* p.339. Acceptance of this ID is the basis of both the patc. and phyle here. Crosby, *Hesperia* 19 (1960) 259 sees this Androkles as a possible restoration for [- - -]λῆς Ἁ[λ]αιε in her #18.3, relating to Laureion mine leases (346/5?), but finds other possibilities easier. Her #30.3, possibly relating to sale of property (M-L4C), also mentions an Androkles.

91 L Ἀνδροκλῆς Κλεοφήμου Θορίκιος 5 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 51.14f 250-166 (JC: com; eds differ) Mag
PAA 128190 *PA* 861 Fa's *PA* 8636 Office is *praktor* (1 of 3). See **1503** on dating problems.

92 4 Ἀνδρόκριτος Διοδώρου Ἀφιδναῖος 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.7-9 399-300 (*PA*) Bur Rel
PAA 128375 *PA* 875 Fa's *PA* 3937 Family gravestone; stemma at *PA* 15227 (fa-in-law). Wf=Χαίρυλλα Χαιριγένου Ἰκαριέως (**1390**), L10-12; son=Χαιριγένης [Ἀ]φ. Ἀ. (**1386**), L13-15; fa-in-law=X. Ἀγασίου Ἰ. (**1387**), L1-3; mo-in-law=Τιμοστράτη Κτησίου Παιανιέως (**1250**), L4-6; later ?rel=[..]σικρος [---]ους (**1531**), L16f. *IG*: ?Fa=*PA* 3965* (deme wrong) Διόδωρος Ἀφιδ(ναῖος) (**351**). *PA*: ?Cf. *PA* 3938 Δ. Διοδωρίδου Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 1927.131f *diaitetes* (c.325). *APF* p.32 mentions a Δ. Ἀνδροκλέους Ἀ. (192/1).

93 D Ἀ(ν)δρονίκη Ἀρτεμιδω[ρου?] d w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 120.1(f?) 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel?
The fem. name does not appear in *PA*+. Case of 2nd name (**217**), L2, unknown. If gentv., it is Andronike's fa or hus (secondary entry). If nomtv., it could be her bro, also Bur (primary entry). The former seems more likely.

94 L Ἀνδρόνικ[ος] c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1227.1 131/0 (arx) Arx
PAA 128655 Gentv. in dating formula: eponymous Arx on Sal, in same year as Epikles ἐν ἄστει.

95 D Ἀνδρος{σ}θένης, pat.: see Εὐφροσύνη Ἀ. Σαλαμινία (**561**) Sal 001++ *PAA* 129080

96 4 Ἄνδρων [patc. lost] Λευκονο[εύς] 4 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*17 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 129300 *PA* 925 Underdotted letter from autopsy; demotic from plural heading. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

97 ? Ἀνδρ⟨ω⟩νίδης Ἀνδρ⟨ω⟩νίδου Εὐ[---] Σαλαμίνιος p
Sal *IG* ii^2 10173.1-4 425+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 129405 Found on Sal, but *IG*'s text based on copy; *omicrons* where *omegas* should be, but *eta* and gentv. in -ου prevent automatically classifying it as a 5C inscription. No discussion of L3's Εὐ[---]. Demotic coupled with *Salaminios*? If so, only possible demes are Euonymon and Eupyridai. Or gfa's name? 1 in *PA*+.

98 D Ἄν⟨θ⟩ιμος; Ἀνισ[---] See ⟨Ὀ⟩ν⟨ή⟩σιμος (**1066**) Sal 001++

99 ? Ἀντιγένης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*23 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

100 ? Ἀντιγένης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*24 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

101 4 Ἀντιγένης Ῥαμν(ούσιος) 9 c
Sam Michel 832.63 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 132050 *PA* 1000 Cf. Χαιρέστρατος Ἀ. of phyle Aiantis *Agora* XV.62.273 (c.303/2).

102 E Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος p
Sal Hdt.8.11.3 480 (ctx) Mil
Deserted Persians, given *kleros* on Sal; not specifically said made citizen.

103 L Ἀντίδωρος, pat.: see Καλλιστὼ Ἀ. Τειθρασίου 2 (**753**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 132935

104 4 [Ἀν]τικλῆς Φανοκλέου[ς demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 46.2 350-314 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: before 318) Mov
PAA 133265 *PA* 1060a Fa's *PA* 14044a Introduces klerouchic decree. ?Conn.=Hon Φαίνιππος [Κ]αλλιτέλους Ἀφιδνα[ῖος] (**1265**), L2f, 6f.

105 4 Ἀντικλῆς Καλλίου Εὐωνυμεύς 1 c
Sam Aischines 1.53 and Sch. 365-345 (ctx) Oth
PAA 133345 *PA* 1065 Fa's *PAA* 554740 Fa's *PA* 7864 Ais. describes him as a lover of Timarchos, unavailable as a witness in 345 because ἄπεστιν ἐν Σάμῳ μετὰ τῶν κληρούχων. ?Fa=*PA* 7864=*AO* 1508 *IG* i^{3} 375.26 *Hellenotamias* (L5C); although the same source is cited at *AO* p.167, the ID is only implicit. ?Bro=[– – –]ος Καλλίο(υ) (**738**). ?Neph (son of a different bro?)=[Κ]αλλίας [Κ]αλλίου [Εὐ]ωνυμεύς Sundwall p.103=*IG* ii^{2} 4442.9-11 (L4C). See Schweigert, *AJPh* 61 (1940) 194-198; Cargill, *Naval Hist.* 35; and especially *AskAth* p.140 re K. K. E.

106 4 (Ἀντικλῆς Μελιτεύς?), pat.?: see [......]λεμ[– – –]? (**1507**), if restored as [Νεοπτό]λεμ[ος] Sam 365-322 *PAA* 133395? *PA* 1068?

107 ? Ἀντικράτης Πρασιεύς 3 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.5 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Epi Cul
PAA 133732 Decree of initiates. Anomalously, phyle same as other Pro Ἀριστείδης Παιανιε[ύς] (**151**), L6. In the name of *PA* 1078 [Ἀντ]ι[κρ]άτης Κρατίν[ου ....]ι[εύς] (E3C), the demotic is restored by Ferguson as [Ἀζην]ι[εύς], a restoration accepted in the text of *IG* ii^{2} 644.3f (where the name Ἀ[ν]τι[κρ]άτης is seen as being better preserved). Obviously, [Πρασ]ι[εύς] fits the space equally well, but there is no real reason to prefer it.

108 E Ἀντίλοχος Λήμνιος p
Lem D.L. 2.46 450-399 (pro) Oth
Described as a severe critic of Sokrates, citing Aristot. *Poetics* 3.

109 ? [Ἀντί]οχος, pat.: see [Ἐ]πιχάρης [Ἀ.] (**457**)
Pot? 399-300

110 4 Ἀντίρρητος Ἀναγυ(ράσιος) 1 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*5 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 136725 *PA* 1181 Spelling with double *rho* unique in *PA*+ (another has one *rho*). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx

named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

111 ? Ἀντιφάνης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*30 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. Θεμίστιος Ἀ. Λαμπτρεύς (**633**) on Imb (3-2C).

112 4 Ἀντιφάνης, pat.: see Ἀντιφάτης Ἀ. Εὐ[ω]νυ[μεύς] 1 (**114**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 137430

113 L Ἀντιφάνης, pat.: see Θεμίστιος Ἀ. Λαμπτρεύς 1 (**633**) Imb 250-166 *PAA* 137510 *PA* 1238

114 4 Ἀντιφάτης Ἀντιφάνους Εὐ[ω]νυ[μεύς] 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6159.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 137795 Fa's *PAA* 137430 Kirchner: Conn.=Antiphanes E. *IG* ii^2 240(=Tod 181=*SEG* 31.77=Schwenk no.7).6 Epi Pro (337/6). *PA* says that a descendant of this Antiphanes is the homonymous *PA* 1233 of *IG* ii^2 1299.89 (3C). *Agora, AO*: =*AO* 237 Antiphates E. *Agora* XV.42.11 *bouleutes* (c.336/5) and fa=Epi Pro Antiphanes. *AO* p.365 puts the patc. in parentheses (discussing also the uncertainty of the inscription's date), although further citations for the fa, Antiphanes, are added on pp.347 and 393. JC: Cf. also Ἀντιφάνης Ἀντιφ[– – –] *Agora* XVII.709 Bur (M4C).

115 ? Ἀντίφ[ιλος] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.7 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

116 4 Ἀντιφῶν (Ἀντιφῶντος) Ἐλευσί(νιος) 8 c
Sam Michel 832.7, 60 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 138500 *PA* 1293 Fa's *PA* 1292 Gentv., then nomtv.; patc. from *PA*. *PA*: Bro=*PA* 14708 Φιλόξενος Ἀ. Ἐ. (stemma there). ?Neph=*PA* 1294=*AO* 248 Ἀ., son of *PA* 8722 Κόροιβος, another bro.

117 4 Ἀξίοχος? c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.1? 360-300 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Arx?
Gentv. in dating formula (Arx on Imb, not in Athens), if actually present at all: Nikephoros claimed to see the line in 1880, Foucart in 1883 did not. Cf. Ἀξίοχος (**118**).

118 ? Ἀξίοχος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*35 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. Ἀξίοχος (**117**).

119 L Ἀπα[τ]ούριος Φι[λίππ]ου Μ[αρα]θ[ώ]ν[ι]ος 9 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*28f 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Amb
PAA 140045 *PA* 1333 Fa's *PA* 14404 1 of 5 *presbeis* from LMy to Athens; colleagues **319, 957, 1259, 1462**.

120 ? [Ἀπή]μων Νικοκλέους Ἀναγυράσιος 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 3830(=*CEG* 767).2 342-325 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: M4C) Ded Rel

PAA 140570 *PA* 1349 *APF* p.409 Fa's *PA* 10898 Dedicated monument on Sal to fa N. Ἡγησίππου Ἀ. (**1017**), L1, whose name supplies patc. and demotic.

121 D Ἀπολλ[---]? d
Sal *SEG* 2.51.4 299-200 (*SEG*: scr) Cul
PAA 141115 Wilhelm's emendation (doubtful); original has ΑΠΟΛΛ. Lead curse tablet found on Sal. ?Curser ([--- κ]αταδηννύω, L6-8). Cursed=Ξενόφιλος [Ἐ]ρχιε[ύς] (**1051**), L1, 3.

122 D Ἀπολλόδωρος, pat.: see [Θε]ο[κ]λέα? Ἀ. (**657**)
Imb 199-100

123 D Ἀπολ[λόδωρος---]? d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #2.1f 001+ (ed: scr) Cul
[Pri] of Apollon; assumed to be a separate person from preceding name in same line, [---Μά?]λλιος (**899**).

124 L Ἀπολλόδ[ωρος patc. *or* demotic lost, probably not both] p
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14dII.3 001+ (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
PAA 142307 Gentv. *Kyrios* of (?wf) Κλεοπάτ[ρα patc. lost Μα]ραθωνίου (**785**), L1f. Joins Kleopatra in freeing (slaves at Kabeirion). Cf. *PA* 1431 Ἀ. Κροίσου Μαραθώνιος Ded (c.124/3).

125 D (Αὐρ.) Ἀπολλό[δωρος Ἀ]λεξάνδρου d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 80.3-7 001+ (JC: pro; *IG*: N.D.) Ded
Gives offering to Τύχῃ Δημοκρατείᾳ .

126 ? Ἀπολλόδωρος Λήμνιος p
Lem Aristot. *Pol.* 1258b.39f 450-322 (pro) Oth
Writer on agriculture, also mentioned by Varro and Pliny.

127 ? Ἀπολλόθεμις, pat.: see Μαιάνδριος Ἀ. Κυζικηνός (**898**)
Sam 450+

128 L Ἀπολλωνία Μοιρα⟨γ⟩ένους ἐξημαχιδῶν 10 p w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 674.1-3 001+ (JC: scr) Bur
PAA 144890 Fa's *PAA* 658322 Single *lambda* in *ed. prin.* Patc.'s *gamma* cut as *xi.* Demotic=ἐκ Σημαχιδῶν. Cf. Ἀπολλώνιος of phyle Antiochis *Agora* XV.447.14 (c.205 or later).

129 ? Ἀπολ[λωνίδης Χά]ροπος Π[ε]ι[ρ]αι[εύς] 8 c
Lem? *IG* ii² 492.[?4,] 25f 307/6-301/0 (Fredrich: pro; cf. *IG* ii²: 302) Hon Amb
PAA 145460 Accus. full name formula in L25f, nomtv. name only restored (in *IG* ii² text, not by Fredrich) in L4. Goodwill toward the Athenian *demos* is partially preserved in both L26f and L4f; toward the "Lemnians" is restorable (Fredrich restores it) only in L5(f), in connection with the totally restored name: [---περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸ]ν Ἀθηναίων κα[ὶ] Λ.Μ. Ι[---] in *IG* ii². Date reflects period of joint rule of Antigonos and Demetrios (plural "kings" in L17f, 20, 21f), to whom Apollonides is Amb. ?Conn.=Μον [--- Στρατοκλῆς

Εὐθυδήμ]ου Διομεε[ύς – – –], L3. Cf. Χάροψ, fa of Ἀπολλόδωρος and Φιλησία *Agora* XVII.712 (4C).

130 ? Ἀπολλωνίδης (L2) Διονυσοδώρου (L1) Χερρονησίτης (L3) d
Chr *IG* ii² 10505(=i² 1054).1-3 399-350 (*IG* ii²: scr) Bur
PAA 145700 Gravestone in Peiraieus Mus. Patc. belatedly added above name and ethnic, in other hand. Traill points out text duplication.

131 D Ἀπολλώνιος, pat.: see [Θεοδώ]ρα? Ἀ. (**647**)
Imb 199-100

132 D [Ἀπολλώνιος], pat.: see [Κτησίκλεια Ἀ. Ἀχαρνέως] 6 (**818**) Sal? 025-001 *PAA* 147620 *PA* 1523

133 L Ἀπολλώνιος, pat.: see Νίκιππος Ἀ. Ἐλαιούσιος P (**1011**)
Sky 001++ *PAA* 147775

[**134** Deleted from revised sequence.]

135 L Ἀπολλώνιος, pat.: see [Ἀ]κ[ρ]όπολις Ἀ. ἐκ Κηφεισιέων 1, γυνὴ δὲ Κότυος Κηφεισιέ⟨ω⟩ς 1 (**51**) Imb 299+ *PAA* 148180

136 X Ἀπολλώνιος, kyr.: see [– – –]νὶς [– – –] Κορπείλου θυγ., γυνὴ δὲ Ἀ. Κορπίλου (**1469**) Imb 299+

137 X Ἀπολώνιος, pat.: see Θεόξενος Ἀ. Μαρωνίτης (**667**)
Imb 001+

138 D Ἀπολλώνιος, pat.: see [Δι]ονυσία Ἀ. Σαλαμ[ινία] (**358**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 150150

139 D Ἀπολλώνιος, pat.: see Διονύσιος Ἀ. Σαλαμείνιος (**376**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 150140

140 D [Ἀπ]ολλώ{λ}νιος [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου [Σαλ]αμείνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10174.1-3 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 150135 Epitaph from Peiraieus. Rels' names below; damage makes it unclear how many: see Ἰουλία (**703**), L(?4-)6. ?Rel=Ἀ. Ἀρτέμωνος Σ. (**141**).

141 D Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρτέμωνος Σαλαμείνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10175.1-3 025-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 150145 Fa's *PAA* 207830 Epitaph from Kerameikos. ?Rel=[Ἀπ]ο. [Ἀπ]ο. [Σαλ]α. (**140**).

141A ? Αρ[– – –], pat.: see Βακχὶς Α. (**260A**)
Sal 399+

142 L Ἀργῆος, pat.: see Ἀριστόδημος Ἀ ⟨Τ⟩ρικο{ι}ρύσιος 9 (**173**) Sal 199+ *PAA* 160620

143 D [– – –]γίου Ἀρεοπ[αγείτου *vacat*?] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 64.6 001+ (*IG*: scr) Mag
Either element might be name *or* office. L5f have [– – – στρ]ατηγοῦντος Πομ[πε]ίου Λη[ναίου?] (**1110**) and an unspecified number of lost letters preceding this, which Fredrich treats as the

end of the text. If 'Αρεοπ[άγειτος] is a name or patc. (which is how this entry is treated), it is a name unattested in *PA*+. If a patc., unless the singular participle *strategountos* governs 2 or more names, the office of his son -gios is not Str (and the omission of the article between the 2 gentv. names is surprising). Or perhaps Areop- (name, not patc.) holds some office whose gentv. ends in -gios. Or someone called -gios is described as an Areopagite, i.e., member of the Council — but if so, what is the meaning of that in an inscription from Imb?

144 4 'Αρίστανδρος, pat.: see Χαιρεστράτη 'Α. Προβαλισίου 3 (**1380**) Sal 350-300 *PAA* 163970

145 ? 'Αρίσταρχος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*39 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

146 4 'Αρίσταρχος 'Αγνού(σιος) 5 c
Sam Michel 832.7, 59 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 164235 *PA* 1659 Gentv., then nomtv. ?Conn. (fairly strong, if demotic correctly restored) =[---]αρχος 'Αρισ[--- 'Αγν.?] *Agora* XV.105.2 (3C). Cf. also *PA* 1656 'Α. Μόσχου, friend of Demosthenes (4C).

147 L 'Αρίστατχος Γ[εμέλ]λου Πειραι[εύς ---] 8 c
LMy *SEG* 28.718."10f" (really 8f) 001++ (Bugh: ctx; cf. ed: 3C CE) Str Mag
PAA 164410 Fa's *PAA* 273305 Multiple offices: Str and *agonothetes* of Hephaistians(?) and *epimeletes* of gymnasiarchy (+?). Traill: ?Gfa=*PAA* 164405 Γ. 'Α. Π. *IG* ii² 2099.23 ephebe. Robert, *BÉ* (1974) 430 says *fa*=ephebe (c.162/5): same person?

148 D 'Αρίσταρχος, pat.: see 'Ηρόφιλος 'Α. Σαλαμίνειος (**617**) Sal 299+ *PAA* 164490

149 ? 'Αρίσταρχος Σήστιος d
Chr *IG* ii² 10262.1(center), 2 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 164500 Gravestone from Athens (*CIG* 892), now in Brit. Mus. Plural Σήστιοι of L2 apparently refers to all 3 names of L1, including ?rels 'Αριστοδίκη (**174**) and 'Αθηναΐς (**30**).

150 L 'Αρ[ισ]τείδης c
Lem? Accame, *Ann.* #3.4 250-200 (ed: scr) Arx
PAA 164957 Gentv. in dating formula. Ed says Arx in LHe in previous year, whereas Δημήτριος (**312**) of L1 is current year's Arx in LHe. Context makes it just as (or more) likely that Aristeides is the current(?) Arx in LMy: his name dates the sending of *theoroi* from the *demos* of Athenians in LMy.

151 ? 'Αριστείδης Παιανιε[ύς] 3 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.6 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 165430 Decree of initiates. Anomalously, phyle same as Epi Pro 'Αντικράτης Πρασιεύς (**107**), L5.

152 D ['Αρ]ίστη Δημοτίμου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.12 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
None in *PA*+. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).
153 D 'Αριστίων, pat.: see [Κα]λλὶς 'Α. (**743**)
Imb 199-100
153A ? 'Αριστίων, pat.: see Τίμαιος 'Α. 'Επιδαύριος (**1234A**)
Sal 399+ *PAA* 166820
154 D 'Αριστίων [..]πίσου d
Sal *IG* ii² 10768.1f 099-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 166405 Gravestone from Sal.
155 ? 'Αριστίων Σάμιος? d
Sam Harpokration s.v. 350-330 (pro) Oth
APF p.138 *APF*: "Demosthenes' diplomatic agent". Aischines 3.162 calls him τις 'Αριστίων Πλαταϊκός, ὁ τοῦ 'Αριστοβούλου τοῦ φαρμακοπώλου υἱός.
156 4 ['Αρ?]ιστο[---] See [..]ιστο[-14-15-] Μηθυμναῖος (**1474**) LHe 350-300
157 ? 'Αριστο[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*22 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Conze reads, not *IG*.
158 D 'Αριστο[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*9 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Tenedian? (L*a*6).
159 ? ['Αρισ]το[.]ε[......12......] 'Αν[α]γυρ(άσιος) 1 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.13 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 167025 *PA* deme-list only ?=*PA* 1997 'Αριστομένης 'Αναγ. [Dem.] 42.28 orator (c.330). ?=Birth fa of Φιλῖνος Διοφάντου Πειραιεύς, γόνωι δὲ 'Αριστομένου (**1296**) Bur on Sal (E3C).
160 4 'Αριστόβουλος Νεοκλέους Γαργήττιος 2 or P c
Sam D.L. 10.3 340-300 (pro) Rel
PAA 167700 *PA* 1762 Fa's *PA* 10640 Sekunda, *ABSA* 87 (1992) 315 cites *Souda*, s.v., calling him Aristodemos. Fa=N. (Γ.) (**988**). Bros=Philosopher 'Επίκουρος Ν. Γ. (**446**), Νεοκλῆς (**989**), Χαιρέδημος (**1374**); mo=Χαιρεστράτη (**1379**).
161 E ('Αριστογείτων) pat.: see Θο(ύ)τι⟨μ⟩[ος] ('Α. 'Αφιδναῖος 9) (**670**) LMy 431-400 *PAA* 168185 *PA* 1777
162 E (Unnamed) 'Αριστογείτωνος 'Αφιδναίου 9 θυγ. c w
Lem Plut. *Aristeides* 27.4 (implied) 510-450 (pro) DK
APF p.474 Fa's *PAA* 168195 Fa's *PA* 1777 *APF* (transposing *PA* nos. of Harmodios and Aristogeiton): Must have been klerouch's wf, since her unmarried dtr (**163**) lived on Lem until brought back to Athens.
163 E (Unnamed) 'Αριστογείτωνος 'Αφιδναίου 9 θυγατριδῆ c w
Lem Plut. *Aristeides* 27.4 499-425 (pro) DK

APF p.473 *APF* transposes *PA* nos. of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Plutarch says she "was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, [but the Attic *demos*] brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry" [Loeb trans.]. Cf. her mo (**162**).

164 ? Ἀριστογείτων Ἀρίστου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10176.1-3 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 168280 Fa's *PAA* 174620 Epitaph found in Peiraieus.

165 4 Ἀριστογένης, pat.: see Ἐξήκεστ[ος] Ἀ. Ἀθμ[ο]νεύς 7 (**429**) Imb 314-307 *PAA* 168365 *PA* 1785

166 L Ἀριστογένης Χαροπ[ίδου] Μυρινούσιο[ς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 109.3f 199-100 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 168432 Fa=X. Φρύνων[ος] M. (**1416**), L1f. ?Wf/mo=Τελεσίππη Τελεσί[ππου] Κηφισιέω[ς] (**1226**), L5f. ?Ancestor=*PA* 15532 Χαροπίδες of phyle Pandionis *IG* i^2 943.78 casualty list (M5C).

167 ? Ἀριστόδημος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 86.4 (JC: 403++; cf. *IG*: N.D.) DK
Mys? Only extant name in frag.; others in L1-3 (**1497, 1518, 1520**) just ends. Cf. Ἀ. (**168**) ?Arx on ?Imb (4C).

168 ? Ἀριστόδημος c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.1 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Arx?
PAA 168585 *PA* 1798 *AO* 386 Gentv. Fredrich restores [Βουλευταὶ οἱ ἐπὶ] Ἀριστοδήμο [ἄρχοντος σ]τεφανωθέντες κτλ. *PA*, *AO*, and *PAA* all accept the restoration and identify him with the Attic Arx of 352/1, otherwise attested (citations at *AO* p.309). But the office need not be correct and, if correct, it need not be Attic (as opposed to Imbrian). Cf. Ἀ. (**167**) ?Mys on Imb (4C?).

169 4 Ἀριστόδημος, pat.: see Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀ. Κοθωκίδης 6 (**426**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 168970 *PA* 1816

170 E (Ἀριστόδημος?), pat.: see Ἐξήκεστος (Ἀ.? Κοθωκίδης 6?) (**430**) Sal 402/1 *PAA* 168980 *PA* 1816?

171 4 Ἀριστόδημος, pat.: see Σιλανίων Ἀ. Κο[θ]ωκίδης 6 (**1147**) Sal 399-375 *PAA* 168965 *PA* 1816*

172 D Ἀριστόδημος, pat.: see Εὐανδρὶς Ἀ. Σαλαμινία (**480**) Sal 150-100 *PAA* 169167

173 L Ἀριστόδημος Ἀργήου ⟨Τ⟩ρικο{ι}ρύσιος 9 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 7545.1-3 199+ (JC: pro; in *IG* iii) Bur
PAA 169100 Fa's *PAA* 160620 Epitaph from Sal. Text from copies, demotic's beginning unintelligible. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 1824 [– – –] Ἀριστοδήμου T. *IG* ii^2 2445.11 catalogue (2C) and *PA* 1586 Ἀργεῖος Ἀργ. T. *IG* ii^2 2336 and 2872 Arx (early 90s). Cf. Ἀργεῖος T. *Agora* XV.127.25 *bouleutes* (223/2).

174 ? Ἀριστοδίκη Σηστία d w
Chr *IG* ii^2 10262.1(left), 2 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel

PAA 169225 Gravestone from Athens (*CIG* 892), now in Brit.Mus. Plural Σήστιοι of L2 apparently refers to all 3 names of L1, including ?rels Ἀθηναΐς (**30**) and Ἀρίσταρχος (**149**).

175 ? [Ἀ]ριστόδικος [patc. lost Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*37 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 169325 *PA* 1832 Demotic from restored plural heading.

176 4 Ἀριστόδωρος, pat.: see Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀ. Κοθωκίδης 6 (**427**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 169385 *PA* 1836

177 D [Ἀρ]ιστοκλέα Διονυσίου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.1i 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
IG text's underdot; maj. shows letter complete. 3 -εια, 2 -εα in *PA*+ (all 5-4C). Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

178 4 Ἀριστοκλείδης Αἰξω(νεύς) 7 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*8 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 169780 *PA* 1856* *PA* errs: Ἀριστοκλῆς, which misreading seems to be *PAA* 170135. ?Rels=Καλλιφῶν Αἰξω(νεύς) (**757**), L*b*7 and *PA* 1857 Ἀριστοκλῆς Κ. Α. (stemma at *PA* 1856 confused by misreading this name). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

179 4 Ἀριστοκλῆς See Ἀριστοκλείδης Αἰξω(νεύς) 7 (**178**) Imb 399-300

180 4 Ἀριστοκλ⟨ῆ⟩ς Ξυπεταιών 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6928.1f 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur Rel
PAA 170395 *PA* 1876 *Eta* is *nu* on stone. Family gravestone from Sal. Rels (wf and dtr?)=Γοργώ (**284**), Ἀριστονίκ⟨η⟩ (**194**), L3f. JC: 4C Salaminian ?rel=Ἀρισ(το)κλῆς Ε[- - -] Σ. (**182**); Salaminian ?descendants=Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρώγου Σ. (**181**) and/or Ἀριστόνικος Κλεάνδρου Σ. (**197**). Other possible rels may be attested in the Xypete family gravestone *IG* ii^{2}6932 (M4C) in the Brit. Mus. (find spot not indicated) that includes women named Aristonike in 2 generations (*PA* 2021-2, although the elder's fa seems to be from another deme), with which family *IG*'s *apparatus* suggests further conns.; the names of *IG* ii^2 6936 (2/1C) might be added.

181 D Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρώγου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10177.1-3 050-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 170660 Fa's *PAA* 215080 Columella from Athens.

182 ? Ἀρισ(το)κλῆς Ε[- - -] Σαλαμίνι[ος] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10178(=*Agora* XVII.653).1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr; cf. *Agora*: 5/4C) Bur
PAA 170665 Fa's *PAA* 380880 2 letters apparently omitted accidentally. Found at Stoa of Attalos. JC: ?Rel=Ἀριστοκλ⟨ῆ⟩ς Ξυπεταιών (**180**) Bur on Sal (4C).

183 L Ἀριστοκράτη[ς patc. and demotic lost] c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #4.8 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon Trs Cul

PAA 170890 Lost elements inferred from ed's 15 dots, although inscription is non-*stoichedon*. Honored by initiates for service as Trs [of sacred funds]. ?Conn.=Mov ['Αγή]σαρχος 'Αγαθοσθένου(ς) 'Ιππ[οτομάδης] (**17**), L6f.

184 L 'Αριστοκράτης, pat.: see Λυσανίας 'Α. Δε(ι)ραδιώτης 4 (**875**) Imb 199+ *PAA* 171205 *PA* 1934*

185 4 'Αριστοκράτης Πόριο[ς] 5 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*16 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 171490 *PA* 1924 Demotic's last letter erased, apparently to make form consistent with other names. List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

186 ? ['Αρισ]τοκράτης Πασικράτους Σαλα[μίνιος] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10179.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 171630 Fa's *PAA* 767820 Found at "Vindobonae" (assumed in Attike). 3 of fa's name in *PA*+.

187 L 'Αριστ[ο]κράτης, pat.: see Τη⟨λ⟩έας 'Α. Χολαργεύς 5 (**1229**) Imb 199+ *PAA* 171560 *PA* 1928

188 L 'Αριστόκριτος (pat.) See Λυσανίας 'Αριστοκράτους Δε(ι)ραδιώτης 4 (**875**) Imb 199+

189 ? 'Αριστόμαχος (Κριτοδήμου) 'Αλωπεκῆθεν 10 c
Chr? Dem.23.13f, 110 357-353 (ctx; *PA* and *APF* specify 353) Amb?
PAA 172700 *PA* 1969 *APF* p.61 Fa's *PAA* 585545 Fa's *PA* 8808 Patc. from *PA* (several sources); stemma at *APF* p.203. Called πρεσβευτής from Kersobleptes and Charidemos (perhaps metaphorically); *APF* says capacity in Thraike impossible to say. *PA*: ='Α. 'Α. *IG* ii^2 1605 trierarch (c.370), fa of woman -η 'Α. 'Α. *IG* ii^2 7040; also ='Α. Κ. 'Α. of [Dem.] 58.35 and 59.25 witness (343-340). *APF*: =*PA* 1959 'Α. *IG* ii^2 40.8 trierarch (378). *PA*: Bro=*PA* 8809 Κ. 'Αλωπ. *IG* ii^2 1612.311 trierarch (before 356); bro-in-law=speaker of Lys. 19 (described as very rich by *APF* p.200).

190 4 'Αριστόμαχος 'Αναφλ(ύστιος) 10 c
Sam Michel 832.4 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 172725 *PA* 1970

191 ? ['Αριστο]μέδων 'Αριστονα[ύ]το(υ) ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*28 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 173010 *PA* 1989 *APF* p.62 Fa's *PAA* 173675 Fa's *PA* 2016 Demotic from restored plural heading. *PA*, *IG*: =['Αριστομέδ]ων 'Αριστοναύτο(υ) 'Αχαρν. *IG* ii^2 1930.16 involved in *diadikasia* (383/2).

192 L 'Αριστομένης, pat.: see Φιλῖνος Διοφάντου Πειραιεύς 8, γόνωι δὲ 'Α. (**1296**) Sal 299+ *PAA* 173320

193 ? 'Αριστονα[ύ]της, pat.: see ['Αριστο]μέδων 'Α. ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 (**191**) Unk 375-325 *PAA* 173675 *PA* 2016

194 4 'Αριστονίκ⟨η⟩ p w

Sal *IG* ii^2 6928.4 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur Rel
PAA 173860 *Eta* is *nu* on stone. Family gravestone from Sal, relationships unclear; this name associated with seated figure at right. To left of her are a standing male and female; all are adults. ?Fa/hus='Α. Ξ. (**180**), L1f. ?Mo/dtr=Γοργώ (**284**), L3. See **180** for discussion of possible rels.

195 L 'Αριστονίκη 'Ελπίστου 'Αναγυρασίου 1 θυγ. c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 5620.1-4 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 173835 Epitaph from Sal.

196 X 'Αριστονίκη Λυδή n w
Sal *IG* ii^2 9219.1f 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 173920 Epitaph of Lydian from Sal; *IG*'s text from copy.

197 D 'Αριστόνικος Κλεάνδρου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10180.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 174210 Fa's *PAA* 574610 Epitaph found in Athens. Cf. ?Athenian-citizen 'Αριστονίκ⟨η⟩ (**194**) on epitaph from Sal (4C): possible rel?

198 E 'Αριστόνο[μος], pat.: see [Σ]ωσίνομος 'Αριστονό[μο...7....]ς (**1208**) Sal 402/1 *PAA* 174260 *PA* 2036

199 X 'Αριστόξενος Εὐπρέποντος(?) Τενέδιος n
LHe *IG* xii(8) 26.*a*1 299-200 (*IG*: scr) Oth
Sculptor's signature on statue base. Patc. follows *IG* vs. "certain" -νέου of *ed. prin.* (none of either in *PA*+).

200 D 'Αριστόπολις Κλεοφῶντος (γυνή) p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 92.13(maj.) 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Maj. lines cited because *IG*'s text groups inscribed lines into verses. Grave epigram for hus (**789**), L1 and 12, and wf, dedicated by their son Κάλλιππος Κ. (**742**), L11f. Hus "from a foreigner became a native" (L1f).

201 ? Ἄριστος, pat.: see 'Αριστογείτων 'Α. Σαλαμίνιος (**164**) Sal 375-325 *PAA* 174620

202 ? 'Αριστοτέλης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*25 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

203 4 ['Αριστο?]τέλης See [- - -]τέλης Διοδώρ[ου - - -] (**345**) Imb 360-300

204 E 'Αριστοτέλες of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.13 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 174755 *PA* 2056 Attic: *PA* regularizes -ης. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

205 ? 'Αριστοφῶν Φλυεύ[ς] 7 c
Pot? Kroll, *ABAP* no.7, text *d* 375-348 (ed: ctx) DK
PAA 176275 Palimpsest dikast's ticket found at Olynthos. Kroll's revised text eliminates the patc. (and therefore some possible rels) of the *ed. prin.*, Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) #10, although Robinson's

PA 2118 ['Αρ]ιστοφῶν [Ε]ὐθίου? [Φλ]υεύς of *IG* ii^2 1927.28-30 remains a possibility. Whitehead, *AHB* 3 (1989) 105 n.19 suggests the possibility that the Mov of *IG* ii^2 118, ['Α]ρι[στοφ]ῶν (line 4), might not be (as most commentators believe) the well-known politician Aristophon of Azenia, but the Aristophon of this *pinakion*: "did he go there [Pot] after (in 364/3) moving IG II^2 118?" asks Whitehead. Kroll's discussion does not even assume that the ticket should be associated with Pot.

205A ? 'Αρίστυλλα p w
Sal *SEG* 40.217.3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel?
PAA 176490 Gravestone from Sal; *ed. prin.* give no date, photo, or details; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet (in other names). ?Rels=Διοφάνης 'Αλωπεκῆθεν (**392A**) and Εὐτέλης 'Α. (**550A**), both L1f.

206 ? 'Αρί[σ]τυλλο[ς] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.14 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

207 D 'Αρίστων? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 78.3 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded?
PAA 200110 Line length unknown; could be either name or part of patc. 'Αρίστων[ος], in which case this is Ded's fa. No clue as to what elements were originally present; *IG*'s maj. indicates *nu* should be underdotted, but text does not.

208 ? ['Αρίσ?]των, pat.: see Νεόδωρ[ος 'Α.] (**985**)
Sky 399-300

209 4 ['Α]ρίστων Μενεκλείους Πήλη(ξ) 4 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.5 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Mov
PAA 201270 Fa's *PAA* 643425 ?Conn.=Hon Ζην[όβι?]ος 'Αρτεμιδώρου (**570**), L5, 12.

210 D 'Αριστώνυμος, pat. (no ethnic) See Ζώσιμος 'Α. Φλ.? Σκύριος? (**582**) Sky 001++

211 D 'Αριστώνυμος (Σοφοκλέους?) d
Sal *IG* ii^2 4699.1 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Ded Rel
PAA 201980 Dedication found on Sal, in honor of ?parents Σοφοκλῆς (**1168**) and Μίκα (**945**), also both L1: 'Α. ἀνέθηκεν. ἥρωος Σ. καὶ Μ..

212 L 'Αριστώνυμος Φανίου 'Ελευσίνιος 8 c
Sal? *IG* ii^2 1011.53 106/5 (arx) Mov
PAA 202070 *PA* 2193 Fa's *PA* 14018 Introduces *probouleuma* subsequently enacted by *demos* (ambiguous whether of Athens or of Sal — *IG*'s comm. infers the latter) honoring ephebes for Sal-related activities. *PA*, *IG*: ='Α. 'Ε. *IG* ii^2 2336.59 *thesmothetes* (101/0). *IG*: Bro='Αρχῖνος Φ. 'Ε. *IG* ii^2 4102 side A, name on statue base (c.100). *Agora*: ?Fa=*PA* 14018 [Φ]αν. ['Ελευσί]ν. *Agora* XV.243.64

bouleutes (135/4); ?gfa='Αρχέστρατος Φ. 'Ε. *Agora* XV.194.25f, 35 secretary of *boule* (178/7).

213 L 'Αριστώνυμος, pat.: see Ζώσιμος 'Α. Φλ.? Σκύριος? (**582**) Sky 001++ *PAA* 202270

214 L 'Αρκεσίδημος Πεισικράτου 'Ραμνούσιος 9 c Sky *IG* xii(8) 666.3f, 11f 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Hon Cul Rel *PAA* 202605 *PA* 2209 Fa's *PAA* 771680 Fa's *PA* 11788 Nomtv. name only, accus. full formula. Honored for cultic work in (local) archonship of Athenion (**31**), L2f; dtr 'Αρμοξένα (**215**), L3, is *kanephoros*. ?Conn=Mov Νικασίων Δημητρίου 'Ατηνεύς (**998**), L1.

215 L 'Αρμοξένα 'Αρκεσιδήμου 'Ραμνουίου 9 c w Sky *IG* xii(8) 666.3 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Rel *PAA* 203565 *PA* 2236 Fa's *PAA* 202605 Fa's *PA* 2209 *Kanephoros* of Dionysos. Fa='Α. Πεισικράτου 'Ρ. (**214**), L3f, 11f. To other possible rels/conns. mentioned in that entry, add ['Αρ]μόξ[ενος 'Ρα]μνο[ύσιος] Sundwall p.32 Bur (4C).

216 E 'Αρτ[..]ε[---] of phyle Aiantis 9 c LMy *IG* i^3 1164.21 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur? *PAA* 204350 All now lost. Possibly Attic *epsilon* for *eta*. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

217 D 'Αρτεμίδω[ρος] d Imb *IG* xii(8) 120.2 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Rel Bur? Name of unknown case following 'Α(ν)δρονίκη (**93**), L1. If gentv., it is her fa or hus, and this should be a secondary entry. If nomtv., it could be her bro, also Bur, and thus a primary entry. The former seems more likely (which is why this is the *only* entry in which "Rel" is listed as the first of two roles), but in ignorance it is necessary to treat the name as a primary entry.

218 ? 'Αρτεμίδωρος, pat.: see Ζην[όβι?]ος 'Α. (**570**) Sam 365-322

219 4 'Αρτεμισία d w Sal? *IG* ii^2 10842(=iv 86).1 340-317 (*IG*) Bur *PAA* 206265 Not 1 of the 5 in *PA*+, perhaps omitted by Kirchner because he believed the epitaph was found on Sal. Peek subsequently reported Kavvadias' contention (contra Kumanudes) that it was actually found instead on Aigina.

220 D [--- 'Α]ρτεμεισία d w Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.5 199+ (ed: scr) DK Possible accus.: followed immediately by ν[---]. Name list (m & f); DK purpose. 5 of this name in *PA*+ and another in *IG* ii^2 (**219**), all spelled -μισ-.

221 D 'Αρτέμων, pat.: see 'Απολλώνιος 'Α. Σαλαμείνιος (**141**) Sal 025-001 *PAA* 207830

222 4 ['Αρχ]άγαθος, pat.: see ['Αν]άχαρσις ['Αρχ]α.

['Αγ]νούσιος 5 (**83**) LHe 399-300 *PAA* 208165

223 4 'Αρχέβιος ('Αρχεναύτου) Παλλη(νεύς) 10 c
Sam Michel 832.63 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 208590 *PA* 2309 *AO* 293 Fa's *PAA* 210145 Fa's *PA* 2358 Patc. from suggested ID. *PA*, *AO*, *Agora*: ='Α. 'Α. Π. *IG* ii² 1750.43 (=*Agora* XV.44.38) *prytanis* (334/3).

224 L 'Αρχέβιος, pat.: see Διόκλεια 'Α. Σκαμβωνίδου 4 or P θυγ. (**354**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 208610

225 ? 'Αρχέδημος, pat.: see Νικόστρατος 'Α. [Φη]γαιε[ύ]ς 2 (**1031**) LHe 350-200 *PAA* 209190

226 D ['Α]ρχεδίκη Κίμωνος p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.7 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

227 D 'Αρχέλαος, pat.: see Σωκράτης 'Α. Πειραιεύς 8 (**1198**) Imb 001++ *PAA* 209755

228 ? 'Αρχέλα[ς 'Ι]φιστιάδης 5 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.7 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 209895 Decree of initiates. None spelled thus in *PA*+.

229 ? 'Αρχεν[– – – patc. and demotic lost] c
LMy? *IG* ii² 550.11(f?) 314/3-305/4 (JC: com; eds disagree) DK
PAA 210070 Apparently accus. name in list, with only final *nu* of accus. demotic left (follows [– – –]υ 'Αλαιέα καί, with *nu* as first extant letter in L12). Athenian inscription concerning LMy; city of residence unclear. Amb?

230 4 ('Αρχεναύτης), pat.: see 'Αρχέβιος ('Α.) Παλλη(νεύς) 10 (**223**) Sam 346/5 *PAA* 210145 *PA* 2358

231 4 Αρχέπολις Λήμνιος p
Lem Isaios, Lost Or. 4, frag. 3 and Chion, *Letter* 7 375-325 (pro; cf. Fredrich: 360) Eco Trs
PAA 210490 *PA* 2378 *APF* p.474 *APF*, discussing *PA* 12267 Πρόξενος 'Αρμ[οδίου] 'Αφιδναῖος, connects the family of Aristogeiton the tyrannicide to klerouchs on Lem, citing Isaios, Πρὸς 'Αριστογείτονα καὶ "Αρχιππον περὶ τοῦ 'Αρχεπόλιδος κλήρου (see Loeb Isaios pp.447, 463), saying Archepolis is connected with Lem, but is "unidentifiable". The Chion passage, quoted at *IG* xii(8) Intro., p.3, specifically calls him 'Α. Λήμνιος. Inferring that both passages refer to the same person, conns.=*PA* 2549 "Αρχιππος 'Αφιδναῖος and *PA* 1773 (?=1778), homonymous descendant of the tyrannicide.

232 ? 'Αρχιάδης Εὐθυμάχου 'Οτρυνεύς 2 c
Sal [Dem.] 44.9f, 12, 18, 32 450-370 (pro) DK
PAA 212055 *PA* 2441 *APF* p.194 Fa's *PAA* 433670 Fa's *PA* 5638
He "seems to have lived very much as a bachelor-recluse on Salamis" (*APF* p.195). Stemma at *APF* p.196 differs slightly from

that at *PA* 5638. Gneph and adopted son=*PA* 9088 Λεοκράτης Ἐλευσίνιος. Cf. ['Αρ]χιάδης *Agora* XVII.11.10 Bur (c.M5C).

233 ? 'Αρχία[ς] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.12 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. ?=Arx on Lem (**234**). ?Rel='A. Θοραιεύς (**236**) LHe Amb (2C).

234 4 'Αρχίας c
LHe *SLC* 108.1 (=*IG* xii[8] 19.8) 350-300 (JC: pro; probably in or shortly after 314/3) Arx
PAA 212132 Passage above (*SLC* 107) on same stone dated by Arx Νικόδωρος (**1015**), of 314/3 if Attic; Archias is *not* in Attic list; both could be local. ?='A. (**233**) in list of ?klerouchs. ?Rel='A. Θοραιεύς (**236**) LHe Amb (2C).

235 E 'Αρχίας of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.7 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 212330 *PA* 2455 List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle. ?Rel=*AO* 333=Whitehead, *Demes* no.17 (whom both say =*PA* 2459) 'A[ρχία]ς *demarchos* of Halai Araphenides (M4C). Or 'A. 'Ανδροκλείδου Φηγαιεύς (**237**)?

236 L 'Αρχίας Θοραιεύς 10 c
LHe *IG* ii² 1223.24 166+ (*IG*; eds range 229-146) Amb
PAA 212485 *PA* 2466 Office, although clear, not specified in text. 1 of 5 sent to Athens to announce klerouchs' honorary decree. ?Rel(s)='A. (**233** and/or **234**) both at LHe (4C).

237 L 'Αρχίας 'Ανδροκλείδου Φηγαιεύς 2 c
LHe Susini, *Ann.* #3.1-3 299+ (JC: pro; cf. ed: c.250) Bur
PAA 212745 Fa's *PAA* 127980 ?=*PA* 2478 'A. 'A. Φ. *IG* ii² 905.8 Mov (175/4). ?Rel=*PA* 2479 'A. Διονυσίου Φ. Arx (107/6). ?Rel='A. of phyle Aigeis (**235**) at LMy (5C). Or 'A. (**233** and/or **234**) both at LHe (4C)?

238 4 'Αρχικλῆς, pat.: see 'Εχεκλῆς 'A. 'Ραμνούσιος 9 (**569**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 213445 *PA* 2507

239 ? 'Αρχῖνος Κόρδακος ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*33 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 213825 *PA* 2523 Fa's *PAA* 582010 Fa's *PA* 8718 Demotic from restored plural heading. JC: Cf. [- - -'Αρ]χῖν[ος?- - -], revised reading (Schwenk no.74 L10; *AO* 344 and p.406) for the name of a *symproedros* of *IG* ii² 547.9, re-dated to 324/3, who could be of this deme if the Epi Pro comes from phylai 7-9; but Hansen, *Ath.Eccl.* 100 comm.81 restores a different phyle in prytany: everything is very uncertain.

239A ? 'Αρχίππη d w
LHe *SEG* 40.746 1st item 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Oth
Name on loom weight; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. To *PA*'s

attestations of the name, add *AncSoc* #205 Bur (4C).

240 ? [Name lost?] 'Αρχίπ[που? ---] d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 670.2 399+ (JC: scr) Bur
Fredrich's description indicates a gravestone, but virtually all letters gone; my dating is from *IG*'s maj. only. Patc.? Name? Beginning or not? See **231** for *APF* p.474 on an Archippos (*PA* 2544) in a 4C *Lemnian* context.

241 ? 'Αρχὼ Δημητρίο(υ) d w
LHe? *IG* ii² 8826."1" (JC num.) 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel?
PAA 214900 Fa's *PAA* 309125 No line-numbers in *IG*. 3-dot interpunct between name and ?patc. Stone funerary lekythos in Athens, which has reliefs associated with names of ?hus Κριτίας ἐξ 'Ηφαιστίας (**812**), L"4f" and ?dtr 'Ηδίστη Κ. θυγ. ἐξ 'Η. (**596**), L"2f", but not with hers. Her former homeland should also be theirs, presumably. Her ?patc. is attested in LHe (**313, 317f**) and in LMy (**319**).

242 4 'Αρχωνίδης Παλληνε[(ύς)] 10 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.4 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro
PAA 215060 Underdot from autopsy; abbreviated demotic inferred from analogy with other names in list. Cf. 'Α. *Agora* XVII.19.22 Bur (2nd half 5C). Habicht nts.: Cf. *PA* 2576 'Α. Χαιρέ[ου] Π. *IG* ii² 833.8 Mov (228) and *PA* 15107 Χ. 'Αρχενέου Π. of *IG* ii² 838.9f and 1706.108. See also *PA* 15106 Χ. Π., fa of *PA* 2576.

243 D Ἄρωγος, pat.: see 'Αριστοκλῆς 'Α. Σαλαμίνιος (**181**)
Sal 050-001 *PAA* 215080

244 D [Name lost] (['Ασκλη?]πιάδο[υ] γυνή) d w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 82."1f" (really lost above extant lines) 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded Rel
Makes offering on behalf of son Λασ[θένης 'Α.] (**838**), L"4f".

245 D 'Ασκληπιάδης, pat.: see 'Ηράκλειτος 'Α. 'Αθμονεύς 7 (**609**) Sal 253/2 *PAA* 218775 *PA* 2594

246 D 'Ασκληπιάδης, pat.: see 'Επίκτησις 'Α. Σαλαμινία (**451**)
Sal 99+ *PAA* 220250

247 D 'Ασκληπιάδης Μηνοδώρου Φλυεύς 7 or P c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.9 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys
PAA 219840 Fa's *PAA* 649705 From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). *IG*: =Μ. Μ. Φ. *IG* ii² 2067.68 Ephebe of this deme in phyle Ptolemais (156 CE). Cf. ['Α]σκληπ[ιὰς Μη]τροδώρο[υ Φλυέως θυγ.] *IG* ii² 4524.4f at *AskAth* pp.92f (c.175 CE).

248 D ['Ασκλ]ηπιό[δ?---], pat.: see Κοίντ[η 'Α.] (**800**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 221385

249 L 'Ασκληπιόδοτος, pat.: see Σωστράτη 'Α. 'Αθμονέ⟨ω⟩ς 7 θυγ. (**1212**) Imb 199+ *PAA* 221490

250 D [Name lost 'Ασκλ]ηπιοδώρου Λαμπτρεύς 1 c

Lem *IG* ii² 1053+.7(=L18 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb? *PAA* 221935 *PA* 2633 Accus., last name in list. From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear).

251 E Ἀστερία Σαλαμινία p w
Sal Plut. *Kimon* 4.8 (Loeb) 499-450 (pro) Oth
PAA 222770 *APF* p.304 Gentv. None in *PA*+. Poet Melanthios makes mention of Ἀστερίας τῷ γένει Σαλαμινίας and another woman "as wooed and won" (ὡς σπουδαζομένων) by Kimon.

252 D Ἀττινᾶς Χ[ερ]σονησίτης d
Chr *IG* ii² 2332.163 183/2 (arx) Eco
PAA 229020 2 in *PA*+. In Attic list of contributors. ?Conn.=Σάμος Χερ. (**1133**), L162.

252A D Αὖλος Νικ[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*11 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
In larger letters than those of lines above.

253 D [Α]ὐφιδία [Φ]ιλουμέν̣[ου? -ης?] d w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 123.1f 199+ (JC: pro) Bur
16 fem. Φιλουμεν- names in *PA*+; no masc. names. Matronymics occur in some Roman-period names (see discussion at **1053**): is this an example?

254 D Ἀφέλη Διονυσίου Σαλαμεινία, Ζωσίμου γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10181.1f 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Cul Rel
PAA 242130 Relief shows woman as priestess of Isis, but conn. probably not with Kyprian Salamis, since find spot is island Sal (cf. **255**). ?Hus=Ζώσιμος (Ζωσίμου) Σαλαμείνιος (**581**), L4f (but could be her son).

255 D Ἀφροδεισία Ὀλύμπου Σαλαμεινία d w
Sal? *IG* ii² 10182.1f 001++ (*IG*) Bur Cul?
PAA 243335 Fa's *PAA* 744235 Egyptian text in L3f; relief shows 1 of 2 women as priestess of Isis, perhaps with Egyptian servant. Is inscription from Kyprian Salamis? DK; provenance unknown (cf. **254**). In Broom Hall, the Elgin collection, says *IG*.

256 L [Ἀφροδε?]ίσιος [Ἀφρο]δεισίου [Λευ]κονοεύς 4 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6726.1-3 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 246460 Epitaph from Sal. *IG* says 4C monument reused for 2C inscription. Cf. Ἀφροδίσ[ιος -c.9- Λ]ε. *IG* ii² 4474.1 at *AskAth* p.95 (Augustan period) with possible ephebic rels.

257 D Ἀφροδίσιος, pat.: see Δύναμις Ἀ. Σαλαμινία (**405**)
Sal 001++ *PAA* 249875

258 D Ἀφροδῶ Ζωπύρου d w
Sal Peek, *Att.Gr.* II.147.1(right) 001++ (JC: scr; cf. ed: N.D.) Rel?
PAA 250040 Fa's *PAA* 464335 1 of 2 names on statue found on Sal; roles unclear. ?Hus=Ὀνησᾶς Ἐ⟨π⟩αφρ(ο)⟨δ⟩ίτου (**1065**), same line (left).

259 D Ἀχαιὸς Ἀχαιοῦ [Ἐπιε?]ικίδης 7 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 72.1f 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: after 224/3) Ded *PAA* 250363 *IG*, following Keil, restores demotic as [Βερεν]ικίδης (thus *IG*'s date), but Foucart's restoration, from the *apparatus*, may fit the space better (and allow an earlier date). Cf. Ἀχαιός of phyle Kekropis, Sundwall p.42 Kt (106/5).

260 L Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἐπιχάρου Κήττιος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 102.3-5 001++ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Pri *PAA* 250825 *PA* 2797 Fa's *PAA* 399505 Fa's *PA* 4989 Called ὁ ἱερασάμενος τοῦ Πατρώου Ἀπόλλωνος.

BETA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

260A ? Βακχὶς Αρ[---] d w
Sal *SEG* 40.248.2 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel?
PAA 261155 Fragment of epitaph from Sal. DK whether Ar- is patc. or ethnic. ?Hus=⟨Λ⟩[ί]βυς? Κυρ[ηναῖος]? (**858A**), L1.

261 4 Βενδιδώρα Μητροφάνου Γεργισίου n w
LHe Susini, *Ann.* #4.1-3 375-325 (ed: scr) Bur
Root in Sundwall (once). Ed: Cf. Π. Αἰλ. Μ. Προσπάλτιος (**941**), of LHe but very late. JC: Cf. fragment Susini #13.2: [---]εργι[---].

262 4 Βλέπ[.. Π]αια(νιεύς) 3 c
Sam Michel 832.2f 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 266890 *PA* 2880* Aleshire's reading, suggesting restorations, e.g., Βλέπ[υς], Βλέπ[ων], Βλέπ[ιος], the last being crowded. Michel and *PA* have impossible Βλέ[πυρος]; Ohly misprints this, omitting *pi*: Βλέ[υρος].

263 4 Βοίηθος, pat.: see Κτησιφῶν Β. Φαληρεύς 9 (**825**)
Sal? 399-300 *PAA* 267700

264 4 Βοίδιον Δωρίωνος θυγ. d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10968a.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 267630 Epitaph from Sal. 5 of this name among *IG* ii² epitaphs; 3 of patc. in *PA*+.

265 D Βοίδιον Κοσμίας d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10969.1 099+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 267635 Epitaph from Sal, with matronymic? Not listed among *IG* ii² epitaphs with matcs. at *IG* ii² 11568 comm. (cf. **1053**).

266 D Βότρυς, pat.: see Σωτᾶς Β. Δαιδαλίδης 7 (**1218**)
Unc 001++ *PAA* 267930

267 ? Βουκάττης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.c41 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
IG says name is Boiotian. 1 in *PA*+. Cf. other ?Mys of same name (**268**), Lc42.

268 ? Βουκάττης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.c42 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

IG says name is Boiotian. 1 in *PA*+. Cf. other ?Mys of same name (**267**), L*c*41.

269 ? Βούλ[αρχος?], pat.?: see Εἰκαδέων Β.? (**413**)
Sal 375-325

270 ? Βρυσωνίδης d
Sal *SEG* 37.176.1(left) 480-300 (*SEG*: ctx) Bur Rel
Found in "Classical cemetery" on Sal. ?Wf=Φίλεια (**1290**), same line (right).

271 E Βυστάκη d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.6 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes she is a slave. 3 m, 5 f Ded's.

GAMMA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

272 ? [Γε]λωνὸ[ς? Κ]ίμω[νος]? p
LHe *SLC* 103(=Segre, *Ann.* #11).7-9 499-375 (JC: com; eds disagree) Eco
Datv. creditor's name on *horos.* Segre has ['Α]γων⟨ο⟩[τ]ίμω[ι? ---], reading *lambda* as Attic *gamma*, yet reading 3 *omegas*, 1 of which is "corrected" to an *omicron.* Finley follows Segre in *SLC.* This entry follows, instead, the restoration, *exempli gratia*, of Fine, *Horoi* 39, who cites a son of Herakles named Gelonos at Hdt. 4.10. *PA*+ has no Gelonos, only 2 named Γέλων. JC: ?Rels=*PA* 8424 Kimon, Amb to Philip (346); Μιλτιάδης (Κ.?) Λακιάδης (**950**), *oikistes* of Adriatic *apoikia* (see *APF* p.309 and *AO* 1618 and 2004 for Kimon and his linkage with Miltiades).

273 L Γ[έμελ]λος, pat.: see 'Αρίσταρχος Γ. Πειραι[εύς] 8 (**147**)
LMy 001++ *PAA* 273305

274 ? Γλαυκέτης Χολλείδης 4 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.7 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 274790 Decree of initiates.

275 4 Γλαυκίας 'Αχαρ(νεύς) 6 c
Sam Michel 832.62 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 275320 *PA* 2924 Cf. (Τι. Φλ.) Γ[λαυκίας 'Α]χαρ[νεύς] Γλαυ. *IG* ii^2 3964 + Add. p.351, last 3 lines interpreted as Τ. Φ. Γ. Γ. 'Α. at *AskAth* p.98 (c.125 CE).

276 ? Γλαῦκος Φ[ι]λοστράτο(υ) Ξυπεταιών 7 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.5f 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 276392 Accus. 1 of 5 *hieromnemones*; colleagues **65, 74, 463, 935**. Cf. Φ. Ξ. (**1332**) at LHe (4-3C). Cf. [---]στράτου Ξ. *IG* ii^2 1930.26 in *diadikasia* (383/2), from *PA*'s deme list.

277 D Γλαῦκος Σφαίρου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10183.1-3 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 276630 Columella "in oliveto" (N.O.S.), presumably in Attike.

278 L Γλ[αύκω]ν, pat.: see Εὐτύχης Γ. Κήττιος 4 (**553**)
Imb 001+ *PAA* 277050

279 D Γλαύκων, pat.: see Νικίδιον Γ. Σαλαμινία (**1009**)
Sal 299-200 *PAA* 277215

280 D Γλιζοξ[---]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*5 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
From *IG*'s maj. (large letters); not in text.

280A ? Γλικέρα d w
Sal *SEG* 40.232.1 (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel?
PAA 277590 Epitaph from Sal; *ed. prin.* has no date, photo, or details. ?Hus=Καλλίας (**723A**), L2.

281 D Γλυκέρα Ἡρακλεῶτ[ις?] or -ώτ[ου?] d w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 122.1 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Ethnic or patc.? *IG* treats patc. as first option, yet the posited fa's name does not appear in *PA*+. Conversely, the ethnic appears more than 275 times among *IG* ii²'s epitaphs of foreigners; see also *Agora* XVII.466.

282 4 Γνάθιος Ἀφι(δναῖος) 9 c
LHe Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a.6f 399-300 (JC: scr; cf. ed: N.D.) Eco
PAA 279032 No text provided; readings from photos, squeeze, and D. Harris autopsy. Accus. in odd phrase MIO χύτροις τοῖς περὶ Γνάθιον Ἀφι. JC: =*PA* 3046 fa of *PA* 12486 Πυργίων Γ. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 1678.*a*31 (L4C). Cf. also unmodified name, *PA* 3043=*AO* 1307 *IG* ii² 16.6 Mov of alliance with Eretria (394/3).

283 4 [Γορ]γίας See Ἡγίας Ἐλευ(σίνιος) 8 (**592**)
Sam 346/5

284 4 Γοργὼ (Ἀριστοκλέους Ξυπεταιόνος 7 γυνή?) p w
Sal *IG* ii² 6928.3 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur Rel
PAA 281300 Family gravestone from Sal, relationships unclear; this name associated with standing woman between standing man on left and seated woman on right, all adults. ?Hus/fa=Ἀ. Ξ. (**180**), L1f. ?Dtr/mo=Ἀριστονίκ⟨η⟩ (**194**), L4. See **180** for discussion of possible rels.

285 ? Γρίνων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*27 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
None in *PA*+.

286 ? Γρῖφος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*4 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant. *Ed. prin.* read *rho* as *epsilon*, but no problem indicated by *IG*'s maj. or text. None in *PA*+, but cf. *IG* ii² 2390.22 "catalogus peregrinorum" (M4C).

DELTA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

287 D Δ[-4or5-]τος?, pat.: see [Εὐ]κλέα Δ. (**513**)
Imb 199-100

288 D Δ[-c.3-]ιλ[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*3 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
From *IG*'s maj. (not in text); perhaps there is also the bottom of an *iota* after the *delta.*

288A ? Δα[---]? d
LHe *SEG* 40.746 3rd item 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) DK
DK if letters begin the inscription, or begin the line, or come from a name; *ed. prin.* has no date, photo, or description; *SEG* says only that it is an "inscribed fragment of gray marble".

289 X Δαικ⟨λ⟩ῆς, pat.: see Κιλικ⟨ίδ⟩ας Δ. Ταρσεύς (**770**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 300550

290 X [Δ]αμᾶς, pat.: see [Φι]λόμηλος [Δ]α. [Μι]λήσιος (**1322**)
Imb 001+

291 ? Δαναίη Μορμυθιδέω Μιλησίη n w
Sam Clerc, *BCH* 7 (1883) #"3"(really 2).1-3 399-250 (JC: scr; cf. ed: N.D.) Bur
Letters of ed's maj. only dating clue. Probably died after Samian restoration, but possibly under klerouchs.

292 4 Δᾶος ἐν Σαλαμῖν[ι οἰκῶν] n
Sal *IG* ii^2 1574.4 330 (*IG*) Ded
PAA 301695 None of this name in *PA*+. Dedication of freed-slave ([ἀποφυγών]) metic; former owners apparently named in L5-7. Their residence on Sal is not assumed (see discussion at **909**). Same 3 citizens listed in conn. with Λυκῖνος (**862**), L9. Cf. also Ἱππόλοχος (**705**).

293 D [Δα]φναῖ[ο]ς [..]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος d
Sal *Agora* XVII.654.1-3 299-100 (*Agora*) Bur
PAA 301845 Found in Athenian agora. Bradeen follows *SEG* 14.223, which improves Peek's text; says name Daphnaios is otherwise unattested in Attike, and suggests that fa is more likely

[Κώ]μαρχος than [Δή]μαρχος. But cf. Μένανδρος Δημάρχου Παιανιεύς (**917**) Bur on Sal (N.D. by *IG*, although the conn. suggested *ad loc.* is 1C).

294 X [Δά]φνιον [Δ]ώρου [Μ]ειλησία n w
Sal *IG* ii^2 9480.1-3 099-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 301855 Columella from Sal.

295 L Δεινίας Δημοσθένου Θριάσιος 6 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #3.1f 250-200 (ed: scr) Mov Cul
PAA 302292 Fa's *PAA* 318460 Introduces decree of initiates honoring *theoroi* from LMy.

296 E Δεινομένης d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.4 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes he is a slave. 3 m, 5 f Ded's.

[**297** Deleted from revised sequence.]

298 ? Δεκέλεα w
Sal *IG* ii^2 11045/51.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 302985 Epitaph from Sal; *IG*'s text (1-word inscription numbered thus!) is from copy; no clues at all as to date. None in *PA*+.

299 X Δέκιος d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.4 199+ (ed: pro) DK
Name list (m & f); DK purpose. Context lost: at end of line after [– – –]ρος. *PA*+ has only Δέξιος (this name=Roman Decius).

300 E Δεχσίνομος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
Lem *IG* i^3 1165.3 450-400 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 303660 *PA* 3232 Unique in *PA*+, which regularizes Attic spelling: Δεξ-. List in Athens in which "Lemnians" seems to be a subcategory of Hippothontis names.

301 L Δέξιππος Παγχάρου Παιανιεύς 3 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #17.1-3 099-001 (ed: scr) Ded Mag
PAA 303787 Fa's *PAA* 760937 3 in *PA*+, none of fa, whether name is Πανχάρης (Robert's and Traill's preference) or Πάνχαρος (ed seems indifferent between them). *Kosmetes* dedicates sundial to *Theoi Megaloi.*

302 E Δεξίζ d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.9 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes she is a slave. 3 m, 5 f Ded's. 1 in *PA*+, but cf. Δεξὶς Εὐ[οδίας] (**303**), also from Sky and definitely a slave, though much later.

303 X Δεξὶς Εὐ[οδίας] n w
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 523.2f 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel?
Specifically called [θ]ρεπτή. Is word between name and status her matronymic, or the name of her ex-owner? Restoration of the gentv. fem. form is justified by the complete extant name in L1, apparently in connection with a male slave. Is he (name lost, **537**)

Dexis' bro? See similar question at **568**. Only 1 of her name in *PA*+, but cf. Δεξίς (**302**), also from Sky and apparently also a slave, though much earlier.

304 E Δεχ[σί]φιλος of phyle Aiantis 9 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.20 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 303840 *PA* 3239 Attic: *PA* regularizes spelling: Δεξ-. All of name now lost. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

305 D [Δή]μαρχος? (pat.) See [Δα]φναῖ[ο]ς [..]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος (**293**) Sal 299-100

306 4 Δήμαρχος [patc. lost] Κήττιος 4 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*21 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 306505 *PA* 3302 *PA* brackets *mu-alpha*, but both letters are extant (autopsy=*IG*); demotic from plural heading. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

307 ? Δήμαρχος, pat.: see Μένανδρος Δ. Παιανιεύς 3 (**917**)
Sal 399+ *PAA* 306520

308 D [Δη]μέα[ς] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*8 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Brackets follow *IG*'s text; maj. would allow underdotted *eta* and *sigma*. Tenedian? (L*a*6).

309 ? [-c.7-]ι̣ος Δημέ⟨ο⟩(υ) of phyle Akamantis 5 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*25 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 306685 *PA* 3310 *Omicron* cut as *theta* (Hereward=autopsy); approx. letter count from autopsy. Demotic lost, phyle from context. Cf. *PA* 3325=*AO* 726 Δ. Σφήττιος *IG* ii^2 3207.4 Mov (336/5-322/1); [....7...]ατος Δ. Χολαρ(γεύς) *Agora* XIX.L6.77 (343/2).

310 ? Δημητρία Χ̣[-c.4-5-] Σαλαμ[ινία] d w
Sal *Agora* XVII.655(=*SEG* 21.988).1f 325-300 (*SEG*; cf. *Agora*: 4C) Bur
PAA 307215 Gravestone from agora; approx. letter count from *SEG*.

311 4 Δημήτριος p
Sam Michel 832.30 365-347 (JC: ctx) Arx?
Gentv. in dating formula for something dedicated at *Heraion*: ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντο[ς]. Curtius saw him as klerouchic Arx; Ohly denies it, saying Samian Mag instead. JC: ?=Δ. Αἰξω(νεύς) (**315**), L62 Pro (346/5).

312 L Δημήτριος c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #3.1 250-200 (ed: scr) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula, local Arx of current year. Cf. more controversial Ἀρ[ισ]τείδης (**150**), L4.

313 ? Δημήτριος, pat.: see Ἀρχὼ Δ. (**241**)
LHe 399-350 *PAA* 309125

314 D Δημήτριος Δημητρίου p

Sal *IG* ii² 11107.1 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 308745 Epitaph from Sal, *IG*'s text from copy. ?Rel= [Σ]άτυρος [---] (**1137**), L2. Name-patc. combination Δ.-Σ. not found in *PA*+.

315 4 Δημήτριος Αἰξω(νεύς) 7 c
Sam Michel 832.62 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 310060 *PA* 3370 JC: ?=Arx on Sam Demetrios (**311**), L30. Cf. Δεόντιος Δ. Α. Sundwall p.116 πομπόστολος (L2C).

316 L Δημήτριος, pat.: see Νικασίων Δ. Ἀτηνεύς P (**998**) Sky 199-100 *PAA* 310380 *PA* 3390.

317 ? Δημήτρ[ι]ος ἐκ Κοί(λης) 8 c
LHe *IG* ii² 1672.277 329/8 (arx) Cul Eco
PAA 310840 *PA* 3412 *AO* 733 *AO* pp.393f calls him ?Str. Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis, with Str Μνησίμαχος Ἁγνούσιος (**958**) and Λυσιμαχίδης Ἁγνούσιος (**885**). *PA*: ?Son=*PA* 2284 Ἀρτέμων Δ. ἐκ Κ. *IG* ii² 6483 Bur (3C).

318 ? Δημήτριος, pat.: see [Μη]λήσι[ππο]ς Δ. Προσπάλτι[ο]ς 5 (**935**) LHe 425-375 *PAA* 311762

319 L Δημήτριος Διο[νυσί]ου Φρεά[ρριος] 4 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1224.*abc*29 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Amb
PAA 312355 *PA* 3461 Fa's *PA* 4265 Some letters in *IG*'s text not visible (autopsy). 1 of 5 *presbeis* from LMy to Athens; colleagues **119, 957, 1259, 1462**.

320 D Δημοκράτης, pat.: see Στόλος Δ. Σαλαμίνιος (**1172**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 316920

321 X Δημοκράτης, pat.: see Φίλων Δ. Φυγελεύς (**1353**) LHe 299-200

322 L [Δ]ημοσθένη[ς], kyr.: see Εὐφρο[σύνη] Εὐφροσύνου Σαλαμι[νία, Δ]η. Εὐπυρίδου 4 γυνή (**562**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 318450 *PA* 3588

323 L Δημοσθένης, pat.: see Δεινίας Δ. Θριάσιος 6 (**295**) LHe 250-200 *PAA* 318460

324 4 (Unnamed) Δημοσθένους γυνή, Σαμία p w
Sam Plut. *Demosthenes* 15.3 350-330 (pro) Rel
PAA 318635 *APF* p.138 ?=Dtr of Heliodoros (**600**) [Plut.] *Mor.* (*X Orat.*) 847C. See *APF* pp.138f discussion, with sources. The orator is *PA* 3597. Klerouch's dtr? Some doubt her existence.

325 ? Δημόστρατος, pat.: see Αἰνέας Δ. Ἀθηναῖος (**40**) Sam 399-300 *PAA* 319295

326 D Δημότιμος, pat.: see [Ἀρ]ίστη Δ. (**152**) Imb 199-100

327 D Δημοχάρης Μενάνδρου Ἀζηνιεύς 8 c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 26.*b*9f 001+ (*IG*) Mag

PAA 321865 *PA* 3711 Fa's *PAA* 641520 Gentv. (Attic?) κῆρυξ τῆς βουλῆς. Stemma at *PA* 9864 M. Αἴσ[χρωνος 'Α]ζ. *IG* ii² 1028.*b*141 ephebe (101/0). Cf. Δ. M. 'A. *Agora* XV.280.3 (1C).

328 4 Δημοχάρης Περιθ[οίδης) 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*5 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 322005 *PA* 3719 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

329 ? [Δι]ạγόρας? See [Εὐ]αγόρας? (**477**)
Imb 325-275

330 X Δίης ('Επαφροδίτου Σμυρναῖος?) n
LHe Susini, *Ann.* #5(=Segre, *Ann.* #16).1f 001+ (Susini: scr) Bur Rel
Phrasing makes relationships unclear: Δίης Καλλιτύχη 'Επαι|φροδίτου Σμυρναίου χαί|ρετε (Susini's readings and accents, rather than Segre's). Is he (as he is treated here) the bro of Kallityche (**755**) and thus also a Smyrnaian, thus properly external (X) to the sample as a late non-Athenian (n)? Or is he her hus, and thus of unknown ethnicity (D and d)?

331 D Διο[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.between *a*5 and *a*6 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Maj. would require underdotting *iota.* Tenedian? (L*a*6).

332 4 Διογ[---], pat.: see 'Ηδύλος Δ. 'Αλαεύς 2 or 7 (**598**)
Sam 365-322 *PA* 3786a

333 4 Διογείτων, pat.: see Διοπείθης Δ. Παιανιεύ[ς] 3 (**386**)
Imb 399-300 *PA* 3797

334 ? Διογένης, pat.: see Διόφαντος Δ. ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 (**394**)
Unk 375-325 *PA* 3818

335 L Διογένης Θεογένους Βερ(ε)νεικίδης P c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 97.1f 001+++ (JC: scr) Bur
Nu-eta ligatured. Cf. Δ. Δ. B. *Agora* XV.392.11 (c.175 CE).

336 L Διογένης Εἰτεαῖος 10 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*cde*19 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PA 3820 Accus. Phyle based on date. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens.

337 ? [Δι]ογένης [Εὐ]φιλήτο(υ) (Λακιάδης? 6) p
Pot *IG* i³ 1514(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #5).1f 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404?) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 450070 Ed and *IG* underdot name's *omicron*, but autopsy shows it is certain; *IG* has only [..] preceding. Gravestone found among several with demotics; his demotic is inferred because E. Τυχησίππο(υ) [Λα]κ. (**557**) on another of the gravestones (*IG* i³ 1513=Rom. #4) appears to be his fa.

338 L Διογένης, pat.: see Θεοχάρης Δ. 'Ραμνούσιος 9 (**678**)
Imb 199+ *PA* 3845

339 ? Διόγνητο[ς] p

LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.15 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

340 ? Διόγνητος, pat.: see Νίκη Δ. Σαλαμινία (**999**)
Sal 399+

341 D Διόδοτος, pat.: see [Παί]ζουσα Δ. (**1072**)
Imb 199-100

342 4 Διόδοτος Θριά(σιος) 6 c
Sam Michel 832.43 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 3899

343 ? Διόδωρος p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.2 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

344 ? [Δι]όδωρο[ς] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 118.1 399+ (JC: scr) Bur
Maj. indicates L1 inscribed much earlier than L2. ?Rel=Φιλόφρω[ν] (**1342**), L2. Cf. Δ. Φ. Πειραιεύς (**353**) and fa Φ. Φιλοκλέου(ς) Π. (**1343**) Bur on Imb (4-3C).

345 4 [---]τέλης Διοδώρ[ου demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.7 360-300 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Mov
IG's text has ['Αριστο?]τέλης (restoration numbered *PAA* 174780); letter count unknown. ?Conn.=Hon 'Αθηνόδωρος (**34**), L9.

346 ? [Διόδω]ρος? See [---]ρος 'Ερ[(demotic)] (**1440**)
LHe 450-375

347 4 Διόδωρος Φ⟨αλ⟩(ηρεύς) See Δ. 'Αφιδ(ναῖος) 9 (**352**)
Imb 399-300

348 4 [Διόδωρος] See [---] Θεοφ[ί]λο(υ) 'Αλαιεύς 7? (**672**)
Lem 370

349 ? Διόδωρος 'Εξηκεστίδο(υ) p
Sal *IG* ii^2 3093.1 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Ded
Fa's *PAA* 388245 Choregic monument found on Sal, dated by Arx of Sal; winning *choregos* (Νικήσας χορῶι παίδων). JC: ?Fa=1 of homonyms in *APF* pp.175f list associated with *PA* 4718 'Ε. Χαρίου Θορίκιος. The patc. also tends to evoke some of the same possible Salaminian conns. suggested for 'Εξήκεστος (**430**), although more tentatively, given the absence of a demotic and the commonness of Diodoros' own name.

350 L Διόδωρος Χάρη[τος?] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 72.4 299+ (JC; cf. *IG*: 224/3 or later) Pri
Inscription must be 224/3 or later if *IG*'s text correctly restores a demotic of L1 as [Βερεν]ικίδης, but see arguments to the contrary at **259**. Cf. Χ. Φίλωνος Σφήττιος (**1396**) on Imb (4C).

351 4 Διόδωρος 'Αφιδ(ναῖος) 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*14 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PA 3965* *PA* errs: Φ⟨αλ⟩(ηρεύς). Correction of demotic opens up

several possible conns. *IG*: ?Son='Ανδρόκριτος Δ. 'Α. (**92**) on family gravestone from Imb, which would ID Diodoros with *PA* 3937 and connect him with the others named on his son's stone. *PA* 3938's possible conn. of Δ. Διοδωρίδου 'Α. *IG* ii^2 1927.131f Attic *diaitetes* (c.325) with Androkritos and his fa should now extend also to this Diodoros. If Δ. 'Ανδροκλέους 'Α. *Agora* XV.187 and *APF* p.32 (E2C) really is a descendant of *PA* 858 Androkles Aphid. *IG* ii^2 1632.328f, 254, and 309 syntrierarch (322), then Diodoros of the Imbrian inscription(s) may be a rel of Androkles, too. List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

352 4 Διόδωρος, pat.: see 'Ανδρόκριτος Δ. 'Αφιδναῖος 9 (**92**)
Imb 399-300 *PA* 3937

353 ? Διόδωρος Φιλόφρονος Πειραεύς 8 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 110.1f 325-200 (JC: pro) Bur Rel
Only source is Cyriacus of Ancona's copy; Bodnar and Mitchell (1976) p.35 #2 erroneously treat as "unpub.", misleading both *SEG* 26.1025 and Robert, *BÉ* (1977) 8. Fa=Φ. Φιλοκλέου(ς) Π. (**1343**), L3f. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 3955 Δ. Π. *IG* ii^2 449.10 Pro (318/7) and 1214.1 Mov (E3C). Cf. also Diod. (patc. lost) Peir. *Agora* XV.72.140 (281/0). ?Rels=[Δ]ι. Χαρικράτου Πε[ιραεύς?] Sundwall p.55 and his apparent dtr Πλουτάρχη Δ. Π. θυγ., 'Αμπελίδου Φυλασίου γυνή *IG* ii^2 7184 Bur (2C), called descendants of *PA* 3955 by Sundwall. See also Φιλοκλῆς Π. (**1310**) and conns. there.

354 L Διόκλεια 'Αρχεβίου Σκαμβωνίδου 4 or P θυγ. c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 7299.3f 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
Fa's *PAA* 208610 Hus=Θεόφιλος Φιλιστίδου Προβαλίσιος (**675**), L1f. Son=Φ. Θ. Π. (**1304**), L5f.

355 ? Διοκλῆς, pat.: see Φιλέας Δ. 'Ελαιούσιος 8 (**1289**)
Sal 320 *PA* 4021

356 4 Διομέδων, pat.: see Αἰαντὶς Δ. (**39**)
Sal 399-300

357 D Διονυσία Διονυσίου Μιλησία, Θεοφράστου τοῦ Διονυσίου [Λ]ευκονοέως 4 γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 9504.1-5 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
APF pp.159f Kyr's *PAA* 512680 Epitaph from Sal, *IG*'s text from copy. Citizenship d (rather than n) because married to Athenian; his fa is presumably a different Dionysios. *APF*: ?Hus's ancestor=*PA* 4207 Δ. Λ. *IG* ii^2 1615.65 trierarch (M4C). Cf. also Δ. Λ. *Agora* XV.88.28 *bouleutes* (after 255); Λ. ['Ερ]μίου? Λ. *SEG* 40.105 ephebe (c.185); Καλλίμαχος Δ. Λ. *SEG* 36.213.7 *thesmothetes* (c.150 CE). Cf. also Σώτιρα Δ. Μ. Osborne, *AncSoc* #145 Bur (2-3C CE).

358 D [Δι]ονυσία 'Απολλωνίου Σαλαμ[ινία] d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10184.1 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur

Fa's *PAA* 150150 Gravestone from Kerameikos. *IG*'s cross-reference to *IG* ii² 1017 incorrect; number must be misprint for 10174 or 10175 Salaminians named Apollonios (**140, 141**) or for 10187 Salaminian named Dionysios (**374**).

359 ? Διονύσιος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*6 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant.

360 ? Διονύσιος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*32 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

361 D Διονύσιο[ς] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 148.1 001++ (JC: scr) Hon?
Datv. *IG*'s text underdots *omega*, but *IG*'s own maj. and comm. show the letter is certain. No context at all; possible role inferred from case only.

362 L Διονύσ(ι)ος (erroneous pat.) See 'Αθηνίων (**31**)
Sky 199-100

363 D Διονύσιος pat.: see ['Αρ]ιστοκλέα Δ. (**177**)
Imb 199-100

[**364** Deleted from revised sequence.]

365 4 Διονύσιος ⟨'Α⟩λ⟨φ⟩ίνο(υ) (Κολλυτεύς 2?) p
Sam? *IG* ii² 11169.2f(=*CEG* 593.3, 5f) 346-338 (Habicht) Bur
PA 4195+ Fa's *PAA* 122745 Fa's *PA* 660a Compound monument in Kerameikos cemetery with naiskos, high base, and bull statue. Voctv. name Διονύσιε (unmodified) is inscribed both on epistyle and base; grafitto within naiskos (now faded out) was read as Διονύσιος ΛΛ+ΙΝΟ. Presumably all refer to the same person, who is described (*IG* L7=*CEG* L10) as having δισσαὶ δ' αὖ πατρίδες σ' ἡ μὲν φύσει, ἡ δὲ νόμοισιν. Demotic(?) from *PA* addendum's ID of him with Δ. K. (**367**), klerouch on Samos, because of the "twofold fatherlands" of the quoted verse. If the ID is accepted (as it is by *CEG*), then the epitaph must be dated later than Dionysios' office-holding on Samos (346/5). *APF* p.520 discusses 'Αλφίνους Κολλυτεύς entries in *PA* 660-1, saying that they should be collapsed into one entry (a rel of the orator Hypereides), without mentioning the klerouch Dionysios. But Habicht, *AM* 106 (1991) 239-242 ably defends the ID, the 2 homonymous demesmen, and the spelling 'Αλφίνος, concluding that the klerouch Δ. 'Α. K.=Hypereides' cous.

366 L Διονύσιος, kyr.: see [Λε]ωνείκη? Δ. [Εὐπ]υρίδου 4 γυνή (**857**) Sal 001+

367 4 Διονύσιος ('Αλφίνου?) Κολλυ(τεύς) 2 c
Sam Michel 832.2 346/5 (arx) Trs
PA 4195 Patc.(?) from *PA* addendum's ID of him with Δ. ⟨'Α⟩λ⟨φ⟩ίνο(υ) (**365**) Bur in Athens (M4C). See fuller discussion at his entry.

368 L Διονύσιος, kyr.'s pat.: see Διονυσία Διονυσίου Μιλησία, Θεοφράστου τοῦ Δ. [Λ]ευκονοέως 4 γυνή (**357**) Sal 001+
369 X Διονύ(σιος Μακεδόνιος?) n
LMy Fredrich, *AM* 31 (1906) p.71 314 (ed: ctx) Mil
5-letter inscription on sling bullet found at LMy. Ed: ?=Makedonian commander of Mounychia garrison for Demetrios of Phaleron and Kassandros (see Diod. 19.68.3).
370 ? Διονύσιος, pat.: see Ἀθηναῒς Δ . Μιλ[η]σία (**29**) Imb 399+
371 D Διονύσιος, wf's pat.: see Διονυσία Δ. Μιλησία, Θεοφράστου τοῦ Διονυσίου [Λ]ευκονοέως 4 γυνή (**357**) Sal 001+
371A D [Name lost?] Διονυσίου Π[--- demotic lost?] d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 519.1 001++ (JC: scr) Ded
Apparent name on epistyle block; role inferred from where inscribed.
372 ? Διον[ύσιος] Σαλαμ[ίνιος] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10185.1f 450+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
Stone found in Athens but not seen by *IG* ed; no dating clue.
373 D Διονύσιος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10186.1f 199-100 (*IG*) Bur
Columella "in oliveto" (N.O.S.), presumably in Attike.
374 D Διονύσιος Σαλ[α]μίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10187.1f 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Columella in Peiraieus.
375 D Διονύσιος, pat.: see Ἀφέλη α Δ. Σαλαμεινία (**254**) Sal 001++
376 D Διονύσιος Ἀπολλωνίου Σαλαμείνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10188.1-3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 150140 Stele with reliefs from Sal, now in Aigina. Cf. Ἀφέλη α Δ. Σ. (**254**); Διονυσία Ἀ. Σ. (**358**).
377 D Διονύσιος Ἰατροκλέους Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *SEG* 25.286.1f 001++ (*SEG*: scr) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 531160 Stele found in Peiraieus.
378 D Διονύσιος Σωπάτρου Σαλαμείνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10189.1-3 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Columella in Peiraieus Mus.
379 D Διονύσιος Χαρίτωνος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10190.1f 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Gravestone in Nat. Mus., provenance not indicated. Cf. Εὐκαρπία Χ. Σ. θυγ. (**512**) Bur (3C).
380 L Διο[νύσι]ος, pat.: see Δημήτριος Δ. Φρεά[ρριος] 4 (**319**) LMy 166-134 *PA* 4265
381 ? [Δ]ιονυσόδ[ωρος] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*2 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?

Follows *IG*'s text; maj. would require underdotting *iota*. List of 11+ names, no heading extant.

382 ? Διονυσόδωρο[ς], pat.: see Αἰσχίνης Δ. Ποτειδαεύ[ς] (**43**) Pot 375-325

383 4 Διονυσόδωρος Φηγού(σιος) 1 c
Sam Michel 832.61f 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 4302 Aleshire's readings. *PA*: =Δ. Φ. *IG* ii² 1926.20f *diaitetes* (325/4). *PA*, *Agora*: Son=*PA* 4441 Διόφαντος Δ. Φ., *grammateus* of several Attic decrees (303/2): *IG* ii² 489-491, 494-497 (all cited in *PA*), 498 (not cited), and 493 (discovered after publication of *PA*); *PA*'s further citation of the inscription that was to become *IG* ii² 734 is based on a now-rejected reading. Another passage in which Diophantos as secretary has been (mostly) restored is *Agora* XV.62.140f (this text incorporates *IG* ii² 1746 and 2412); I add *SEG* 37.86.2f to this list, and a new frag. reported at *SEG* 39.105 adds *SEG* 12.91.3f. *PA*: Late rels appear in *IG* ii² 2103.47 and 2199.45f (2C CE), to which add a son or fa — the same 2 names, reversed, under the tribal heading Erechtheis — in L70f of the 2nd of these inscriptions.

384 ? Διονυσόδωρος, pat.: see Ἀπολλωνίδης Δ. Χερρονησίτης (**130**) Chr 399-350

385 4 (Διοπείθης), pat.: see Διότιμος (Διοπ. Εὐωνυμεύς 1) (**392**) Sal 338-330 *PA* 4318

386 ? Διοπείθης Διογείτονος Παιανιεύ[ς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 77.2 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded
PA 4325 Fa's *PA* 3797 Dedication to Asklepios. Co-Ded=Χάρης Φίλωνος Σφήττιος (**1396**), L3.

387 ? Διοπείθης (Διφίλου Σουνιεύς 4) c
Chr Dem. 8 *passim*; 9.15; [12].3; etc. 343-340 (ctx) Str
PA 4327 *APF* p.168 *AO* 910 Fa's *PA* 4487 General who led klerouchs and angered Philip. Fa (and therefore also demotic) suggested by Ferguson accepted by later eds, including *APF* and *AO*; see numerous sources in *PA*, *APF* (with stemma), and *AO* p.328. Fa=Diphilos Diop. S., Arx of *Salaminioi* from Sounion (363/2). Unc (fa's bro)=*PA* 4413=*AO* 915 Διοφάνης Διοπ. Σ. *Agora* XV.52.25(=*IG* ii²1752.23) *bouleutes*. Son=*PA* 4487=*AO* 937 Δίφιλος Διοπ. Σ. *IG* ii² 1629 and 1631 trierarch. Both *AO* (explicitly) and *APF* (without *PA* number) believe this son may be ID'd with *PA* 4467 Diphilos (unmodified).

388 ? Διοσκουρ̣ί̣δ̣ης, pat.: see Μελάνθιος Δ. (**911**)
Pot 429-350

389 D Διοσκουρίδης, kyr.: see Νικίδ[ιον] Σαλαμι[νί]α, Δ. Βουτάδου P γυνή (**1008**) Sal 199-100 *PA* 4347

390 4 Διότιμος Ἀχαρ(νεύς) 6 c

Sam Michel 832.11 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 4382 *PA*: ?Fa=*PA* 4381 Δ. 'A. Lys. 31.16 witness (c.398); other ?rels=*PA* 4383 Δ. Διομνήστου 'A. *IG* ii² 5792 and the latter's fa, *PA* 4073. *IG*: ?Rel=*PA* 7058 Θεότιμος Διοτ. *IG* ii² 3092.5 *choregos* (E4C). Cf. also Διότ. Μνησιστράτο(υ) 'A. *Agora* XIX.P13.69 (c.350) and Diot. of phyle Oineis *Agora* XVII.23.214 Bur (L5C).

391 ? Διότιμος Νικοστρ[ά]του 'Ελαιούσιος 8 c
Sam *SEG* 1.349 + *Heraion* Inv. J212.4f 365-322 (Dunst: ctx) Hon
Name mentioned by Habicht, *AM* 72 (1957) pp.159 and 165. Kahrstedt, *Chers.* 35 n.100 sees 'Ελαιούσιος not as a demotic (which is how it is treated here), but as the ethnic of Elaious in Chr, an Athenian ally. A 4C Str Diotimos (demotic unattested), *PA* 4370= *AO* 924, whose sources are well discussed at *APF* pp.162f, might be ID'd with this person, rather than connected with the family from Euonymon discussed there (Davies himself is not convinced of the conn.). ?Conn.=Mov [---]ΣΩΣ[---]? (**1532**), L1.

392 4 Διότιμος (Διοπείθους Εὐωνυμεύς 1) c
Sal? Dem. 18.114, [116] 338-330 (ctx; cf. *AO*: 338) Mil?
PA 4384 *APF* pp.163-5 *AO* 926 Fa's *PA* 4318 Salaminian context from bracketed section only: ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων. Title uncertain: Bugh, *Horsemen* says Hip, *AO* says Str. The stemma of *PA* 4386 is not entirely identical with that of *APF* p.165. Some unnecessary confusion is interjected by Davies' reference to this particular Diotimos as "II" in his text (p.163 — a usage consistent with *PA*'s less complete stemma), but as "III" in his basic entry under (*PA* no.) 4384 and in the stemma (both on p.165). *PA* 4384 cites Dem. 18.114, but not [116], among many sources for the well attested anti-Makedonian Diotimos son of Diopeithes of Euonymon, an ID accepted by *APF* and *AO*. ?Assoc.=Χαρίδημος Φιλοξένου 'Αχαρνεύς (**1407**).

392A ? Διοφάνης (Εὐτέλους) 'Αλωπεκῆθεν 10 c
Sal *SEG* 40.217.1f(left) 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
Gravestone from Sal: no photo, date, or details. 2-dot interpuncts after name and demotic. Depending on date (only clue is Ionic alphabet), he could be *AO* 912=*PA* 4403* [Δ]ι. Ε[ὐ]τ. 'A. *Agora* XV.55 *bouleutes* (c.321), which corrects the demotic ('Αγκυλῆθεν) of *PA* and *IG* ii² 2407; the change affects his fa, *PA* 6001*, also. Whether or not this ID is precise, Diophanes of the epitaph should be a relative of the *bouleutes*, since on the same gravestone appears the name Εὐτέλης 'A. (**550A**), same lines (right), who should be either his fa (thus possibly =*PA* 6001*) or his son. Rel (wf?/dtr?/dtr-in-law?)='Αρίστυλλα (**205A**), L3.

393 ? Διόφαντο[ς---] p

Sal *IG* ii² 1590a.7 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
Inscription from Sal. Name in rasura; unclear whether patc. or demotic or both omitted. Renter — [μι(σθωτής)] — at Boeiotomia on Sal. His surety also in rasura: Ἁγνόθεος Πειραιεύς (**20**). Cf. [Διόφ]αντος Θρασυμήδους Σφήττι(ος) *Agora* XIX.P9.[10] and 13 mining lease (pre-350); also Δ. Ἐπικράτου[ς] Πειραιεύς (**397**) Bur on Sal (4C).

394 ? Διόφαντος Διογένο(υ)ς [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*34 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PA 4426 *APF* pp.243f Fa's *PA* 3818 Demotic from restored plural heading. *PA* mentions Διογ. Διογ. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 5790 Bur (Roman period). Cf. also (Τι.) [Διό?]φ. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 3963.3f, interpreted as Τ. Διόφ. Γλαυκίου Ἀ. at *AskAth* pp.110f (c.125 CE), with suggested rels.

395 ? Διόφαντος, pat.: see Ἐπικράτης Δ. Πειραιεύ[ς] 8 (**449**)
Sal 320 *PA* 4436

396 L Διόφαντος, pat.: see Φιλῖνος Δ. Πειραιεύς 8, γόνωι δὲ Ἀριστομένου (**1296**) Sal 299+ *PA* 4437

397 4 Διόφαντος Ἐπικράτου[ς] Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *SEG* 25.260.1-3 399-300 (JC: pro; cf. ed: N.D.) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 394135 Epitaph found on Sal. Cf. Διόφαντο[ς – – –] (**393**) renter on Sal (4C). Cf. *PA* 4436 Δ. Π., fa of Ἐ. Δ. Π.. (**449**), Kt on Sal (4C). Cf. *PA* 4437 Δ. Π., fa of Φιλῖνος Δ. Π. (**1296**) Bur on Sal (3C?). Cf. *AO* 1037 Epikrates of phyle Hippothontis, Trs (399/8).

398 ? [Δί]φιλος (Αἰξωνεύς 7) c
Sam *Ins.v.Priene* 5.18 330-325 (Shipley: pro; cf. *AO*: 326/5) Str
AO 936 Gentv. *IG*, *IvP*, *AO*: =[στρατη]γῶι εἰς Σάμον [Διφίλω]ι? Αἰξωνεῖ *IG* ii² 1628.119f, which provides demotic. *AO*: ?=*PA* 4467=*PA* 4468 both Diphilos unmodified (*AO* pp.406f cites *APF* pp.168f in this context, but Davies there treats *PA* 4467 as connected with a family of Sounion). Cf. also *PA* 4473 [Δ]ίφι[λ]ος [patc. lost] *IG* ii² 2385.26 Kekropis list (M4C) and *PA* 4474, fa of *PA* 7574 Ἵλαρον Δ. Α. θυγ. *IG* ii² 5429 Bur (2C). *IvP* cites earlier ed's restoration of [Σώ]φιλος.

399 ? Δίφιλος Φιλωτάδου [Λ]αμπτρεύς 1 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.4 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 4483 Fa's *PA* 14925 *PA*, *IG*: Fa=[Φιλω]τ. [Διφ]ί. [Λαμπ]τ. *IG* ii² 6710 Bur (4C). ?Rels=*PA* 4481 and/or 4482 both Δ. Λ. and *their* rels.

400 ? (Δίφιλος), pat.: see Διοπείθης (Δ. Σουνιεύς 4) (**387**)
Chr 343-340 *PA* 4487

401 ? Διώξανδρος c
Sam *IG* ii² 1628.18 and 28 328/7 (arx) Str
PA 4526 *AO* 930 Datv. Name unique in *PA*+. General for Samos.

402 E [Δό]ρκον of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.4 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?

Attic spelling. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

402A D Δοσίθεος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal Petrakos, *Praktika* (1989) p.29, L39 225-200 (ed) Cul
In list of names associated with cultic decree at Rhamnous (most have demotics, but 3 others are respectively from Megara, Sinope, and Plataiai).

403 D Δοῦρις (Καίου) Σάμιος d
Sam Plut. *Alkibiades* 32.2 321+ (ctx) Oth
Patc. corrected by Kebric. Douris claimed his ancestor was the Athenian Alkibiades. See also Douris, *FGrH* 76 T3 and F70.

404 E Δρακαλίον of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.12 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PA 4539 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ίων. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

405 D Δύναμις Ἀφροδισίου Σαλαμινία, Συνμάχου Εὐπυρίδου 4 γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10191.1-5 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Fa's *PAA* 249875 Epitaph in Peiraieus Mus. None of this name in *PA*+.

406 D Δυσ[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.between *a*6 and *a*7 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Tenedian? (L*a*6).

407 4 Δωρίων, pat.: see Βοίδιον Δ. θυγ. (**264**)
Sal 375-325

408 E Δορόθεος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
Lem *IG* i^3 1165.5 450-400 (*IG*) Bur?
PA 4597 Attic: *PA* regularizes to Δω-. List in Athens in which "Lemnians" seems to be a subcategory of Hippothontis names. Cf. Δορόθεος *SEG* 37.50.8 Bur (M5C).

409 ? Δωρόθεος Θεοδώρου ἐξ Οἴ(ου) 4 or 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1596.16 375-325 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PA 4618 Fa's *PAA* 507180 Fa's *PA* 6888 Attic financial document. Bought land — ὠνη(ταὶ) χωρίον — of Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Εὐμήλου Π[---] (**1058**), L13, in Χυτρεαῖς on Sal.

410 X [Δ]ῶρος, pat.: see [Δά]φνιον [Δ]ώ. [Μ]ειλησία (**294**)
Sal 099-001

EPSILON

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

411 4 E[---], pat.: see Ἁγνίας E[---] Αἰθαλί[δης] 4 (**18**)
Unc 375-325 *PAA* 380675

412 ? E[---], pat.: see Ἀρισ(το)κλῆς E. Σαλαμίνι[ος] (**182**)
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 380880

413 ? Εἰκαδέων Βουλ[άρχου?] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 1596.12 375-325 (*IG*: pro) Mag? Eco
No -έων in *PA*+ (3 or 4 -ιος); native Salaminian? Unclear whether 2nd element is patc. or (as *IG* and Traill suspect) an otherwise-unattested office; the *name* Βούλαρχος is attested in *PA* and in *Agora* XVII.6.19 (5C). Eikadeon is somehow involved in collection of ἑκατοστή on sales from Sal.

414 4 Ἐκφ⟨α⟩ντίδης Εὐθκρίτου Ἀναγυράσιος 1 c
Sam *SEG* 1.377.1 365-322 (*SEG*) Bur
PAA 384750 Fa's *PAA* 433383 *Alpha* cut as *lambda* (autopsy=ed). Ed, *SEG*, *AO*, *Agora*: Fa=*PA* 5617=*AO* 1258 Εὐ. Ἀ *IG* ii^2 1697.17(=*Agora* XV.492.18) *bouleutes* (c.370). Cf. [Ἐ]ὐθύκριτ[ος ---] *Agora* XVII.815 Bur (4C).

415 D [Ἔκφ]αντος? See [---]αντος (**1483**)
LHe 250-200

416 D Ἑλένη (Λουκίου γυνή) n w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 93.6 001+++ (*IG*: scr) Ded? Rel
Not certain who dedicated; mentioned in epigram of son Νεικήφορος (**1002**), L2. Classified as non-Athenian because family head (**860**), L8, has Roman name (=Lucius).

417 L Ἕλενος? Ζωκώνιος? Μαραθώνιος 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 108 + Supp.1-3 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 385072 *IG* xii Supp. returns to S. Reinach's 1880 copy (including the apparently nominative ending of the patc.), rejecting Fredrich's [M]έν[η]ς Σώι[ζο]ν[τ]ος(?) M., admittedly not based on autopsy. Delete Kiepert citation from *IG*'s biblio.

418 L Ἑλικὼ Θεογένου Λευκονοέως 4 θυγ., Ἀθηνοδώρου Αἰξωνέως 7 γυνή c w

Sal *IG* ii² 6728.1-7 099-075 (*IG*: pro) Bur Rel
PAA 386410 *PA* 4663 Fa's *PAA* 504210 Fa's *PA* 6715 Epitaph found on Sal, then in Aigina Mus. Letters as described by *IG* could be 4C. *IG*: ='Ε. Θ. θυγ., Δεξιλέιους γυνή *IG* xii(5) 1085 on dedication by her fa to Asklepios at Karthaia (Keos), i.e., Athenodoros was her 2nd hus. *PA*: Fa=Θ. Κ[α]λλιμάχου Λ. (**639**); see his entry for rels/conns. Stemma at *PA* 8021 differs from that at Sundwall p.105. *IG*, *PA*: Hus Athenodoros=*PAA* 111465=*PA* 266='Α. 'Α. Α. *IG* ii² 1714.9 and 2336.177 (E1C). Cf. Φιλίστα 'Α. Α. θυγ. *SEG* 36.277(=Osborne, *AncSoc* #8) Bur (3C).

419 ? Ἕλιξος, pat.: see ['Α]μφιχάρης 'Ε. ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 (**80**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 386535 *PA* 4666

420 L Ἔλπιστος, pat.: see 'Αριστονίκη 'Ε. 'Αναγυρασίου 1 θυγ. (**195**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 387475

421 4 Ἔλπων Πρασι(εύς) 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*11 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 387495 *PA* 4684 *IG*: Cf. [Ἔ.] Ἔ. Π. (**422**), 4C Imb (fa or son). *IG*, *PA*, *Agora*: Son=*PA* 5991=*AO* 1215 Εὐσθένης Ἔλωνος of phyle Pandionis *Agora* XV.32.40. List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

422 4 [Ἔ]λπων Ἔλπ[ωνος] Πρασιεύς 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 99.5f 399-300 (JC: scr) Bur? Rel?
PAA 387497 Frag. of list of names with patcs. and demotics, included among gravestones by *IG*. *IG*: Cf. Ἔ. Π. (**421**), 4C Imb (fa or son), with same possible son (or bro), *PA* 5991=*AO* 1215 Εὐσθένης Ἔλπωνος of phyle Pandionis *Agora* XV.32.40. ?Rels=[.]ο[---] Πρα[σ]ιε[ύς?] (**1457**), L1f; Μενέστρατο[ς? ---] Εὐωνυμ[εύς?] (**930**), L3f.

422A ? 'Εμυθῶν? Θεόλλο(υ) d
Sal *SEG* 40.237.3f 399-350 (*SEG*: scr) Bur Rel
SEG and *ed. prin.* print unaccented ΕΜΥΘΩΝ: Perhaps something misread. Fa=Θεόλλος (**661A**), L2. ?Mo=Μνησαγόρα (**952A**), L1.

423 ? 'Εξηκεστίδης, pat.: see Διόδωρος 'Ε. (**349**)
Sal 399-375 *PAA* 388245

424 ? [-c.10- 'Ε]ξηκεστίδο(υ) of phyle Pandionis 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.*c*45 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 388115 *PA* 4711 *IG* brackets *xi*, but it is almost completely preserved (autopsy=Hereward's facsimile); approx. letter count from autopsy. Deme heading lost; phyle is apparently the same as that indicated by the heading 'Οαιεῦς, L*c*49 (JC numbering, correcting Hereward) — which could refer either to the deme Oa 3 (probably more likely) or the deme Oe 6.

425 4 [..]φο[---] 'Εξηκεστίδου Κοθωκίδης 6 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6475(=*CEG* 602).6-8 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded Rel Bur?

PAA 388195 Fa's *PA* 4720 *APF* pp.176f Epigram from Sal. Pittakis mistakenly saw this as the same stone as *IG* ii^2 6474. A restoration of [Εὐ]φο[ρίων] is described by *APF* p.176 as "tempting, but injudicious". Cf. Peek's [Εὔ]φο[ρος], cited in *apparatus* of *CEG*. No separate *PA* entry; son is mentioned within entry for fa, 'Ε. Ἀριστοδώρου Κ. (**427**), L1-3. Stemma at *PA* 1816 is corrected by that at *APF* p.177; names within the latter include Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀριστοδήμου Κ. (**426**), the fa (**427**), Ἐξήκεστος (Ἀριστοδήμου? Κ.?) (**430**), Σιλανίων Ἀριστοδήμο(υ) Κ. (**1147**), and several secondary (patc.) entries (**169=170, 171, 176**).

426 4 Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀριστοδήμου Κοθωκίδης 6 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6474.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 388190 *PA* 4719 *APF* pp.176f Fa's *PAA* 168970 Fa's *PA* 1816 Epitaph from Sal. Pittakis mistakenly saw this as the same stone as *IG* ii^2 6475. *PA*: ='Ε. Κ. *IG* ii^2 1613.183 trierarch (c.353/2), but *APF* p.176 says the trierarch is no less likely to be 'Ε. Ἀριστοδώρου Κ. (**427**). The same ambiguity should hold for *AO* 1277 [Ἐξηκεστ]ίδης Κ. Epi (375/4): see *AO* p.241 discussion, cited at *SEG* 39.171. For family conns. see stemma at *APF* p.177 (which improves that of *PA* 1816) and discussion under **425**. Cf. [Ἀρι]στόδημος of phyle Oineis *Agora* XVII.1.73 Bur (464).

427 4 Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀριστοδώρου Κοθωκίδης 6 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6475(=*CEG* 602).1-3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 388195 *PA* 4720 *APF* pp.176f Fa's *PAA* 168385 Fa's *PA* 1836 Epigram from Sal. Pittakis mistakenly saw this as the same stone as *IG* ii^2 6474. *APF* p.176 says he is no less likely to be 'Ε. Κ. *IG* ii^2 1613.183 trierarch (c.353/2) than *PA*'s choice of 'Ε. Ἀριστοδήμου Κ. (**426**); see that entry for further ambiguities. For family conns. see stemma at *APF* p.177 (which improves that of *PA* 1816) and discussion under entry for son [..]φο[– – –] 'Ε. Κ. (**425**), L6-8.

428 ? Ἐξήκεστος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*31 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
JC: ?='Ε. Ἀριστογένους Ἀθμ[ο]νεύς (**429**) on Imb (L4C).

429 4 Ἐξήκεστ[ος] Ἀριστογένους Ἀθμ[ο]νεύς 7 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.5f 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Mov
PAA 388325 *PA* 4727 Fa's *PAA* 168365 Fa's *PA* 1785 Decree of ?indep. Imb. JC: ?='Ε. (**428**) on Imb (4-3C). JC: ?Ancestor=*AO* 1283 'Ε Ἀθμ. *IG* i^3 437 (etc.) secretary of treasurers. ?Conn.=Hon, polemarch Λύκων Θερσίου Φρεάρριος (**869**), L7 and 14.

430 E Ἐξήκεστος (Ἀριστοδήμου? Κοθωκίδης 6?) p
Sal? *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*18 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) Eco
PAA 388250 ?Fa's *PAA* 168980 ?Fa's *PA* 1816 In sale records of *poletai*, neighbor to the south of 2nd house of Θεομένης Ξυπε[ταιών] (**663**), L*d*6 and *d*16, perhaps located on Sal (his 1st house is). JC:

?=*AO* 1286 'E. K. *Agora* XIX.P5.5 secretary of *poletai* (367/6), connected by *APF* pp.177f with family whose names appear on several gravestones from Sal (see discussion at **425**); thus the suggested patc. and demotic. *Agora*: Rel of *poletai* sec.='Αριστόδημ[ος 'Εξ]ηκέστο(υ) K. *Agora* XV.61.120-2 *bouleutes* (304/3).

431 D 'Επάγαθ⟨ο⟩ς d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 87.*b*4 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys?
IG text's [o] contradicts maj.'s *omega*. None in *PA*+.

432 4 'Επαίνετος, pat.: see Κλεαρίστη 'E. (**778**)
Sal 375-325 *PAA* 389680

433 ? 'Επαμείνων, pat.: see Σώστρατος 'E. (**1213**)
Sam 450+

434 ? 'Επαμείν[ων patc. lost] 'Επικηφίσ[ιος] 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*41 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 389920 *PA* 4764 Demotic from plural heading. JC: Cf. Σώστρατος 'Επαμ. (**1213**) Bur on Sam.

435 D 'Επαφρ⟨ό⟩δειτος, pat.: see Νεικόστρατος 'E. (**1027**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 390455

436 D 'Ε⟨π⟩αφρ(ό)⟨δ⟩ιτος, pat.: see 'Ονησᾶς 'E. (**1065**)
Sal 001++ *PAA* 390190

437 D 'Επαφρόδιτος 'Αλεξάνδρου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10192.1-3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 391050 Fa's *PAA* 119987 Gravestone with reliefs in Peiraieus Mus. *IG*: Sis='Ηδέα (**594**); bro=Μιδίας (**944**), both L4.

438 X 'Επαφρόδιτος, pat.: see Δίης? (**330**); Καλλιτύχη 'E. Σμυρναίου (**755**) LHe 001+

439 ? 'Επιγένης p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.4 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

440 ? 'Επιγένης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*34 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
?='E. 'Αφιδναῖος (**441**) on Imb (L4C).

441 4 'Επιγένης 'Αφιδναῖος 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.5 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Pro
PAA 391545 *PA* 4792 Decree of ?indep. Imb. 1 of 2 *symproedroi* with an Epi. ?='E. (**440**) on Imb (4-3C). Sundwall p.68: Descendant='E. ['Αφιδ]ν., Hon in decree of *boule* (3C?).

442 L 'Επιγένης, pat.: see Εὐφάνης 'E. Εὐ⟨ω⟩νυμε[ύς] 1 (**554**); Οἰνάνθη 'E. Εὐωνυμέως 1 θυγ. (**1052**) Sal 199-100 *PAA* 391650 *PA* 4799

443 ? 'Επίγονος 'Αγκυλῆ(θεν) 2 c
LHe *SLC* 115(=*IG* xii[8] 22).4f 325-200 (JC; cf. Finley: 4C, but later than L4C *horoi*) Eco
PAA 392387 Datv. Creditor on *horos*.

444 ? Ἐπικλέης p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.13 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. Cf. Ἐπικλῆς [Κρ]α[τ]ίου Ἀχαρνεύς (**445**) at LHe (2C).

445 D Ἐπικλῆς [Κρ]α[τ]ίου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
LHe *IG* ii² 1223.1, 15 166+ (*IG*; eds range 229-146) Hon
PAA 393210 Fa's *PAA* 584532 Accus. full formula (name and patc. partial) in L1; gentv. name only (fully preserved) in L15. *IG* has [Καλλ?]ίου for patc, but autopsy + Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 189 improve reading. Hon in decree of LHe, but may be from Attike. Habicht: =Ἐ. Κρατίου of phyle Oineis, Panathenaic victor 166/5, whose fa=Κρατ[---] Ἀ. *Agora* XV.190.8 *prytanis* (c.180); other ancestors and descendants are also suggested, at *IG* ii² 1534B.261 and 264 (see also 248 and 308); 4040.1; and 5849/50. See entry for *PA* 8766 Κ. Ἀ. at *AskAth* p.143. Cf. also Ἐπικλέης (**444**) at LHe (4C).

446 4 Ἐπίκουρος Νεοκλέους Γαργήττιος 2 or P c
Sam D.L.10 (all) + many 342/1-271 (DL) Oth
PAA 393335 *PA* 4855+ *APF* p.312 Fa's *PA* 10640 Philosopher, founder of Epicureanism. D.L.10.1: Of Philaidai *genos*. Fa=Ν. (Γ.) (**988**) Arx of Athenians on Sam (334/3). Mo=Χαιρεστράτη (**1379**); bros=Ἀριστόβουλος (**160**), Νεοκλῆς (**989**), Χαιρέδημος (**1374**). *PA*: ?Rel=Ἐ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρου Γ. *IG* ii² 1963.31 ephebe (1C CE). JC: ?Samian rels=Τιμωρὸς Ἐ. Habicht, *AM* #11.1f Mov (L4C), or Ἐ. [Ζ]ήνωνος *SEG* 40.731 Hon (c.285).

447 4 Ἐπικράτης Κηφισίου Ἰωνίδης 2 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6304.1-3 340-317 (*IG*; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur
PAA 393910 *PA* 4894 Fa's *PAA* 567125 Fa's *PA* 8290 *AO*: Fa=*AO* 1583 [.Κηφί]σιος [Ἐ. Ἰ.] *SEG* 14.47.2f secretary (365/4); restorations mostly in *SEG*'s *apparatus* only.

448 4 Ἐπικράτη[ς], pat.: see Διόφαντος Ἐ. Πειραιεύς 8 (**397**)
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 394135

449 ? Ἐπικράτης Διοφάντου Πειραιεύ(ς) 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.25 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 394125 *PA* 4910 Fa's *PA* 4436 *PA*: Cf. Ἐ. Ἐ. Π. (**450**) and Φιλῖνος Δ. Π., γόνωι δὲ Ἀριστομένου (**1296**) both Bur on Sal. Cf. also *AO* 1037 Trs (399/8) or *Agora* XVII.23.282 Bur (409) both Ἐ. of phyle Hippothontis; and *PA* 4437 and 14336 and their rels.

450 L Ἐπικράτης Ἐπικράτου Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 7161.1-3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 394130 *PA* 4911 Epitaph from Sal, later on Aigina. *PA*: Cf. Ἐ. Διοφάντου Π. (**449**), Φιλῖνος Δ. Π. (**1296**). See also other possible rels at **449**.

451 D Ἐπίκτησις Ἀσκληπιάδου Σαλαμινία d w

Sal *SEG* 21.989.1-3 99+ (*SEG*) Bur
PAA 394540 Fa's *PAA* 220250 Epitaph found on Sal.

452 D Ἐπίκτητος Φιλαθηναίου d
Sal *IG* ii² 10193.9 001++ (*IG*) Bur
PAA 395710 Long epigram mentioning "*eurychoros* Sal", "*Atthis gaie*", etc., from codex in Padua, provenance unknown; text very defective. *IG*: "Agitur de medico Salamine sedem habente". Patc. appears once in *Agora* XV, associated with the deme Erikeia of phyle Aigeis.

453 ? Ἐπίκτητος Ἐπικηφίσιος 6 c
Sam *IG* ii² 3207.21f 324 (Habicht: ctx; cf. *IG*: 307/6) Mov
PAA 395325 *PA* 4918 Mov of decree whereby ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἐν Σάμωι awards crown (to Lykourgos?); possible Attic resident, based on parallel possibility for Τιμόδημος Ἀχαρνεύς (**1237**), Mov of similar decree from *demos* in Lem, L29.

454 ? Ἐπιτ[– – –], pat.: see [Ε]ὐκλῆς Ἐ. [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 (**514**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 398330

455 D [....]η Ἐπ[ι]τέρπου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.15 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
None of fa's name in *PA*+. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

456 ? [Name lost? Ἐ]πιχαρ[– – –? ethnic lost?] d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 6.1f 350-250 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Hon?
Lost; date estimate on basis of *IG*'s maj. *Stoichedon* inscription: *IG*'s text indicates name had 14 letters, but line length depends on restorations. Probably patc. of Hon in LMy decree.

457 ? [Ἐ]πιχάρης [Ἀντι]όχου d
Pot? Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) #12.1f 399-300 (ed) Bur
Epitaph found near Olynthos, but ed believes perhaps brought from Pot (JC: unconvincing). JC: ?Fa=*PA* 1153=*AO* 220 Alkibiades' *kybernetes*.

458 L Ἐπιχάρης, pat.: see Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἐ. Κήττιος 4 (**260**)
Imb 001++ *PAA* 399505 *PA* 4989

459 X Ἐπιχάρης Εὐκτήμονος (Ὀλύνθιος?) d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 116.*a*1f 299-250 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Family gravestone; ethnic inferred from assumption that fa=Εὐκ. Εὐδίκου Ὀλύνθιος (**522**), L*c*1-3, but perhaps its omission implies naturalization or claim of Athenian status. Apparent wf=Κτησὼ Ἐπιχ. (**827**), L*b*1f.

460 L Ἐπιχάρης (Ἐπιχάρου) Στειριεύς 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 73.6-8 001++ (Foucart: scr) Pri
PAA 399607 Gentv. Patc really backwards "C". Eponymous Pri (of *Theoi Megaloi*?). ?Rel=[Ἐ.] Κλε[οφῶντος Σ.] (**461**) on Imb (1C CE).

461 L [Ἐ]πιχάρης Κλε[οφῶντος Στειριεύς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 113.1 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel

PAA 399608 Family gravestone; relationships not all clear. Fa or son=[Κ]λ Ἐ. Σ. (**792**), L2. Other rels=[Σ]καμάνδρι[ο]ς Σκαμανδρίου Σ. (**1153**), L4; [Ν]εικάδης Σ. Σ. (**996**), L3; ?[Τ]ιμόκλεια Κτησιβίου Εἰμ[βρίου] (**1242**), L5. ?Rels=Κ. Μόσχου Σ. (**793**) on Imb (1C CE), Ἐ. (Ἐ.) Σ. (**460**) on Imb (2C CE).

462 L Ἐπιχαρῖνος, pat.: see Χαιρέδημος Ἐ. Κολωνῆθεν 4 or P (**1375**) Sal 253/2 *PAA* 399785 *PA* 5015

463 ? Ἐράτων [Ἡ]γ[η]σά[νδ]ρου Ἀγρυλῆθεν 1 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.4f 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 400412 Fa's *PAA* 480905 On board of *hieromnemones.* Cf. *PA* 5043 Ἐρατώνασσα Καλλίστου, Φιλοξένου Ἀγρυλῆθεν γυνή *IG* ii² 5284 Bur (3/2C).

464 D Ἐργοκλῆς c
Sal? *IG* ii² 1227.5, 27, 45f 132/1 (*IG*: arx) Arx?
PAA 400955 Gentv. all 3 times. Arx *where*? Loc unspec. in inscription or in comm. *ad loc.*, but comm. at *IG* ii² 122*8* says *Attic* Arx (132/1). Still, text would allow him to have been Arx on *Sal*, analogously with Σαραπίων (**1134**) of *IG* ii² 1228.5. If Attic Arx, ?=*PA* 5053, but irrelevant to this Appendix.

465 L (Π. Αἴλιος) Ἐργοχάρης (Μητροφάνους) Προσπάλτιος P c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 27.6f 001+++ (*IG*) Hon Arx?
PAA 401307 Accus. Described as holding several magistracies: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν [Arx?], στρατηγήσαντα, ἀγορανομήσαντα, L9-12. Fa=Chief Pri (Π. Αἴλ.) Μητροφάνης Π. (**941**), L5f; unc=Eponymous Pri (Λ. Φλ.) Φιλόστρατος (**1329A**), L2f.

466 D Ἑρμαΐσκος Εἰόλλου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10194.1-3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 402270 Fa's *PAA* 535358 Columella in Kerameikos.

467 ? Ἑρμ{ν}ησίαναξ, pat.: see Φιλο(υ)μένη Ἑ. (**1339**)
Imb 477-300

468 4 Ἑρμιάδης Θεαινέτου Κεφαλῆθεν 5 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6355.3f 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 403515 Family gravestone from Sal. None of his name in *PA*+ (though Ἑρμίας is attested). Fa=Θ. Λυσιμένους Κ. (**631**), L1; mo=Χαιρεστράτη Ἀριστάνδρου Προβαλισίου (**1380**), L1-3; bros= Λυσιμένης Θ. Κ. (**890**), L3, and Νικόστρατος Θ. Κ. (**1029**), L3-5. See fa's entry for general information and other possible rels.

469 D Ἑρμία[ς]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*4 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s *apparatus* (frag. *b* not in text, and maj. is quite different).

470 D [Ἑ]ρμίας [Ε]ὐθυδήμου d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*3f 001+ (JC: scr) Mys

471 D (Ἰούλιος) Ἕρμιππος c

Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.18 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys Cul
From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). *Epoptes*; only name lacking demotic in list, but list is called "Athenians".

472 X (Φλ.) Ἑρμογ(ένης) (Κλ. Οι?) n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 143.2f 001++ (JC: pro) Mag
Gentv. in *epi*-formula indicates holding some office (DK which). Hellenized Latin Fl(avius) and Cl(audius) are clear enough, but meaning of *Oi* (or *Si*, says *IG*) is unclear.

473 D [Ἑρ]μόλαος Ἑρμο[λάου] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 121.1 299+ (JC: scr) Bur
Only extant name on gravestone. 1 in *PA*+.

474 ? Ἐρξιγένης, pat.: see Προκλῆς Ἐ. Κολλυτεύς 2 (**1118**)
Sal 320 *PAA* 422525 *PA* 5179

475 D ([Κ]λαύδιος) Ἔρως n
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 524.1 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Gentv. No Ἔρως in *PA*+ (may not be a name), but see Ἔρως Ζωπύρου Osborne, *AncSoc* #232 Bur (Roman Imperial period), and Traill informs me that *PAA* has 53 entries with this name. ?Rel/ ?Lover=Λάμ[πων?] (**835**), L2.

476 D Εὐ[– – – patc. and demotic lost] c
Lem? *IG* ii² 1053+.5(=L16 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb? *PAA* 424310 Beginning of (accus.) name in list with patcs. and demotics. From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear).

477 ? [Εὐ]αγόρας? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*42 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Or [Δι]αγόρας?

478 ? Εὐαίνετος Ἐρχιεύς 2 c
LHe *SLC* 105(=Segre, *Ann.* #12).5f 450-375 (ed: ctx; cf. *APF*: later, pro) Eco
PAA 425760 *APF* p.187 Datv. (*SLC* readings). 1 of 3 creditors of Νικίας (**1003**), L4; other 2 names (**1437, 1440**) very fragmentary. *APF*: ?=E. Ἐ. *IG* ii² 1609.56 trierarch (before366/5?) or his namesake grandson *PA* 5247 of *IG* ii² 1632.303 trierarch (322); Segre calls this latter trierarch a possible descendant. Between the trierarchs' generations is Εὔ[α]νδρος Ε. Ἐ. *Agora* XIX.P9.32f silver mine lessee (350s); this source's *ed. prin.* conflates the 2 trierarchs.

479 ? Εὐαλκίδης Ἀλκιμάχου ἐκ Κεραμ(έων) 5 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.24 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 426045 *PA* 5260 Fa's *PAA* 121960 Fa's *PA* 618 *PA*: ?=*PA* 5259 Ε. ἐκ Κ., fa of *PA* 12799 Σμικυλίων Ε. ἐκ Κ. *IG* ii² 6338 Bur (4C). *APF* p.13 discusses several high-status Alkimachoi of unspecified demes; none is connected by Davies with this family, but there seems to be no reason to exclude that possibility.

480 D Εὐανδρὶς Ἀριστοδήμου Σαλαμινία d w

Sal Osborne, *AncSoc* #152.1-3 150-100 (ed) Bur
PAA 426270 Fa's *PAA* 169167 Epitaph from Kerameikos. None in *PA+*.

481 ? Εὔανδρος d
Sky *SEG* 27.556.1 399+ (JC: gss) Bur
1-word epitaph: no photo, no maj., no comm. in *ed. prin.*, Choremis, *AD* 27 (1972) B2.355.

482 4 Εὐβουλίδης Ἁλα(ιεύς) 2 c
Sam Michel 832.61 346/5 (arx) Epi Pro
PAA 427825 *PA* 5322 Ohly readings. Habicht nts.: Cf. E. Προμηθί[ωνος Ἁλα(ιεύς)?] *Agora* XV.206.5 Epi Pro (173/2).

483 4 Εὐβο[υ]λίδης Εὐβο[υ]λίδου [Μαρα]θώνιος 9 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6783.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 427915 *PA* 5332 Fa's *PAA* 427910 Epitaph from Sal, then in Aigina. *IG*'s knowledge of script based on copies, not on stone (not seen).

484 D Εὔβουλος, pat.: see [Ν]ικὼ Εὐ. (**1036**)
Imb 199-100

485 ? Εὐγενίδης, pat.: see Εὔστροφος Ε. Πειραιεύς 8 (**547**)
Sal 320 *PAA* 428895 *PA* 5381

486 L Εὔδημ[ος] p
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14c.8f 199-001 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul?
Gentv. *Kyrios* of (?rel) Ἰσιδίκη Ποσειδωνίου Σουνιέως θυγ. (**708**), L1-6. Roles inferred from manumissions on other faces of stone, from Kabeirion.

487 D Εὔδημος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 87.*b*1 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys? Str?
Later text on frag. *a* has heading showing its names are those of initiates, but no heading on frag. *b*. *IG*'s accent in L*b*2 treats Στράτηγο[ς] as a name (**1174**), but it could be Eudemos' office; listing generals first is common Athenian practice (cf. **1198**, although the formula there is fuller).

488 X Εὔδικος, pat.: see Εὐκτήμων Ε. Ὀλύνθιος (**522**)
Imb 299-250

489 ? Εὐδράμων, pat.: see Σ[ω]κ[ρ]άτης Ε. Ἀφιδναῖ[ος] 9 (**1196**) Sal 320 *PAA* 430165 *PA* 5441

490 L Εὔθετος, pat.: see Εὐθύμαχος Ε. Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P (**509**)
Imb 250-166 *PAA* 431505 *PA* 5472

491 E Εὔδηρος c
Unk Xen. *Mem.* 2.8 431-404 (ctx) DK
PAA 431537 None in *PA+*. Meets Sokrates in 405, after returning to Athens. Gauthier, *Prob.de la Terre* 167f says he was a klerouch.

492 4 Εὐθίας Σουνι(εύς) 4 c
Unc *IG* ii² 1609.89 370/69 (Cawkwell: ctx; others say later) Arx
PAA 431660 *AO* 1219 Gentv. in dating formula (phrase here,

from autopsy, differs slightly from *IG*'s text) puts the dispatch of certain ships ἐπι ... κ[ληρο(υ)χα]ρχόντων of him and Εὐκτή[μων Λου?]σι(εύς) (**521**); *AO* p.251 describes them as "Kleroucharchoi". Date makes Lem, Imb, Sky only possible Loc's (LMy, LHe most likely?).

493 4 Εὐθίας Χολλεί(δης) 4 c
Sam Michel 832.62 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 431690 *PA* 5492

494 4 Εὔθιππο[ς] Ἀμεινοκλείδο(υ) Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
LMy *IG* xii(8) 12.1f 399-300 (*PA*; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 431745 *PA* 5497 Fa's *PAA* 123435 Fa's *PA* 693 *IG*'s maj. letters look post-4C. Patc. unique in *PA*+. Cf. E. of phyle Oineis *Agora* XVII.23.224 Bur (409).

495 4 Εὐθύδημος c
LMy IG xii(8) 5.5 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Mov
PAA 432155 *PA* 5517 Introduces LMy decree honoring LHe *epimeletes*. ?=E. (**496**) Str to Sam (4C). ?=E. of phyle Antiochis (**498**) in Lem and Attike (L4C). ?Conn.=Hon Σα[υρί]ας? (**1140**), L6.

496 ? Εὐθύδημος c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.7, 10f 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Str
Accus. τὸν στρατηγὸν Ε[- - -] (L7), [- - - τὸν στρατη]γὸν Εὐθύδημον (L10f). Mentioned in klerouchic decree. Dunst: Perhaps purified temple. ?=E. (**495**) Mov on Lem (4C). ?=E. of phyle Antiochis (**498**) in Lem and Attike (L4C).

497 D [Ε]ὐθύδημος, pat.: see [Ἑ]ρμίας [Ε]ὐ. (**470**)
Imb 001+

498 ? Εὐθύδημος of phyle Antiochis 10 c
Lem *SEG* 3.117.3 303/2 (arx) Hon Mag Cul
PAA 432200 Attic tribal decree: tribal σύνδικος; helped settle controversy at tribe's temenos on Lem, assisted by Pri Λεπτίνης (**847**), L6f and 12f. Ed: =E. (**495**) on Lem (4C). Cf. also E. (**496**) Str to Sam (4C). ?Conn.=Mov Τίμων Τιμαίου Παλληνεύς, L1f.

499 E Εὐθ[ύδ]ημος [Ἁγ]νο(ύ)σ[ιος?] 9 or [Ῥαμ]νο(ύ)σ[ιος?] 5 c
LHe *SLC* 190A(=*SEG* 34.882*bis*).5-7 499-400 (ed) Eco
PAA 432220 Datv. Creditor on *horos*. JC's reading from photo; pub. texts have meaningless γυθ[.]ημω[....]νοσ[..]; Wallace suggests alternative demotic. ?=E. (**495**) on Lem (4C). ?=E. (**496**) Str to Sam (4C). If Wallace's demotic is correct, ?rel=*PA* 5527 E. Ἁ. trierarch+ (L4C); see *APF* pp.190f for sources.

500 4 Εὐθύδημος, pat.: see Μοιροκλῆς Ε. Ἐλευσίνιος 8 (and Σαλαμίνιος) (**962**) Sal 343-317 *PAA* 432295 *PA* 5533

501 4 Εὐθυδίκη p w
Sal *IG* ii² 6950.1(right) 399-300 (*PA*: scr; cf. ed: begin 4C) Bur Rel

PAA 432457 *PA* 5545 Epitaph from Sal; reliefs show standing man left, ?hus Εὐχάρης Ὀῆθεν (**566**), and seated woman right.

502 D [Ε]ὐθυδίκη Εὐθυκράτου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.8 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Gives Δ (=10 drx?). 6 in *PA*+, including dtr of *oikistes* of Adriatic *apoikia* (**950**).

503 D Εὐθυκράτης, pat.: see [Ε]ὐθυδίκη Ε. (**502**)
Imb 199-100

504 4 Εὐθυκράτης Φείδωνος Ἐρχιεύς 2 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6111.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. Dain: L5C) Bur Rel
PAA 433165 *APF* p.247 Epitaph from Sal, now in Louvre. 3-dot interpunct after name. *APF*: =E. 'E. *SLC* 126B.3f. ?Wf=Νικοστράτη (**1024**), L2. *APF* mentions Euthykrates within a discussion of the family of the pamphleteer Isokrates, in which occurs *PA* 14181 Φείδων Θε[ο]δώρου Ἐ. *IG* ii^2 6133.1-3. Euthykrates' fa is only called "earlier", not explicitly connected with the family (and not in the stemma of p.248).

505 L Εὐθυκρίτη Πολυξένου Κειριάδου 8 θυγ. c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 6307.1-4 299+ (*IG*; cf. *PA*: 3/2C) Bur
PAA 433320 *PA* 5610 Fa's *PAA* 780615 Fa's *PA* 12061
Columella from Sal, later moved to Aigina.

506 ? [Εὐθύ]κριτος See [---]κριτος (**1505**)
Sam 365-322

507 4 Εὐθύκριτος, pat.: see Ἐκφ⟨α⟩ντίδης Ε. Ἀναγυράσιος 1 (**414**) Sam 365-322 *PAA* 433383

508 E Εὐθύμαχο[ς] of phyle Kekropis 7? c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.1 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 433498 Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading. This name appears *above* the heading "Hippothontis", and thus should come from Kekropis — if listing groups of names in the official tribal sequence is yet established. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

509 L Εὐθύμαχος Εὐθέτου Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 51.16 250-166 (JC: com; eds differ) Mag
PAA 433640 *PA* 5637 Fa's *PAA* 431505 Fa's *PA* 5472 Office is *praktor* (1 of 3). See **1503** on dating problems. *IG*: Fa=Εὔθετος Λ. *IG* ii^2 2967.10 Ded (M4C); rel=Τιμαρέτη Εὐθυμάχου θυγ. Λαμπτρᾶθεν *IG* ii^2 6363.5-8 Bur (2nd half 4C). Cf. *AO* 1262 Εὐθύμαχος Λ. *Agora* XV.42.51 *bouleutes* (336/5?). Cf. treatment of Πουλυδάμας [Εὐθυ]μάχου [Λαμ]πτρ[εύς] *IG* ii^2 10530 (4C) at *SEG* 35.175, citing D. Peppas-Delmousou, *AD* 33 (1978) B.6f: Her new frag. at top left corrects *IG*'s Πολ-; see article also for prosopography.

510 ? Εὐθύμαχος, pat.: see Ἀρχιάδης Ε. Ὀτρυνεύς 2 (**232**)
Sal 450-370 *PAA* 433670 *PA* 5638

511 D Εὐθυμένης, pat.: see [Λε]οντὶς Ε. (**844**)
Imb 199-100
512 D Εὐκαρπία Χαρίτωνος Σαλαμινίου θυγ. d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10195.1-4 299-200 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 434320 Columella from Kerameikos. Cf. Διονύσιος Χ. Σ. (**379**) Bur (1C CE).
513 D [Εὐ]κλέα Δ[-4or5-]του p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.3 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has no *kappa*, but has an underdotted *iota* after patc's *delta*. *IG*'s *apparatus*: Δη[μαινέ]του? Δι[ακρί]του? 3 named -εια in *PA*+ (no -εα). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].
514 ? [Ε]ὐκλῆς Ἐπιτ[--- Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*38 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 436770 *PA* 5721 Fa's *PAA* 398330 Demotic from restored plural heading. *IG*: Common name and demotic in 4C lists, e.g., *PA* 5718 (fa of Παγχαρίων), 5719, 5720 (son of Ἀριστείδης).
515 ? Εὐκλῆς Λυσίου Μελιτεύς 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.8 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 436870 *PA* 5727 Fa's *PAA* 614035 Fa's *PA* 9377 Fa's name common in Kekropis? Cf. *PA* 889, 9303, 9361-2, 9553 (none with deme specified).
516 D Εὐκλῆς, pat.: see Ζωΐλος Ε. Σφήττιος 5 (**573**)
Sal 125-100 *PAA* 436940
517 ? Εὐκταῖος, pat.: see Νικίας Ε. Ξυπεταιών 7 (**1006**)
Sal 320 *PAA* 437995 *PA* 5773
518 ? Εὐκταῖος Νικίου Ξυπεταιών 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.8 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 438000 *PA* 5774 *APF* p.407f Fa's *PA* 10814 ?Cous=N. E. Ξ. (**1006**), L5. ?Rel=Ἡδυλίνη Νικοδήμου θυγ. Ξ. (**597**) Bur on Sal (4C). Cf. N. of phyle Kekropis *Agora* XVII.23.255 Bur (409). *APF* p.408 stemma differs from that of *PA* 10815. See discussion of Bugh, *Horsemen* 181.
519 ? Εὐκτήμων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*2 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant. ?=E. (Χαρίου?) [Δου]σι[εύς?] (**521**) *kleroucharchon* to Unc Loc (4C).
520 ? Εὐκτήμων Κηφισιεύς 1 c
Lem Isaios 6.13 399-364 (pro) Rel
PAA 438260 *PA* 5798 *APF* pp.562f Dies, age 96, in or just before 364. No specific evidence indicates that he ever lived on Lem, but it is possible, since his 2nd wf=Καλλίππη Πιστοξένου θυγ. Λημνία (**741**), by whom he is alleged to have produced 2 sons. A delay granted in the court case involving Euktemon's estate seems to reflect her absence from Athens; perhaps she was on Lem. See

APF's discussion and stemma (p.265), which includes Euktemon's large family by his Attic 1st wf. *AO* 1166 supplies Kephisia parenthetically as the deme for *PA* 5782 E. Str (412/1), saying (p.158) that the deme "is conjectured by association with" this Euktemon, citing *APF*'s discussion. Whether *AO* ID's the men, or only suggests they may be rels, is unclear (*APF* makes no reference to the Str at all).

521 4 Εὐκτή[μων] (Χαρίου?) [Λου]σι[εύς 6?] c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1609.88f 370/69 (Cawkwell: ctx; others say later) Arx *PAA* 438285 *AO* 1169 Gentv. in dating formula (phrase here, from autopsy, differs slightly from *IG*'s text) puts the dispatch of certain ships ἐπὶ ... κ[ληρο(υ)χα]ρχόντων of him and Εὐθίας Σουνι(εύς) (**492**); *AO* p.251 describes them as "Kleroucharchoi". Date makes Lem, Imb, Sky only possible Loc's (LMy, LHe most likely?). Sundwall, *AO*: =*PA* 5785 E. Ἀθηναῖος Delphic *naopoios* (340s-330s) =*PA* 5800 E. Λ. mentioned at Dem. 21.103 and 139, with a son (*PA*) or fa (*Agora*), *PA* 15350 Χαρίας Ε. Λ. *Agora* XV.62.192 (=*IG* ii^2 1746.32f). Entry for Euktemon at Sundwall p.79 includes patc. (which *AO* accepts), with demotic restored. Cf. E. (**519**) ?Mys on Imb (4-3C).

522 X Εὐκτήμων Εὐδίκου Ὀλύνθιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 116.*c*1-3 299-250 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Son=Ἐπιχάρης Εὐκ. (**459**), L*a*1f. ?Dtr-in-law=Κτησὼ Ἐπιχ. (**827**), L*b*1f.

523 ? Εὐλάδης p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.3 399-300 (ed:scr) DK
No Εὐλ- names in *PA*+. Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

524 4 Εὔμαχος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11859.1(right) 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 438830 *PA* 5813a Epitaph with reliefs from Sal, reported lost in *IG*, but *SEG* 39.278 says it is in Rochester, NY. *IG*'s date would permit ID with *AO* 1172 Str Eumachos (L5C). See discussion of possible ID's of **525** ?Samian (L5C). ?Wf=Κλειτομάχη (**781**), same line (left).

525 ? Εὔμαχος Σάμιος? p
Sam *IG* ii^2 1.35-37 405 (arx) Amb?
PAA 438915 Datv., gentv., accus. Phrasing seems to indicate he is a Samian, although one who is, or is about to be, enfranchised (he is invited to *deipnon*, not *xenia*, L37), but it is just possible that he is an Athenian officer escorting a group of Samians to Athens. If so, he could be *AO* 1172 Eumachos ?Euonymeus, Str at Sam (411/0 and 410), mentioned at Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22, whose name seems

unproblematic in both OCT and Loeb, although *PA* 5342 (citing only this source) calls him Εὔβουλος. *AO* p.163 equates Eumachos of Xen. *Hell.* with *PA*'s Euboulos, adding the doubtful deme (from Bradeen via Fornara). Cf. Eumachos (**524**) Bur on Sal (E4C), or Eumachos of *Agora* XVII.821 Bur in Athens (5/4C).

526 4 Εὐμηλίδης c
LHe Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a.8f 399-300 (JC: scr) Arx
JC's reading from photo and squeeze; Hatzis pub. no text. Unusual nomtv. dating formula: ἄρχων Εὐμηλίδης. Arx on Lem (no 4C Attic Arx with this name).

527 X [Εὔ]μηλος Μενίσ[κ]ο[υ] Μειλήσιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 138.1 099+ (JC: scr) Bur
Voctv. Follows *IG*'s text; maj. utterly dissimilar.

528 ? Εὔμηλος, pat.: see Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ε. Π[– – –] (**1058**)
Sal 375-325 *PAA* 439515 *PA* 5839

529 L Εὔμηλος, pat.: see Θαυμαρέτη Ε. Ῥαμνουσίου 9, Θεοδώρου Ῥ. 9 γυνή (**626**) Sky 299+ *PAA* 439525 *PA* 5839a

530 4 Εὔνικ[ος patc. lost] Σκαμ[βωνίδης] 4 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*15 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 440055 *PA* 5857 Demotic from plural heading. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

531 4 [-c.5-]ς Εὐνόμο(υ) [Εὐωνυμ]εύς? 1 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*6 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 440430 *PA* 5865 Letter count in name from autopsy. Schweigert's ID in preceding line (see **728**) leads to demotic (not Lamptreus, but of same phyle) from restored plural heading. If correct, ?fa=*PA* 5869=*AO* 1180 E. E. *IG* ii^2 410.28 *hieropoios* (330s). LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

532 D Εὔνους Λυσίου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10196.1-3 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 440790 Fa's *PAA* 614235 Columella from church in Athens.

533 D Εὔξενος, pat.: see [Σι]μίχη Ε. (**1150**)
Imb 199-100

534 4 Εὔξενος Θορί(κιος) 5 c
Sam Michel 832.3 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 441040 *PA* 5895 Cf. E. E. of phyle Aka[mantis] Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) p.188 LIII.34 Panathenaic victor (162/1).

535 4 Εὐξίθεος, pat.: see Χαρίας Ε. Κήττιος 4 (**1401**)
Imb 399-300 *PAA* 441235 *PA* 5907

536 X Εὐ[οδία], mat.?: see Δεξὶς Ε. (**303**) w
Sky 001++

537 X [Name lost] Εὐοδίας n
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 523.1 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel?

IG restores status: [θρεπτό]ς. Is Εὐοδία his mo or his ex-owner? ?Sis=Δεξὶς Εὐ[οδίας] (**303**), or just fellow slave (called [θ]ρεπτή). See similar question at **568**. No Εὐοδία in *PA*+, but (Traill informs me) 9 in *PAA*.

538 4 Εὔπολις Κήττιος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.3 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Epi Pro
PAA 442630 *PA* 5942 Decree of ?indep. Imb. Epi with 2 *symproedroi*.

539 X Εὐπρέπων (?), pat.: see Ἀριστόξενος Ε. Τενέδιος (**199**)
LHe 299-200

540 ? Εὐρήμων, pat.: see Χαριδημίδ[η]ς Ε. Ὀαεύς 3? (**1405**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 444510 *PA* 5947

541 E Εὐριπίδης Μνησαρχίδου Φλυεύς 7 (and Σαλαμίνιος?) c
Sal *IG* xiv.1207.*b*1-2 485-406 (pro) DK
PAA 444585 *PA* 5953 Fa's *PAA* 655305 Fa's *PA* 10246 Tragedian: many sources (see *PA*), which justify patc. and demotic; cited here is a late inscribed herm in Velitrae in Italy, commemorating Solon on one side and on the other Εὐρειπίδης Μνη[σα]ρχίδου Σαλαμείνιος τραγ[ικὸς] ποιητής. *PA* also quotes his *Vita* 137.81 (derived ultimately from Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 219): Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι σπήλαιον κατασκευάσαντα ἀναπνοὴν ἔχον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖσε διημερεύειν φεύγοντα τὸν ὄχλον. *OCD*², s.v., calls this cave on Sal "probably a family property". The implication that someone may properly be called both by his demotic and by the 'ethnic' *Salaminios* is denied by, e.g., Figueira, *A&A* 146f n.31.

542 ? [Εὐ]ρυδάμας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*43 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

543 D Εὐσθένης, pat.: see [Λυ]σιδίκη Ε. (**881**)
Imb 199-100

544 4 Εὐσθένης Κολωνῆ(θεν) 10 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*16 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 445375 *PA* 5990 *IG*: Much later rels=[Ε]ὐ. [Π]ραξιτέ[λους Κ]ο. (**546**) and Πραξιτέ[λης] Ε. Κ. (**1116**), both Bur on Imb. *PA*'s "filius sine dubio", called Με[---] Ε. Κ., is a misreading for the latter, q.v. Cf. also [Δυ]σιδίκη Ε. (**881**) and [Σ]τρατονίκη Π. (**1178**) both on Imb (2C). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

545 L Εὐσθέν[ης], pat.: see Πραξιτέ[λης] Ε. Κολωνῆθεν P (**1116**)
Imb 199+ *PAA* 445377

546 L [Ε]ὐσθέν[ης Π]ραξιτέ[λους Κ]ολωνῆ[θεν] P c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 105.1-3 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
PAA 445378 *IG*: Rels=Ε. Κ. (**544**, "natu multo maior") and Πρ. Ε. Κ. (**1116**, "natu non paulo minor", but "filium esse non credo"). ?Dtr= [Δυ]σιδίκη Ε. (**881**); ?rel=[Σ]τρατονίκη Π. (**1178**) both on Imb (2C).

547 ? Εὔστροφος Εὐγενίδου Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.6 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 445475 *PA* 5996 Fa's *PAA* 428895 Fa's *PA* 5381 Several of this name attested in deme. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 5998 Εὔσ. Θεοδότου Π. *IG* ii² 1940.46 *epimeletes* (L2C). Cf. also *PA* 5995 and 5997, both Εὔσ. Π.; and especially Θεόδοτος Π. (**644**) and Θ. Εὐσ. Π. (**645**) Hon's in Salaminian decrees (L2C). *AskAth* p.207 B33 discusses *PA* 5995, who is treated as a rel, with sources and other suggested rels.

548 L Εὔστροφος, pat.: see Θεόδοτος Ε. Πειραιεύς 8 (**645**)
Sal 132/1 *PAA* 445490 *PA* 5997

549 D Εὐσχήμων Χρυσέρωτος Πειραιεύς 8 c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.10 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys
PAA 445550 From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription).

550 E Εὐτέλες of phyle Erechtheis 1 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.4 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 445755 *PA* 6000 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ης. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

550A ? Εὐτέλης Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 10 c
Sal *SEG* 40.217.1f(right) 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
Gravestone from Sal: no photo, date, or details. Depending on date (only clue is Ionic alphabet), he could be *PA* 6001*, fa of *AO* 912=*PA* 4403* [Δ]ιοφάνης Ε[ὐ]τ. Ἀ. *Agora* XV.55 *bouleutes* (c.321), which corrects the demotic (Ἀγκυλῆθεν) of *PA* and *IG* ii² 2407. Whether or not this ID is precise, Euteles of the epitaph should be a relative of the *bouleutes*, since on the same gravestone appears the name Διοφάνης Ἀ. (**392A**), same lines (left), who should be either his fa or his son (thus possibly =*PA* 4403*). Rel (mo?/wf?/mo-in-law?)=Ἀρίστυλλα (**205A**), L3.

551 E Εὐτέρπη? Νεοκλέους γυνή, Καρδιανή? n w
Chr? Bicknell, *Historia* 31 (1982) 161-173 550-500 (pro) Rel
APF pp.213f Foreign woman who married Athenian ?settler and became the mother of Themistokles (*PA* 6669). Some sources call her Ἀβροτόνον (*PAA* 101398) instead. Bicknell emends description of her (by Phainias of Eresos) as being ἐκ Καρίας to ἐκ Καρδίας, changing the reference to Kardia in Chr. Similarly, Lewis, *ib.* 32 (1983) 245 reinterprets Plutarch's reference to her as a Thraikian woman "from the market place" (ἐξ ἀγορᾶς) as a confused version of a tradition that she came from Agora (near Kardia) in Chr. See *APF* for sources and their problems.

552 E Εὐτύχες of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
Lem *IG* i³ 1165.4 450-400 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 446685 *PA* 6006 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ης. List in Athens in which "Lemnians" seems to be a subcategory of Hippothontis names.

553 L Εὐτύχης Γλ[αύκω]νος Κήττιος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 79.3 001+ (*IG*) Cul Ded
PAA 446742 Fa's *PAA* 277050 Gentv. Text of Kyparissis (cited at *SEG* 28.719) does not improve upon *IG*'s. 1 of 2 described as ἐπιμε[λ]ουμ[ένων τοῦ ἱερέ]ως τῆς Νεμέσεω[ς]. Assoc.=Νέστωρ Ἱερων[ύ]μου Μαραθώνιο[ς] (**993**), L2.

554 L Εὐφάνης Ἐπιγένου Εὐ⟨ω⟩νυμε[ύς] 1 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6169.1-3 199-100 (*IG*: pro) Bur
PAA 449165 *PA* 6022 Fa's *PAA* 391650 Fa's *PA* 4799 Epitaph from Sal. *Omega* cut as *omicron*. *PA* (citing both sources in same entry): =E. Ἐ. E. *IG* ii² 2800.2 Str honored by Salaminians (2C); ID more cautious in *IG*. *PA*: ?Sons=*PA* 606 Ἀλκίδαμος E. E. and *PA* 5809 Εὐμαρείδης E. E. JC: Cf. *PA* 4800 [– – –]ς Ἐ. E. *IG* ii² 1009.72 ephebe (L2C).

555 ? Εὔ[φ]αντος Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.7f 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 449340 Decree of initiates. Cf. Ἔ[κφα]ντος? Ἀχαρ(νεύς) *IG* ii² 1632.69 trierarch (322), about whom *APF* p.175 says "Ε[ὔφα]ντος is possible, but a less common name". Any such restoration for the *PA* deme list entry [– – –] τος [Ἀχα]ρν[εύς], however, has been eliminated by the fuller subsequent text of *IG* ii² 2318.334.

556 ? [Εὐ]φίλητος, pat.: see [Δι]ογένης [Εὐ]φ. (Λακιάδης 6?) (**337**) Pot 429-350 *PAA* 450070

557 ? Εὐφίλητος Τυχησίππο(υ) [Λα]κιάδης 6 c
Pot *IG* i³ 1513(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #4).1-4 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404?) Bur
PAA 450070 Name formula actually *begins* with phyle: Οἰνηΐδος (L1). Ed: Patc. unique. Ed, *IG*: Son=[Δι]ογένης [Εὐ]φ. (**337**) on another gravestone (*IG* i³ 1514=Rom. #5) in same find spot.

558 4 [Εὐ]φο[ρίων]? See [..]φο[– – –] Ἐξηκεστίδου Κοθωκίδης 6 (**425**) Sal 399-300

559 4 [Εὔ]φο[ρος]? See [..]φο[– – –] Ἐξκεστίδου Κοθωκίδης 6 (**425**) Sal 399-300

560 L Εὐφράνωρ, pat.: see Ἀνδροκλείδης E. Στειριεύς 3 (**88**) LHe 250-200 *PAA* 450835

561 D Εὐφροσύνη Ἀνδροσ{σ}θένους Σαλαμινία d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10197.1-3 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 451445 Fa's *PAA* 129080 JC's deletion of superfluous *sigma*. Epitaph, no indication of find spot. ?Rel=E. Εὐφροσύνου Σ. (**562**).

562 D Εὐφρο[σύνη] Εὐφροσύνου Σαλαμι[νία, Δ]ημοσθένο[υ] Εὐπυρίδου 4 γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10198.1-4 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 451450 Fa's *PAA* 452125 Epitaph found on Sal, now in

Eleusis Mus. Hus=*PA* 3588, whom *PA* ID's with [Δ]ημ. Ἀπολλωνίου of phyle Leontis *IG* ii^2 2461.83 (dated M1C by *IG*). This would make his fa *PAA* 147955=*PA* 1530. But Traill also suggests that his ?fa=*PAA* 147960=*PA* 1531. Cf. Θεμίσων Ἀ. Ε. *Agora* XV.323.10 (E2C CE). ?Rel=Ε. Ἀνδροσ{σ}θένους Σ. (**561**).

563 D Εὐφρόσυνος Ἡφαιστιαῖος? d
LHe? Millet, *BCH* 29 (1905) p.57, L1 and 6 001+++ (ed: ctx) Bur Rel
Christian epigram from Mt. Athos. Wf=(Αὐρ.) Φίλα (**1283**), L2. ?Ethnic inferred from reference to τῇ πατρίδι ἡμῶν τῇ Ἡφαιστιαίων πόλε[ι] (L6), but it need not indicate LHe on *Lem.*

564 D Εὐφρόσυνος, pat.: see Εὐφρο[σύνη] Ε. Σαλαμι[νία, Δ]ημοσθένο[υ] Εὐπυρίδου 4 γυνή (**562**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 452125

565 4 Εὐχα[---] of phyle Pandionis 3 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.2 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro *PAA* 452310 Dunst: ?=*PA* 6140 Εὐχαρίδης Παιανιεύς, patc. at *IG* ii^2 7075, or *PA* 6131 Εὐχάρη[ς] Εὐάρχο[υ] Κονθυλῆθ[εν] at *IG* ii^2 487.23-25, or *PA* 6132 Εὐχάρης [Ν]ικοκράτους [Κ]υδαθηναιεύς at *IG* ii^2 6575. *PA*+ has no one from this phyle with the other attested name, Εὐχάριστος. To Dunst's suggestions should be added *PA* 6135a [Εὐ]χαρίδης (unmodified) *IG* ii^2 2345.12 (1st half 4C).

566 4 Εὐχάρης Ὀῆθεν 6 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6950.1(left) 399-300 (*PA*: scr; cf. ed: begin 4C) Bur Rel *PAA* 452355 *PA* 6133 Epitaph from Sal. ?Wf=Εὐθυδίκη (**501**), same line.

567 X Εὐχάριστος, pat.: see Φιλομάθης Ε. Τενέδιος (**1319**) Imb 099+

568 X Ἔφεσος Φιλομάθου (Τενέδιος?) n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 140.4f 099+ (JC: scr) Bur Oth Rel?
Called δημόσιος (L6f), prompting *IG*'s comm. "filius peregrini in servitutem publicam transisse videtur". This assumes that Ephesos has a patc., which would make him a Tenedian like Φ. Εὐχαρίστου Τ. (**1319**), L1-3; but the "patc." may be only his former master's name, in which case Ephesos' own ethnicity is unknown. See similar questions at **303** and **537**.

569 4 Ἐχεκλῆς Ἀρχικλέιους Ῥαμνούσιος 9 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 7350.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 453180 *PA* 6171 Fa's *PAA* 213445 Fa's *PA* 2507 Epitaph from Sal, now Aigina. ?Rel=Later name below (**1544**), of which only traces remain.

ZETA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

570 ? Ζην[όβι?]ος Ἀτεμιδώρου d
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.5f, 12 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Hon Cul?
Nomtv. name and patc., datv. name only. Dunst's restoration; other possibilities (JC): Ζην[όδοτ]ος, Ζην[όδωρ]ος. Informer rewarded by klerouchs. Dunst says informed about sacrilege (this depends on restorations), and possibly native Samian. ?Conn.=Mov [Ἀ]ρίστων Μενεκλείους Πήλη(ξ) (**209**), L5.

571 L Ζώη See Καλλίστω Ζώου Ἐλευσεινίου 8 θυγ. (**752**) LHe 001++

571A L Ζώης?, pat.: see Καλλίστω Ζώου Ἐλευσεινίου 8 θυγ. (**752**) LHe 001++ *PAA* 462562

572 X Ζωίλ[ος], pat.: see Χαιρέας Ζ. Μειλήσιος (**1373**) Imb 099+

573 D Ζωίλος Εὐκλέους Σφήττιος 5 c
Sal *IG* ii² 2867.5f 125-100 (*IG*: pro) Mag
PAA 463185 Fa's *PAA* 436940 Dedication by Athenian *demos*, found on Sal, with γυμνασιαρχῶν Ζ. Ε. Σ. apparently as dating formula (?Attic or ?Salaminian Mag). *IG*: ?Gfa=*PA* 6246 Ζ. Σ. *IG* ii² 2332.142 (183/2), whose sons=(?Fa) *PA* 5731 Ε. Ζ. Σ. and (?unc) *PA* 6247 Ζ. Ζ. Σ., L143f (the latter also at *Agora* XV.186 of 181/0). Cf. [Ε]ὐκλῆς [of phyle Akamantis] *Agora* XVII.23.189 Bur (409).

574 L Ζ̣ωκ̣ώνιος?, pat.: see Ἕλενος? Ζ. Μαραθώνιος 9 (**417**) Imb 299+

575 L Ζώος?, pat.: see Καλλιστὼ Ζ. Ἐλευσεινίου 8 θυγ. (**752**) LHe 001++ *PAA* 462562 (as Ζώης)

576 D Ζώπυρος, pat.: see Ἀφροδὼ Ζ. (**258**) Sal 001++ *PAA* 464335

577 D Ζωσίμη Φα[– – –] See Ζωσίμη Φλ. (Ζωσίμου Σκυρίου θυγ.?) (**579**) w Sky 001++

578 D Ζωσίμη Χρυσίππου Σαλαμινία d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10199.1-3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur

PAA 465760 Columella in Peiraieus Mus. Cf. Ἀφέλη α Διονυσίου Σ., Ζωσίμου γυνή (**254**) and her hus (or ?son) Z. (Z.) Σ. (**581**) Bur on Sal (2C CE). Cf. Ζωσί[μη? ---] *SEG* 37.142.2f Ded (Roman period).

579 D Ζωσίμη Φλ. (Ζωσίμου Σκυρίου θυγ.?) d w
Sky *IG* ii² 10368(=*IG* xii[8] 676).1 001++ (*IG* ii²: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 465535 Family gravestone apparently brought from Sky to Athens, after being copied on Sky, so that its text appears (in somewhat different forms) in 2 different volumes of *IG*; I follow *IG* ii²'s text. 1-dot interpuncts before and after Φλ (Φλυέως Φλάβια?), which abbr. itself appears both before and after Ζωσίμη. ?Patc. from context. ?Fa=Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου Φλ.? Σκύριος (**582**); ?mo= Χαρμοσύνη ἐκ Σφηττίων (**1414**), both L1f.

580 D Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου (no ethnic) See Z. Ἀ. Φλ.? Σκύριος? (**582**) Sky 001++

581 D Ζώσιμος (Ζωσίμου) Σαλαμείνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10181.4f and probably 2 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 469580 Fa's *PAA* 469575 Naiskos from Sal, with relief showing Priestess of Isis. Patc. really backwards C. ?Wf (or ?mo)=Ἀφέλη α Διονυσίου Σ., Z. γυνή (**254**). ?Rel=Ζωσίμη Χρυσίππου Σ. (**578**) Bur on Sal (1C CE). Cf. Ζωσί[μου?, patc. ---] *SEG* 37.142.2f Ded (Roman period).

582 D Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου Φλ.? Σκύριος? d
Sky *IG* ii² 10368(=*IG* xii[8] 676).1f 001++ (*IG* ii²: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 469585 Fa's *PAA* 202270 Family gravestone apparently brought from Sky to Athens, after being copied on Sky, so that its text appears (in somewhat different forms) in 2 different volumes of *IG*; I follow *IG* ii²'s text. 1-dot interpuncts before and after Φλ (Φλυεύς? Φλάβιος?). ?Wf=Χαρμοσύνη ἐκ Σφηττίων (**1414**), L1f. ?Dtr=Ζωσίμη Φλ. (**579**), L1.

583 D Ζώτιχος, pat.: see Μαγνησία Z. Ἀλεξανδρῖτις (**896**) LHe 199+

ETA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

583A D [– – –]νιος? Η[– – –]? d
Sky Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *AD* 39 (1984) B.127 299+ (ed: ctx) DK
Inscribed amphora: no photo, no description (report in *AR* calls it Hellenistic). End of name? Beginning of patc. or ethnic?

584 D Ἡγέμαχος, kyr.: see Μεθύλλιον Θεστίου Μυριναία, Ἡ. Λευκονοέως 4 γυνή (**907**) LMy 175-125 *PAA* 480480 *PA* 6281

585 ? Ἡγέμων, pat.: see Ἡράκλειτος Ἡ. Κολοφώνιος (**610**) Sam 399-200

586 ? [Ἡ]γ[ή]σα[νδ]ρος, pat.: see Ἐράτων [Ἡ.] Ἀγρυλῆθεν 1 (**463**) LHe 425-375 *PAA* 480905

587 ? Ἡγήσαρχος c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.3 425-375 (ed: scr) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula. 1 in *PA*+.

588 L Ἡγ⟨ή⟩σινος (pat.) See Λυσαγόρας Πραξίνου Φυλάσιος 6 (**871**) Imb 199-001

589 4 Ἡγήσιππος, pat.: see Νικοκλῆς Ἡ. Ἀναγυράσιος 1 (**1017**) Sal 342-325 *PAA* 481490 *PA* 6344

590 ? Ἡγήσιππος Κηφισοδώρου Λαμπτρεύς 1 c
Sal? *IG* ii² 6669(=iv 72).1-3 430-300 (JC: com; eds vary) Bur
PAA 481520 *PA* 6348 Fa's *PAA* 568545 Fa's *PA* 8374 An earlier ed had doubtfully attributed the inscription to Sal, but *IG* ii² comm. says it is from Aigina, which suggests a pre-405 date to *IG* iv, yet *IG* ii² dates the inscription M4C (scr; *IG* iv's maj. does indeed look 4C). *PA*'s ID of his fa as [Κ]ηφι[σ]ό[δ]ωρος (Λ.) Mov of *IG* ii² 1204.1 (L4C) might suggest an even later date. Cf. also *PA* 8375 [Κη]φ. Λ. (2C).

590A E Ἡγησιπύλη Ὀλόρου Θρᾳκος θυγ. n w
Chr? Hdt. 6.39.2, 41.2; Plut. *Kim.* 4.1; Marc. *Vit.Thuc.* 11 530+ (pro) DK
PAA 481580 *PA* 6353 *APF* pp.302-4 2nd wf of younger Miltiades (**949**), although possibly married after his withdrawal from Chr c.513. Children=*PA* 8429 Κίμων, probably *PA* 4678 Ἐλπινίκη, pos-

sibly 2 more dtrs. Stepson=Μητίοχος Μ. Λακιάδης (**939A**).

591 D Ἡγίας, pat.: see [Χ]αιρεστράτη Ἡ. (**1376**)
Imb 199-100

592 4 Ἡγίας Ἐλευ(σίνιος) 8 c
Sam Michel 832.44 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 481807 *PA* 3069* Aleshire's reading, correcting Michel, Ohly, *PA*: [Γορ]γίας Ἐ. (*PAA* 280485), creating possible ID with homonym of L62f (**593**), which would have the same man serving as Pro in 2 prytanies of the same year.

593 4 Ἡγίας Ἐλευ(σίνιος) 8 c
Sam Michel 832.62f 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 481805 *PA* 6364 ?=Homonym (misread by eds) of L44 (**592**).

594 D Ἡδέα d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10192.4 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 481950 ?Fa's *PAA* 119987 Gravestone with reliefs in Peiraieus Mus. *IG*: Bros=Ἐπαφρόδιτος Ἀλεξάνδρου Σαλαμίνιος (**437**), L1-3; Μιδίας (**944**), L4.

595 D Ἡδῆα Κλέωνος ⟨Μ⟩υριναία d w
LMy? *IG* ii² 9974(=*Agora* XVII.632).1-3 001+ (*Agora*: 1C BC/CE) Bur
PAA 482095 Fa's *PAA* 579295 Columella from Kerameikos. All underdots from *Agora* (none in *IG*); eds agree *mu* cut as *nu*. Peek had read [Ἁ]δῆα [Κλέ]ωνος [Κο]ρινθ[ία]; see Robert, *BÉ* (1962) 107. Fredrich, *IG* xii(8) p.5a: "Lemni esse certum non est".

596 ? Ἡδίστη Κριτίου θυγ. ἐξ Ἡφαιστίας d w
LHe? *IG* ii² 8826."2f" (JC num.) 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 482280 No line-numbers in *IG*. 3-dot interpunct after patc. Stone funerary lekythos in Athens with reliefs of Hediste and fa, K. ἐξ Ἡ. (**812**), L"4f", but none of ?mo, Ἀρχὼ Δημητρίο(υ) (**241**), L"1". Only epitaph of persons "from Hephaistia" in *IG*; grouped with those of foreigners.

597 4 Ἡδυλίνη Νικοδήμου θυγ. Ξυπεταιόνος 7 c w
Sal *IG* ii² 6930.1f 399-300 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 482495 *PA* 6386 *APF* pp.407f Fa's *PAA* 714385 Fa's *PA* 10872 Epitaph from Sal. Stemma at *APF* p.408 (which suggests several of these rels) differs from that at *PA* 10815, her ?cous Νικίας Εὐκταίου Ξ. (**1006**). Both he and her ?neph (or another ?cous) E. Νικίου Ξ. (**518**) were Kts on Sal. *APF*: ?Fa=[– – –] Εὐκταίου *IG* xii(5) 542.42 *proxenos* of Karthaia on Keos (after 363/2); bro=*PA* 10814=10816 Νικίας Νικοδήμου Ξ. *IG* ii² 3055 *choregos* (320/19), possibly also mentioned at *IG* ii² 1598.5 as buyer of property at Phaleron (after 350). Cf. other names of this deme on another 4C epitaph from Sal and another of unknown provenance: see discussion in conn. with Ἀριστοκλ⟨ῆ⟩ς Ξ. (**180**). *IG*: Cf. *PA* 12175

Λυσανία[ς] Νικοδ. Ξ. *IG* ii^2 3886.1-3 statue base (*APF*: =Late Hellenistic descendant of bro; *IG*'s date seems to be Augustan).

598 4 'Ηδύλος Διογ[- - -] 'Αλαεύς 2 or 7 c
Sam Fabricius, *AM* 9 (1884) pp.260f #4a.1f 365-322 (ctx) Bur
PAA 482590 *PA* 6389a Fa's *PA* 3786a Ed: =Gfa of poet Hedylos, described thus at Athen. 7.297a-b: 'Ηδύλος δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἢ 'Αθηναῖος.... 'Ηδύλη δ' ἡ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τούτου μήτηρ, Μοσχίνης δὲ θυγάτηρ τῆς 'Αττικῆς ἰάμβων ποιητρίας.... On this interpretation, the klerouch's wf=*PA* 10425 Moschine; dtr=*PA* 6380 Hedyle; and gson (dtr's son)=*PA* 6388 the poet. Cf. Shipley, *Samos* 304 no.2, who sees the poet as the klerouch's son (*PA* says he could be either).

599 D "Ηθων, pat.: see [Τι]μοκρίτη "Η. (**1246**)
Imb 199-100

600 4 'Ηλιόδωρος (Σάμιος?) p
Sam [Plut.] *Moralia* (*Vitae X Oratorum*) 847C 365-322 (pro) Rel
PAA 482895 *APF* pp.138f Klerouch? Fa of Demosthenes' "Samian" ?wife (**324**, Plut. *Dem.* 15.3). See *APF* discussion, with sources.

601 ? 'Ηνίοχος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*41 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

602 L 'Ηνίοχος, pat.: see [Φ]ιλοκλῆς 'Η. Ποτάμιος 4 (**1311**)
Sal 118/7 *PAA* 483785 *PA* 6432

603 ? 'Ηρα⟨γ⟩όρης, pat.: see [Κλε]αγόρης? 'Η. (**776**)
Sam 450+

604 E 'Ηραῖος (pat.) See Θεόγνητος Πε(ι)ραίο(υ)? (**642**)
Pot 410-400

605 D 'Ηράκλεα Θεογένου Σαλαμεινία d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10200.1f 099+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 484545 Fa's *PAA* 504514 Gravestone in Peiraieus Mus.

606 ? 'Ηρακλείδης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*3 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant.

607 D 'Ηρακλείδης, pat.: see 'Αθηναῖος 'Η. Σφήττιος 5 (**28**)
Lem 001+ *PAA* 486072

608 D 'Ηράκλειτος p
Sal *IG* ii^2 11960.1 275-225 (*IG*: ctx; cf. Wagner: 243) Bur Rel
PAA 486590 Voctv. Wagner calls him 'Ηρακλείδης. Epigram found on Sal, mentioning battle there. Wf=Λεαῖνα (**841**), L1; son=Λέων (**852**), L2. Wagner: Descendants of Λ. ὁ Σαλαμίνιος (**853**). Cf. 'Η. 'Ασκληπιάδου 'Αθμονεύς (**609**) Str in Salaminian decree (M3C).

609 D 'Ηράκλειτος 'Ασκληπιάδου 'Αθμονεύς 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1225.1f, 23 253/2 (Burstein: ctx) Hon Str
PAA 486675 *PA* 6496 Fa's *PAA* 218775 Fa's *PA* 2594 *Demos* of

Salaminians honors Str for Peiraieus, associated with Antigonos Gonatas. Cf. 'Η. (**608**) Bur on Sal (M3C); 'Ασκ. 'Αθμ. *Agora* XV.206 and [– – –] 'Ασκ. of phyle Kekropis *Agora* XV.430 (2C); Sundwall p.89 ['Ηρ]ά 'Αθμ. (1C). ?Conn.=Mov Χαιρέδημος 'Επιχαρίνου Κολωνῆθεν (**1375**), L1.

610 4 'Ηράκλειτος 'Ηγέμονος Κολοφώνιος n
Sam Fabricius, *AM* 9 (1884) p.261 #4e.1f 399-350 (Shipley; ed vague) Bur
3-dot interpunct after name.

610A E hεράκλειτος Ναυκλέιο(υ)ς Χερρονεσίτες d
Chr *IG* i³ 1301.1-3 450-440 (*IG*) Bur
Attic. Stone lost, *IG*'s text from earlier eds' versions. *IG*: Kirchner misreads L2 as ναύκλερος. *IG*: "De colonis Atheniensibus qui s.VI cum Miltiade (III) et Miltiade (IV) (Davies, *APF* 299-302), s.V a Pericle ad Chersonesum missi sunt...".

611 D 'Ηρακλειῶτις Σόφωνος Σινωπέως γυνή d w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 33.2-4 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
None of her name, 1 of her *kyrios*' name in *PA*+.

612 D [...]λης? 'Ηρακλεο[δώρου?] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.29 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
1 apparently masc. name in list with 28 fem. names — or perhaps a variant spelling for fem. name ending [...]λη(ί)ς? JC: Or perhaps a more extreme misspelling? Cf. Σωκλεία 'Ηρακλεοδώρου θυγ., Τιμοκλέους 'Αθμονέως γυνή Osborne, *AncSoc* #4 Bur (2C). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

613 D 'Ηρακλέωτ[ος?] (pat.?) See Γλυκέρα 'Ηρακλεῶτ[ις?] (**281**) Imb 001++

614 L 'Ηρόδωρος 'Αχαρ[νεύς] 6 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*cde*20 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PAA 488530 *PA* 6526 Accus. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens.

615 4 'Ηρόπυθος d
Pot *SEG* 2.414.1 350-300 (ed: scr) Bur
Datv., preceded by ΗΡΩΙ. Ed, Tod, *JHS* 42 (1922) 181-3 #III (revising Foucart), sees ἥρως as an epithet applied to the deceased. Otherwise, a fem. rel. (sis?) named 'Ηρώ is also commemorated.

616 ? 'Ηροσ[κά]μανδρ[ος], pat.: see Ξενοκ[λῆ]ς 'Η. 'Αλωπεκῆθεν 10 (**1046**) Pot 429-350 *PAA* 488665

617 D 'Ηρόφιλος 'Αρισтάρχου Σαλαμίνειος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10201.1-3 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 488742 Fa's *PAA* 164490 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy; only dating clue is spelling. None of this name in *PA*+ (4 in *PAA*, Traill informs me).

618 4 'Ηρώ? See 'Ηρόπυθος (**615**) w
Pot 350-300

619 D ['Ηρ]ὼ 'Αθηνοδότου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.27 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
None in *PA*+ (3 in *PAA*, says Traill). ?Sis=[Λε]οντὶς 'Α. (**843**), L26. [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

620 D ['Ηρ]ώδης c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*b*2f 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Str
PAA 488870 *PA* 6539 Gentv. Eponymous? Str in either Lem or Athens.

621 ? ['Ηφαιστόδ?]ημος, etc. See [....8....]ημος (**1494**) and Χαρίδημος Φιλοξένου 'Αχαρνεύς 6 (**1407**) Pot 364-358

THETA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

622 4 Θάλλιον d w
Sal Osborne, *AncSoc* #246.1 375-325 (ed) Bur
PAA 500530 Epitaph found on Sal. None in *PA*+.
623 ? Θάλλος, pat.: see Φιλόστ[ρα]τος Θ. Θοραιεύς 10 (**1330**)
Imb 399-300 *PAA* 500815 *PA* 6579
624 L Θάλλουσα Ἀλεξάνδρου Κολλυτέως 2 γυνή c w
Imb IG xii(8) 104.2 001++ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 500918
625 ? Θαρ⟨σ⟩ίας Θρασυμάχου Ἐλευσίνιος 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6037.4-6 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 501140 *PA* 6592 Fa's *PA* 7353 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy (on which 1st *sigma* appears as *epsilon*); only dating clue (very weak) is spelled-out gentv. ending. Unique in *PA*+; cf. patc. Θερσίας (**679**) on Imb (L4C). Fa=Θρ. Μικίωνος Ἐ. (**687**), L1-3.
626 L Θαυμαρέτη Εὐμήλου Ῥαμνουσίου 9 θυγ., Θεοδώρου Ῥαμνουσίου 9 γυνή c w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 675.1-5 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 501240 *PA* 6596a Fa's *PAA* 439525 Fa's *PA* 5839a Kyr's *PAA* 507370 Kyr's *PA* 6899a 2 in *PA*+. 3 of hus's name and deme in *Agora* XV.
627 D (Αὐρ.) Θαύμαστος d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 520.2 001++ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded
Gentv. on sarcophagus lid after πλήν (dedication to lost sailor comrades?). None in *PA*+, but Traill tells me that Θαυμαστή and Θαύμαστον occur in *PAA*.
628 ? Θε[– – – patc. lost? demotic ending with – – –θε]ν? p
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #7.4f 425-300 (JC: scr; cf. ed: end 5C) Pri
Context unclear, number of lost letters unknown: [– – –] ὁ ἱερεὺς Θε|[– – –]ν *vacat.*
629 ? Θεαγένης, pat.: see Κράτης Θ. [Ἀφι]δνῆθεν 9 (**806**)
Sal 399+ *PAA* 501575
630 ? [– – –]υκράτης Θεαγ⟨έ⟩νου [Κεφ?]αλῆθεν 5 c

Sal *IG* ii^2 6354.2f 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 501585 *PA* 6610 Gravestone from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy, in which 2nd *epsilon* is written as *gamma*. Only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. *PA*: Demotic could also be ['Εκ]αλῆθεν 4 (although listed only in *PA*'s deme list for Kephale, not for Hekale). JC: Name could be [Πολ]υκράτης, not among names of either of the suggested demes in *PA*+ or *APF*, but see *Agora* XV.62.90 [Λυ]σίμαχος Πολυκράτο(υ) *bouleutes* of Kephale (303/2). In the same list (L94) appears a [Θεαί?]νετος Θεαγένου. If these are rels, another may be a Theainetos, *PA* 6618, fa of a secretary from Kephale at *IG* ii^2 843.3f (end 3C). *IG* connects this Theainetos with the family of Θεαίν. Λυσιμένους Κ. (**631**), also Bur on Sal; see entry for his conns. ?Wf=[– – –] Φιλο[κρά?]του (θυγ.?) (**1314**), L1.

630A ? Θεαγένης Προβαλίσιος 3 c
Sal *SEG* 40.156.1? 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
Inscription on bronze from grave on Sal (Stroud: Probably dikast's pinax). No photo, date, or details in *ed. prin.*; no indication of any line division. Ionic alphabet is only dating clue, although report in *AR* says these are 5C graves.

631 4 Θεαίνετος Λυσιμένους Κεφαλῆθεν 5 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6355.1 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 501680 Family gravestone from Sal, seen and copied by Kirchner+, but later apparently lost. Wf=Χαιρεστράτη 'Αριστάνδρου Προβαλισίου (**1380**), L1-3. Sons=Α. Θ. Κ.. (**890**), L3 (see his entry for possible ID); 'Ερμιάδης Θ. Κ. (**468**), L3f; Νικόστρατος Θ. Κ. (**1029**), L4f. *IG*: Rel=*PA* 2064 'Αριστοτέλης Θ. Κ. *IG* ii^2 843.3f secretary (end 3C), whose fa is *PA* 6618. JC: Cf. [Θεαί?]νετος Θεαγένου *Agora* XV.62.94 *bouleutes* of Kephale (303/2). Cf. also [– – –]υκράτης Θεαγ⟨έ⟩νου [Κεφ?]αλῆθεν (**630**), also Bur on Sal, and his possible conns.

632 ? Θεμίστιος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*39 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. Θ. 'Αντιφάνου Λαμπτρεύς (**633**) on Imb (3-2C).

633 L Θεμίστιος 'Αντιφάνου Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 51.15 250-166 (JC: com; eds differ) Mag
PAA 502245 *PA* 6647 *APF* p.59 Fa's *PAA* 137510 Fa's *PA* 1238 Office is *praktor* (1 of 3). See **1503** on dating problems. *PA*: ?Son=*PA* 1238 'Α. Λ. [Dem.] 49.14f. Cf. *PA* 1239 'Α. Λ., discussed by *APF*, accepting *IG*'s date for this Themistios. Cf. Θ. (**632**) on Imb (4-3C).

634 ? Θεο[– – –] c
Lem *Agora* XIX.L3.32 399-375 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*, Stroud) Arx
Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) #23 greatly improves *IG* ii^2 30; his text is followed in *Agora* XIX. Fragmentary passage refers to the month

after Theo[– – –] was Arx. Probably the reference is to the Attic Arx Theodotos (387/6, *PAA* 505120), which interpretation leads both *IG* and Stroud to date the inscription to a specific year. But the reference *could* be to an Arx on *Lem*, name lost (**1542**), L5.

635 L Θεο[– – –], kyr.?: see [Name lost – – –]νίου, Θεο[– – – Λευ]κον[οέως 4? γυνή?] (**1513**) LHe 299+

636 L Θεογένης, pat.: see Διογένης Θ. Βερ(ε)νεικίδης P (**335**) Imb 001+++

637 ? Θεογένης Θεομήδους Ἐλευσίνιος 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.3, 15f 320 (*IG*: ctx) Hip Hon
PAA 504065 *PA* 6705 Fa's *PAA* 508620 Fa's *PA* 6970 Nomtv., then accus. (although *IG*'s text puts accus. name's demotic in gentv.). Inscribed dedication by οἱ ἱππεῖς τῆι Σαλ[αμῖ]νι for their hipparch, found on Sal, moved to Peiraieus Mus., perhaps now lost. In general, see Bugh, *Horsemen* 181. Son=Θεομήδης phylarch (c.286-261): see Vanderpool+, *AD* 18 (1963) A.111 #2.25. ?Rels=*PA* 6688 Theogenes Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.13 Amb to Persian King (409); *PA* 6692 Theogenes *ib.* 2.3.2 of the "30 Tyrants"; *PA* 6693 fa of Ἀστέας Θ. of phyle Hippothontis (L2C).

638 L Θεογένης, pat.: see Ἑλικὼ Θ. Λευκονοέως 4 θυγ., Ἀθηνοδώρου Αἰξωνέως 7 γυνή (**418**) Sal 099-075 *PAA* 504210 *PA* 6715

639 L Θεογένης Κ[α]λλιμάχου Λευκονοεύς 4 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1227.2f 131 (arx) Mov
PAA 504212 *PA* 6715 Fa's *PAA* 557875 Fa's *PA* 8018 *PA*: Dtr=Ἑλικὼ Θ. Λ. θυγ., Ἀθηνοδώρου Αἰξωνέως γυνή (**418**) Bur on Sal (E1C). Stemma at *PA* 8021 Κ. Ἐπικράτου Λ. differs from that at Sundwall p.105. Men of this deme named Theogenes include a *bouleutes* of *Agora* XV.129.85 (222/1), a deceased of *Agora* XVII.216 (M1C CE), and an ephebe (with fa of the same name) of *IG* ii² 2128.37 (c.200 CE). *PA* 6695, an earlier Θ. Στίβωνος (4C), appears in a bouleutic list of either Leontis or Akamantis, *Agora* XV.23. Cf. also *PA* 8020=*AO* 1538 Κ. Ἀλκίου Λ. *Agora* XV.13.33f (4C) and Κ. Διονυσίου Λ. *SEG* 36.213.7 (c.150 CE). ?Conn.=Hon Θεόδοτος Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς (**645**).

640 D Θεογένης, pat.: see Ἡράκλεα Θ. Σαλαμεινία (**605**)
Sal 099+ *PAA* 504415

641 4 Θεογένης Φλυεύς 7 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.1 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Epi Pro
PAA 504370 Habicht nts.: Rel=*PA* 12176 Πραξ[ι]τέλης Θ. Φ. *IG* ii² 1009.82ii ephebe (117/6). Cf. *PA* 6694 Θουγ[ένης – – –] of phyle Kekropis *IG* ii² 2377.10 (4C).

642 E Θεόγνητος Πε(ι)ραίο(υ)? p

Pot *SEG* 24.573.1f 410-400 (ed) Bur
Ed, Andronikos, *BCH* 56 (1962) 261-7 corrects Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) #21: 'Ηραίο. Ed: Corrected patc. unique (JC: Does it indicate an Attic conn.?). 3 of name in *PA*+ (17, Traill informs me, in *PAA*).

643 4 Θεόδοτος d
Sal *IG* ii² 11635.1 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 505200 Epitaph from Sal, now on Aigina. Cf. 2C Sal-connected Hon's named Θ. Πειραιεύς (**644, 645**).

644 L Θεόδοτος Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1228.19, 22-24 150-100 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 116/5) Hon Cul Eco
PAA 505560 *PA* 6801 Nomtv., then accus. *IG*: ?=Θ. Εὐστρόφου Π. (**645**), described by *PA* as his fa, adding a bro, *PA* 5998 Εὔστροφος Θ. Π. Cf. Θ. Π. *Agora* XV.194.75 (178/7); and Θ. (**643**) Bur on Sal (4C).

645 L Θεόδοτος Εὐστρόφου Πειραιεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1227.3f, 27f, 42 132/1 (arx) Hon Mag
PAA 505562 *PA* 6802 Fa's *PAA* 445490 Fa's *PA* 5997 Honored for serving as gymnasiarch (on Sal?) in the preceding year. *IG*: ?=Θ. Π. (**644**), described by *PA* as his son, adding another son, *PA* 5998 Εὔστροφος Θ. Π. *IG* ii² 1940.46 (L2C). ?Rel='Ιεροφάντης Εὐστρόφου Π. *IG* ii² 2452 (2nd half 2C). Cf. Θ. Π. *Agora* XV.194.75 (178/7); and Θ. (**643**) Bur on Sal (4C).

646 L Θεοδωρ[– – – demotic lost] c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*cde*19 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PAA 505670 *Presbys* from LMy to Athens.

647 D [Θεοδώ?]ρα 'Απολλωνίου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.19 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
3 or 4 in *PA*+ (22, Traill tells me, in *PAA*). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

648 ? [-c.5-]Σ[-c.2- Θε]οδωρίδο(υ)? of phyle Pandionis 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.*c*47 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 505855 *PA* 6811 Patc. restored as by *PA* and *IG*, prior to frag. added by Broneer, discussed especially by Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 172-4; underlined *sigma* seen by her, but on a chip now lost; line number and estimates of number of letters missing from autopsy. If *sigma* ends the name (as is often the case), restored patc. is incorrect. Deme heading lost; phyle is apparently the same as that indicated by the heading 'Οαιε͂ς, L*c*49 — which could refer either to the deme Oa 3 (probably more likely) or the deme Oe 6. Demotic is same as that of [Λ]υσίμαχ[ος Λ]υσάνδρο(υ)) (**887**), L*c*48. JC: ?Fa=*AO* 2904 Θ. Κυδαθηναιεύς *Agora* XV.42 *bouleutes* (336/5?).

649 D [Name lost? Θ]εοδώρου d
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #18.*a*1 299-100 (ed: scr) Ded?
Inscription on statue base.

650 4 Θεόδωρος Μνησάρχο(υ) [Ἀ]να[φ]λύσ[τι]ος 10 c
Sal *IG* ii² 5667.1-3 399-350 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 506700 *PA* 6858 Fa's *PAA* 655415 Fa's *PA* 10254 Epitaph from Sal. *PA*, *IG*: Cf. *PA* 8840 Κτησίας Θ. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 5671 Peiraieus Bur (2nd half 4C). JC: ?=Son.

651 L Θεόδωρος Πολυε(ύ)κτου Θημακεύς P c
Sal *IG* ii² 6205.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 506865 Fa's *PAA* 778215 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy, letters not described. Text has "corrected" ⟨ύ⟩, but ed (in *apparatus*) shows the letter was omitted, not miscut. JC: Cf. *AO* 2564 [Πολύε]υκτος [Ἁρμο?]δίου Θ. *IG* ii² 2838.4 (using Peek's readings, which differ from *IG*'s) *hieropoios* (325/4).

652 ? Θεόδωρος, pat.: see Δωρόθεος Θ. ἐξ Οἴ(ου) 4 or 8 (**409**) Sal 375-325 *PAA* 507180 *PA* 6888

653 L Θεόδωρος, pat.: see Ὀλυμπιάδης Θ. Περιθοίδης 6 (**1056**) Imb 199-100 *PAA* 507318

654 L Θεόδωρος Ὀλυμπιάδου Περιθοίδης 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 111.2 199+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 507320 Contrary to *IG*, L2 does not appear (in maj.) to be obviously later than L1. ?Fa/?Son=Ὀ. Θ. Π. (**1056**), L1. Traill gives a separate patc. entry for Olympiades (*PAA* 742250), different from the entry for Olympiades of L1 (*PAA* 742255). Cf. *PA* 6894 Θ. Π. *IG* ii² 1622.487 trierarch (4C).

655 L Θεόδωρος, kyr.: see Θαυμαρέτη Εὐμήλου Ῥαμνουσίου 9 θυγ., Θ. Ῥ. 9 γυνή (**626**) Sky 299+ *PAA* 507370 *PA* 6899a

656 ? Θεοζοτίδης, pat.: see Λάνπων Θ. Τειθράσιος 2 (**837**) Pot 429-350 *PAA* 507800

657 D [Θε]ο[κ]λέα? Ἀπολλοδώρου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.23 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
1 of this name in *PA*+, spelled -κλεία. Perhaps [Νε]? (*IG*'s *apparatus*; none in *PA*+). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

658 4 [Θ]εοκλείδης?, pat.: see Νεομένης [Θ]ε. Ἐρχιεύς 2 (**991**); [Σω]τέ[λης? Θε]ο. (Ἐ. 2) (**1219**) LHe 399-300

659 4 Θεοκλῆς c
Sam Michel 832.5, 58 347/6 (arx) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula; Arx on Sam simultaneously with Attic Arx of 347/6. ?=Trs Θ. Ἀχαρ(νεύς) (**661**), L3.

660 ? Θουκλῆς, pat.: see Ἀμύ[νανδρ]ος Θ. Αἰξω[ν]εύς 7 (**74**) LHe 425-375 *PAA* 508122

661 4 Θεοκλῆς Ἀχαρ(νεύς) 6 c
Sam Michel 832.3 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 508135 *PA* 6936 ?=Θ. Arx on Sam (**659**), L5, 58.

661A ? Θέολλος d
Sal *SEG* 40.237.2 399-350 (*SEG*: scr) Bur Rel
Gravestone from Sal; *ed. prin.* gives no photo, date, or details;

Stroud suggests c.400-350 date if gentv. ending with *omicron* only (L4) is correct. ?Wf=Μνησαγόρα (**952A**), L1. Son='Εμυθῶν? Θ. (**422A**), L3f. Cf. Θ. Φηγαιεύς Osborne, *AncSoc* #83 Bur (1st half 4C).

662 4 Θεομένης Δεκελε(ύς) 8 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*11 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 508570 *PA* 6955 *IG*'s restoration; *PA* has -ε(εύς). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

663 E Θεομένης Ξυπε[ταιών] 7 c
Sal *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*9, 16 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) Eco
PAA 508580 *PA* 6956 Gentv. Owner of houses on Sal (and elsewhere?), sold by *poletai*. Walbank, *Hesperia* 51 (1982) 81: ?=Θέογνις (emended) of "30 Tyrants", mentioned at Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.2 and Lys. 12.6 (Lewis disagrees).

664 ? Θεομήδης, pat.: see Θεογένης Θ. 'Ελευσίνιος 8 (**637**)
Sal 320 *PAA* 508620 *PA* 6960

665 D Θεοξενίδη[ς patc. and demotic lost] c
Lem? *IG* ii² 1053+.6(=L17 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb?
PAA 509035 *PA* 6980 Accus. Name in list with patc.'s and demotics. From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear). *PA*: ?=*PA* 6981 Θ. *IG* ii² 3876 (Augustan period). The comparative infrequency of the name (4 in *PA*+) and the suggested date may warrant comparing *AskAth* p.238 A11(=*PA* 11815) [Π]ερσαῖος Θ. Μαραθώνιος *IG* ii² 4457.1-3 Ded (c.50-20).

666 4 Θεόξενος 'Ελευ(σίνιος) 8 c
Sam Michel 832.11f 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 509180 *PA* 6988 Aleshire readings (cf. Ohly's [εν]). *PA*: Son=*PA* 11751 Πεδιεὺς Θ. 'Ε. *IG* ii² 1852 dikast (*PA* says 4C, N.D. in *IG*), who ?=*PA* 11749 Π. attacked by Deinarchos (352/1).

667 X Θεόξενος 'Απολωνίου Μαρωνίτης n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 134.3-5 001+ (JC: scr) Bur
Re-use of stone of ?rel/?countryman [---]ίου (**1473**), L1.

668 ? [Name lost] Θεοπόμπου Σαλαμινία d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10202.1-3 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 509875 Epitaph; *IG* does not indicate find spot.

669 ? Θεοτέλης, pat.: see [Κ]αλλίας Θ. 'Αχαρν]εύς 6 (**727**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 510070 *PA* 7049

670 E Θο(ύ)τι‹μ›[ος] ('Αριστογείτωνος 'Αφιδναῖος 9) c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.22 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 510233 *PA* 7284 *APF* pp.473f Fa's *PAA* 168185 Fa's *PA* 1777 *IG* i² 947 indicates that *mu* is cut as *nu*; *IG* i³ underdots it; all of name now lost. Patc. and demotic from Sundwall p.98 conns. (stemma there). *APF*: Family of tyrannicide, also otherwise connected with Lem (**162, 163**). Cf. 'A. of phyle Aiantis *Agora*

XVII.23.293 Bur (409). List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

671 4 Θεόφιλος[-c.3-]ε(– – –) of phyle Kekropis 7 c
Sam Michel 832.3 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 511485 *PA* 7116 Aleshire's underlining in name, and number of spaces estimate and underdotted *epsilon* in demotic. Her readings put limitations on possible demes, apparently only Xypete, Epieikidai, ?Halai Aixonides, and ?Trinemeia. Cf. Θεοσέβης Θ. Ξυπεταιών *Agora* XIX.P5.9f *poletai* document (367/6); [– – –] Θ. Ἁλαιῶς (**672**) another such document (370/69). Cf. also Θ. Θ. Ἁλαιεύς Osborne, *AncSoc* #29 Bur (N.D.).

672 4 [Name lost] Θεοφ[ί]λο(υ) Ἁλαιεύς 7? c
Lem *Agora* XIX.P4.7f 370/69 (Meritt: Restores arx) Eco
PAA 511560 *APF* p.155 Gentv. His land in Omphalia (Lem) registered. Phyle from *APF*'s deme (Halai Aixonides). Stemma at *APF* p.94+ differs from that of Sundwall p.56. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) #33 restores son's name as [Διόδωρος], not accepted by either *APF* or *Agora*. Meritt's "distinguished" family conns. are lost with the rejection of his restoration. But see Θ. Θ. Ἁ. Osborne, *AncSoc* #29 Bur (N.D.) and Theophilos of Halai Aixonides, member of an Attic embassy (E1C) to the Kabeirion, at Accame, *Ann.* #6.20.

673 ? Θεόφιλος Μελίτωνο[ς] Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 10 c
LMy *IG* xii(8) 4.9f 348-314 (JC: ctx; cf. *AO*: 352-336) Mag Hon
PAA 511650 *PA* 7126 *AO* 2951 Fa's *PAA* 639985 Fa's *PA* 9843 *Epimeletes* honored by Chalkidians in LMy; *AO* p.350 calls him epim. in LMy, but his city is not specified in the inscription; cf. LMy honors for epim. in LHe, Σα[υρί]ας (**1140**). *PA*, *IG*: =*PA* 7126 Θ., witness supporting Λυκόφρων (**866**) Hip for Lem (late 330s) at Hyp. 1.20 (Loeb numbering).

674 ? Θεόφιλος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal *IG* ii² 5806.1-3 399-200 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 511740 *PA* 7133 *APF* p.438 Fa's *PAA* 743045 Columella brought from Sal to Aigina. *PA*, *IG*: Cf. *PA* 11398 Ὀ. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 1706.2 *basileus* (229/8). Cf. also *PA* 7130 Θ. Διονυσίου Ἀ. *IG* ii² 1011.102iii ephebe (L2C); *PA* 7131 Θ. Ἐφιάμονος Ἀ. Ded (c.323); *PA* 7132 Θ. Καλλιμάχου Ἀ. *IG* ii² 1544.3 *epimeletes* at Eleusis (333/2); Θ. Ἐ[χεσ]τρ[ά]το(υ) [Ἀ.] *Agora* XV.68.21 *bouleutes* (E3C). *APF* is reluctant to make these conns. because of the commonness of the name.

675 L Θεόφιλος Φιλιστίδου Προβαλίσιος P c
Sal *IG* ii² 7299.1f 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
PAA 512195 Family gravestone from Sal. Wf=Διόκλεια Ἀρχεβίου Σκαμβωνίδου θυγ. (**354**), L3f; son=Φ. Θ. Π. (**1304**), L5f. *Agora*: Cf. *AO* 2961 Θ. Π. *Agora* XV.42.166 *bouleutes* (336/5?), fa of [Φιλισ]τίδης Θ.

[Προ]β. *ib.* 61.236 *bouleutes* (304/3).

676 L Θεόφραστος, kyr.: see Διονυσία Διονυσίου Μιλησία, Θ. τοῦ Διονυσίου [Λ]ευκονοέως 4 γυνή (**357**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 512680

677 ? (Θεοχάρης), pat.: see Χά[ρης] (Θ. Ἀγγελῆθεν 3) (**1395**) Chr 357-340 *PAA* 512815 *PA* 7183

678 L Θεοχάρης Διογένου Ῥαμνούσιος 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 112.1f 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
PAA 512835 *PA* 9176* Fa's *PA* 3845 *PA* errs: Λεοχάρης.

679 4 Θερσίας, pat.: see Λύκων Θ. Φρεάρριος 4 (**869**) Imb 314-307 *PAA* 512935 *PA* 7192

680 E Θεσ[---]? or Θησ[---]? d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 517.1 500-450 (*IG*: scr) Ded?
Attic *epsilon* (=either *epsilon* or *eta*), with 3-bar sigma; *IG* admits restoration Θεσ[---] ἀν[έθηκε?] is uncertain (restored *eta* seems in fact inappropriate). May be name of hero (Theseus) receiving dedication, rather than Ded.

681 D Θέστιος, pat.: see Μεθύλλιον Θ. Μυριναία, Ἡγεμάχου Λευκονοέως 4 γυνή (**907**) LMy 175-125 *PAA* 513200

682 D Θέων, kyr.: see Φαΐδρου Θ. γυνή (**1261**) Sal 299+ *PAA* 513510

683 4 Θέωρος Ἐλευ(σίνιος) 8 c
Sam Michel 832.4 346/5 (arx) Trs
PAA 513730 *PA* 7226 Cf. Θ. Ἐ. *Agora* XV.194.51 and son [Λύ]σα⟨ν⟩δρος Θ. Ἐ. *ib* 243.63 (both 2C). Cf. also Theoros of phyle Hippothontis Kt (128/7) and his ?son Θ. Θ. ephebe (97/6), both mentioned at Sundwall p.97.

684 D [Θ]ρ[ά]σιππος? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*13 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s text (from Conze? nothing in maj.); Nikephoros had read Οἰτύλου Θράσιππος [*sic*!].

685 4 Θρασύλας d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11683/4.2 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 517435 Gravestone from Sal, now lost. *IG*'s *apparatus*: Θράσυλ⟨λο⟩ς? ?Rels=Θρασυμήδης (**689**), L1; Θρασυμεύς (**688**), L3. Cf. Θρασυμήδης Θρασύλλου Εὐωνυμεύς (**691**) Bur on Sal (CE).

686 L Θράσυλλος, pat.: see Θρασυμήδης Θ. Εὐωνυμεύς (**691**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 517725

687 ? Θρασύμαχος Μικίωνος Ἐλευσίνιος 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6037.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 517900 *PA* 7353 Fa's *PAA* 652995 Fa's *PA* 10179 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. Son=Θαρ⟨σ⟩ίας Θ. Ἐ. (**625**), L4-6.

688 4 Θρασυμεύς d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11683/4.3 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel

PAA 517955 Gravestone from Sal, now lost. *IG*'s *apparatus*: Θρασυμέ⟨νη⟩ς? ?Rels=Θρασυμήδης (**689**), L1; Θρασύλας (**685**), L2.

689 4 Θρασυμήδης d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11683/4.1 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 517975 Gravestone from Sal, now lost. ?Rels=Θρασύλας (**685**), L2; Θρασυμεύς (**688**), L3. Cf. Θ. Θρασύλλου Εὐωνυμεύς (**691**) Bur on Sal (CE).

690 4 Θρασυμήδης [patc. and demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.16 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Mag Hon
PA 7357 Accus. Full formula would probably extend into L17. Decree of ?indep. Imb. *Paredros*, with Με[ν]έστρατος Χ[– – –] (**929**), L15, of polemarch (on Imb) Λύκων Θερσίου Φρεάρριος (**869**), L7 and 14.

691 L Θρασυμήδης Θρασύλλου Εὐωνυμεύς 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6176.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 518080 Fa's *PAA* 517725 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 7343 Θράσυλλ[ος Εὐω]ν. *IG* ii^2 1388.69 Ded (398/7). Cf. Θ. (**689**), Θρασύλας (**685**), and Θρασυμεύς (**688**) on Sal gravestone (4C).

692 ? Θρᾶιττα d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10208.3 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 516260 Family gravestone of Salaminians, found near Dipylon Gate. Letters of L3 are smaller than those of L1f, larger than those of L4-9, although *IG* suggests only one date. None in *PA*+. Married freedwoman? ?Hus=Πειθίας Λέοντος Σαλαμίνιος (**1087**); ?son=Λ. Π. Σ. (**855**), L4-6; ?dtr=Πλαγγὼν Χαρίου γυνή (**1098**), L7f; ?gson=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1088**), L9.

693 L [Θυ]μελικὸς Θορίκιος 5 c
LMy *SEG* 28.718."6"(really 4) 001++ (Bugh: ctx; cf. ed: 3C CE) Arx
PAA 518807 Gentv. in dating formula; accent as by ed, Follet, *Annuario* 52-53 (1974-75) 309-312. None in *PA*+.

IOTA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

694 D Ι[.]αλη[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*7 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
From *IG*'s maj. (frag. *b* not in text). "*Iota*" may be left upright of partly-lost letter; top half of same kind of trace is located to the right of *eta*.

695 D Ἰατρ[οκλῆς – – –], pat.: see Ξενοκλῆς Ἰ. (**1045**)
Imb 001+

696 D Ἰατροκλῆς, pat.: see Διονύσιος Ἰ. Σαλαμίνιος (**377**)
Sal 001++ *PAA* 531160

697 L Ἱεροκ[λ]ῆς, pat.: see Ἀμεινίας Ἱ. Ἀνακ⟨αι⟩εύς 8 (**66**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 532245

698 ? [– – –]ας Ἱερομνήμονος Φ[– – –] c
LMy *IG* ii² 550.10 314/3-305/4 (JC: com; eds disagree) DK
PAA 532675 *PA* 7508 Accus. name in list. Underdotted *alpha* from autopsy (*IG* treats as certain; Maier, *Gr.Mauerb.* has η). 7 possible demotics. Attic inscription concerning LMy; city of residence unclear. Amb?

699 4 Ἱεροφῶν c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.9 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Arx
Gentv. Eponymous Arx on ?indep. Imb. Phyle not Leontis, since polemarch (**869**) is from that phyle.

700 L Ἱερών[υ]μος, pat.: see Νέστωρ Ἱ. Μαραθώνιο[ς] 9 (**993**)
Imb 001+ *PAA* 534182

701 ? Ἰκαδίων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*37 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
None in *PA*+.

702 D Εἰόλλας, pat.: see Ἑρμαίσκος Εἰ. Σαλαμίνιος (**466**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 535358

703 D Ἰουλία d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10174.(?4-)6 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 535490 Epitaph from Peiraieus. Internal relationships of L4-6 unclear: [– – –]αταλης | [– – –]αιαι Ἰουλία. ?Rel=[Ἀπ]ολλώ{λ}νιος [Ἀπ]ο. [Σαλ]αμείνιος (**140**), L1-3.

704 D [Name lost? --- Ἰο]υλιανοῦ Βεῖ[θυς? ---] d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.8f 199+ (ed: pro) DK
DK implication of Βεῖ[θυς? ---]: ethnic? name? Name list (m & f); DK purpose.

705 4 Ἱππόλοχος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οἰκ(ῶν) n
Sal *IG* ii² 1570.42 330 (*IG*) Ded
PAA 538705 2-dot interpuncts before and after OIK. 3 of this name in *PA*+. Dedication of freed-slave (ἀποφυγών) metic; former owner apparently named in L43. His residence on Sal is not assumed. Cf. analogous cases (**292, 862**).

706 ? Ἱππόμαχος, pat.: see Ἰσχόμαχος Ἰ. Λαμπτρᾶθεν 1 (**712**); Καλλίας (Ἰ. Λ.) (**732**) Pot 429-350 *PAA* 538745

707 E Ἰσ⟨α⟩γ(---)? d
Chr Chamonard+, *BCH* 39 (1915) 179, object X.45 525-475 (ed: scr) DK
Archaic letters on Attic-ware grave vase in Elaious cemetery: *iota*, 3-bar *sigma*, 2 apparent Attic *gammas* — or should it be read the other way up, as 2 apparent Attic *upsilons*, *sigma*, *iota*, and thus possibly ⟨Λ⟩υσι(---)? JC: ?=*PA* 7680=*AO* 1450 Ἰσαγόρας Τεισάνδρου, Arx 508 (Kleisthenes' enemy). *AO* p.51 discusses Isagoras' possible conn. with the "Philaid" rulers of Chr. See Hdt. 5.72f; *Ath.Pol.* 20.3; Rhodes, *CAAP* 246; Stroud, *Ath.Comes of Age* 31f. *SEG* 40.23 cites *Agora* XXV.663 comm. on Isagoras' family and origins.

708 L Ἰσιδίκη Ποσειδωνίου Σουνιέως 4 θυγ. c w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14c.1-6 199-001 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul?
PAA 540278 Fa's *PAA* 785333 Roles inferred from manumissions on other faces of stone, from Kabeirion. None in *PA*+ (though 2 Ἰσο-). Kyr.(?rel)=Εὔδημος (**486**), L8f.

709 L [---]θέα Ἰσιδώρου ἐκ Δε[κελείας 8, ---]μου Δεκελέως 8 ⟨γ⟩υνή p w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 673.1-3 299+ (JC: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 541230 Contrary to *IG*'s maj. and text, *ed. prin.* insists that *gamma* is cut as *kappa*. From metic family, or just fem. indication of fa's deme?

710 D Εἰσίδωρος Φιλοκράτους 6 or P c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.7f 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys
PAA 384112 Bro=Φ. Φ. Ὀ. (**1317**), same lines (phrasing is Φ. ὁ καὶ Εἰ. Φ. Ὀ.). From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). Cf. Εἰσίδοτος (Εἰσιδότου) Ὤαθεν *IG* ii² 2481.13 at *AskAth* p.112 (c.190-200 CE).

711 ? Ἰσόν[ο]μ[ος], pat.: see Σμικυθίων Ἰ. [---] (**1159**) Sal 399-350 *PAA* 542250

712 ? Ἰσχόμαχος Ἱππομάχο(υ) Λαμπτρᾶθεν 1 c
Pot *IG* i³ 1511(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #2).2-4 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur

PAA 542640 Fa's *PAA* 538745 ?Bro=Καλλίας ('Ι. Λ.?) (**732**), L1 (phrasing is Κ.ΙΊ.ΙΊ.ΙΛ.). Cf. Σωσίας Πεδιῶς Παλληνῆθεν (**1206**), L5-7.

713 ? Ἰσχυρίας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*7 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
IG underdots *chi*, but own and ed's majs. show complete letter. List of 11+ names, no heading extant. ?Rels (i.e., sons or fa and unc)=[Fragmentary names] 'Ι. [Λαμπτρ]εύς Καθύπερ(θεν) (**714, 715**).

714 4 [-c.4-β]ο(υ?)λος Ἰσχυρίο(υ) [Λαμπτρ]εύς Καθύπερ(θεν) 1 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*9 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 542710 *PA* 7731 Letter number from autopsy; demotic from restored plural heading; *PA* regularizes: -β]ουλος. *PA* 13909 Ὑπέρβολος Λαμ. (2nd half 4C) would seem to be a possible ID, but *IG* ii^2 3105.29 shows him with a corrected demotic of Παμ(βωτάδης). Bro=[-c.5-]ς 'Ι [Λ.] Κ. (**715**), L*a*10 (*PAA* treats them as 1 entry). ?Rel=*PA* 8870 [Κ]τεσικλέης Κτησιβο(ύ)λο(υ) Λαμπτρεύς *IG* ii^2 6681 Bur (M4C). LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

715 4 [-c.5-]ς Ἰσχυρίο(υ) [Λαμπτρ]εύς Καθύπερ(θεν) 1 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*10 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 542710 *PA* 7732 Letter number from autopsy; demotic from restored plural heading. Bro=[-c.4-β]ο(υ?)λος 'Ι. [Λ.] Κ.. (**714**), L*a*9; see his entry for possible rel (*PAA* treats the 2 bros as 1 entry). LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

KAPPA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

716 L Κ[.........18.........]εύς c
LHe *IG* ii^2 672+.17 280-275 (ctx; cf. *IG*: 379/8) Mov
PAA 550000 *Stoichedon* inscription; whether patc. inscribed depends on lengths of name and demotic. Bugh, *Horsemen* 209 has literature on date. Introduces 1st of 2 klerouchic decrees honoring Κωμέας Χαιρέους Λαμπτρεύς (**831**).

717 4 Κ[....9.....]ς ἐξ Οἴο[(υ)] 4 or 8 c
Lem *Agora* XIX.P4.10f 370/369 (arx) Eco
PAA 550345 *Stoichedon*; abbreviated demotic inferred from spelling in L6. Northern neighbor, in Omphalia on Lem, of property of [– – –] Θεοφ[ί]λο(υ) Ἁλαιεύς (**672**), L7f. Cf. *PA* 8571 Κλεόκριτος Βουσέλου ἐξ Οἴου in stemma at *PA* 2921.

718 D Καῖος, pat.: see Δοῦρις Κ. Σάμιος (**403**)
Sam 321+

719 E [...]ς Καλλαίσχρο(υ) p
Sal *IG* i^3 1022.1 499-400 (*SEG*: scr) Ded
PAA 552180 *APF* p.327 Inscription from Sal, Attic letters, *stoichedon.* I follow the text of *IG* i^2 829, on the assumption that its letter count is meaningful, despite *IG* i^3's [?Κριτία]ς. Makes dedication to 12 Gods for athletic victories. Kyle, *Athletics in Anc.Ath.* 214f: =Fa of speaker of Lys. 19. *APF* (see stemma in Table I) denies ID with Kritias of "30 Tyrants", made by Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 157f; yet *IG* i^3 cites Davies for its queried restoration. All commentators, however, see conns. with Kritias, Platon, and Solon, and right-wing politics; see *SEG* 37.48 for further literature.

720 4 Καλλι[– – – demotic lost?] p
Lem? *Agora* XIX.P4.14 370/369 (arx) Eco
PAA 552660 Neighbor on east of registered property (on Lem?), in fragmentary passage after reference to some property definitely on Lem. Inscription is *stoichedon.* These letters are unlikely to be part of patc., since only 5 letters in the relevant portion of the passage (L13f) are missing and a name in the nomtv. should not end in

omicron: [– – – π]ρὸς [ἡ]λί[ο ἀ]νιόν[τος ...l..]ο Καλλι[....7...]αλ[..4..]. If the partially preserved name was long (12 letters), the demotic could be Ἁλ[αεύς] (omitting *iota*) or Ἀλ[ωπεκῆθεν] (abbreviated); cf. *ib.* P5.64: ὧι γεί(των) πρὸς ἡλίο(υ) ἀνιόν(τος): Καλλίας Ἀλωπεκ(ῆθεν) .

721 ? Καλλι[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*29 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

722 D Καλλιάδης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 52.1 199+ (*IG*: ctx) Pri Hon
Eponymous Pri of Orthannos, honored in decree of ?indep. Imb. ?=Fa of [X]αιρεστράτη K. (**1377**) Imb Cul (2C).

723 D Καλλιάδης, pat.: see [X]αιρεστράτη K. (**1377**)
Imb 199-100

723A ? Καλλίας d
Sal *SEG* 40.232.2 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel?
Epitaph from Sal; *ed. prin.* has no photo, date, or details; no dating clues at all. ?Wf=Γλικέρα (**280A**), L1.

724 ? Καλλίας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*36 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. [K]α. Θεοτέλο(υ)ς [Ἀχαρν]εύς (**727**) possible klerouch (4C); [-c.5-]ος K. [Εὐωνυμ]εύς? (**728**) fa of klerouch (4C).

725 D Καλλίας, pat.: see [Κα]λλιστράτη K. (**748**)
Imb 199-100

726 D [Καλλ?]ίας (pat.) See Ἐπικλῆς [Κρ]α[τ]ίου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**455**) LHe 166+

727 ? [K]αλλίας Θεοτέλο(υ)ς [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*32 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 554575 *PA* 7853 Fa's *PAA* 510070 Fa's *PA* 7049 Demotic from restored plural heading. Conn. made by Sundwall pp.69 and 102 with Ἐπικλῆς (**455**) is rendered impossible by newer readings. *PA*, *IG*: ?=*PA* 7852 K. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 5848.3f Bur (4C). Cf. Καλλικράτης K. Ἀ. *IG* ii² 5785.2f Bur (c.360), whom *IG* cfs. with *PA* 7852.

728 4 [-c.5-]ος Καλλίου [Εὐωνυμ]εύς 1? c
Unc *IG* ii² 1952.*a*5 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 554760 *PA* 7837 Non-*stoichedon*; approx. letter count in name from autopsy; demotic is from plural heading [-c.7-]ῆς, restored as by Schweigert, *AJPh* 61 (1940) 195 (not Lamptreus, but of same phyle; see **531, 889**), who suggests the fa=*PA* 7864=*AO* 1508 *IG* i³ 375 *Hellenotamias* (410/9) and a bro=Ἀντικλῆς K. E. (**105**) klerouch on Sam. Sundwall, *AskAth*: Neph=[K]α. [K]α. [Εὐ]ω. *IG* ii² 4442.9-11 (L4C). Cf. *Agora* XVII.134 (1st half 4C). See *AskAth* p.140 for other suggestions and biblio. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

729 4 Καλλίας, pat.: see Ἀντικλῆς K. Εὐωνυμεύς 1 (**105**)
Sam 365-345 *PAA* 554740 *PA* 7864

730 ? Καλλίας Καλλικράτου Κολωνῆθ(εν) 4 or 10 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.21 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 554880 *PA* 7870 Fa's *PAA* 556815 Fa's *PA* 7969 ?Rel= Κ[α]λ[λίας Σ]ωιναύτου Κ. (**731**), L26.

731 ? Κ[α]λ[λίας Σ]ωιναύτου Κολωνῆθε(ν) 4 or 10 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.26 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 554905 *PA* 7871 Fa's *PA* 13139 ?Rel=Κ. Καλλικράτου Κ. (**730**), L21. ?Bro=*PA* 3014 [Γλα]ύκων Σωιναύτ[ου ---] *IG* ii^2 1566.18 (L4C), since only 6 of fa's name in *PA*+.

732 ? Καλλίας (Ἱππομάχο(υ) Λαμπτρᾶθεν 1) c
Pot *IG* i^3 1511(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #2).1, 3f 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur
PAA 554950 ?Bro=Ἰσχόμαχος Ἰ. Λ. (**712**), L2-4 (phrasing is Κ.Ι'Ι.Ι'Ι Ι Λ.). Cf. Σωσίας Πεδιῶς Παλληνῆθεν (**1206**), L5-7. ?Rels=*PA* 7873=*AO* 1511 Κ. Ἐπιγένους Λ. *Agora* XV.14 *bouleutes* (367/6) and his fa *PA* 4810 Ἐ. Λ. (*APF* pp.178f and its stemma predate Romiopoulou). See *Agora* XV index.

733 E Καλλία[ς Μαδ]ύτιος d
Chr *Agora* XVII.1.35f 464 (*IG* i^2: ctx) Bur
PAA 555325 Casualty list for battle of Drabeskos(?); thus the date. *Agora* apparently calls him an Athenian ally. Koehler restores heading (L34f): [Μαδ]ύτιοι | [ἐν Καρ]δίαι. Countryman=[....]ν [Μαδ]ύτιος (**1472**), L36.

734 ? Καλλικράτης, pat.: see Καλλίας Κ. Κολωνῆθ(εν) 4 or 10 (**730**) Sal 320 *PAA* 556815 *PA* 7969

735 L Καλλίμαχος c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #4.1 250-200 (ed: scr) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula. Eponymous Arx in decree of initiates.

736 4 Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδν(αῖος) 9 c
Sam Michel 832.8, 60 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 557700 *PA* 8009 Gentv., then nomtv. *PA*: Son=*PA* 8099 Καλλισθένης Κ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 5756 Bur (L4C), and they are of the family of *PA* 8008=*AO* 1534 Kallimachos polemarch at Marathon.

737 L Κ[α]λλίμαχος, pat.: see Θεογένης Κ. Λευκονοεύς 4 (**639**) Sal 131 *PAA* 557875 *PA* 8018

738 4 Καλλίμαχος Περιθ(οίδης) 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*4 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 558005 *PA* 8026 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

739 X Καλλινίκη (Τίτου) Σερουιλίου θυγ. n w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 125.1-4 099+ (JC: pro) Bur
2 in *PA*+, both late (6 in *PAA*, Traill says).

740 4 Καλλίνομος Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.4f 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Pro

PAA 558575 *PA* 8041 Unique in *PA*+. 1 of 2 *symproedroi* with Epi in decree of ?indep. Imb.

741 4 Καλλίππη Πιστοξένου θυγ. Λημνία p w
Lem Isaios 6.13 399-364 (pro) Rel
PAA 558925 *APF* pp.562f Fa's *PAA* 774000 Hus=Εὐκτήμων Κηφισιεύς (**520**), by whom she is alleged to have produced 2 Athenian-citizen sons (cf. **907**). See *APF*'s discussion and stemma (p.265), which includes Euktemon's large family by his Attic 1st wf. 2 of fa's name in *PA*+, both dated prior to 350.

742 D Κάλλιππος Κλεοφῶντος p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 92.11f(maj.) 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Ded Rel
Maj. lines cited because *IG*'s text groups inscribed lines into verses. Dedicates grave epigram for fa (**789**), L1 and 12, and mo Ἀριστόπολις (**200**), L13. Fa "from a foreigner became a native" (L1f).

743 D [Κα]λλὶς Ἀριστίωνος p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.21 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
None in *PA*+ (but 13 in *PAA*, Traill informs me). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

744 E Καλλισθένες of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.8 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 559880 *PA* 8092 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ης. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle. Cf. *PA* 8097 Κ. Καλλίου Ἀραφήνιος on Aigeis list (4C); Κ. Καλλικράτους Ἐρχιεύς in *APF* p.363 stemma which also includes Καλλικράτης Κ. Ἐ. *IG* ii² 6121 Bur (2nd half 4C). Cf. perhaps also *PA* 10484e [Μ]υρίν[η] Καλλισθένο(υ) *IG* ii² 12204 Bur (c.360), a dtr's name that may be significant; cf. Αἰαντὶς Διομέδοντος (**39**).

745 L Καλλισθένης Φίλωνος Μαραθώνιος 9 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14bII.1f 001+ (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
PAA 559962 ?Wf=Ἀλεξάνδρα Στύ[ρα]κος Ἀλεξανδρεῖτ[ι]ς (**52**), L2f. Kall. joins Alex. in freeing [θρ]επτάς at Kabeirion.

746 E Καλλιστονίκη d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.8 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes she is a slave. 3m, 5f Ded's.

747 4 Καλλιστρά[τη] p w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 30(=*IG* ii² 11946).2 399-300 (*IG* xii: scr; cf. *IG* ii²: M4C) Bur Rel
PAA 560795 Funerary amphora with reliefs, in Louvre. *IG* ii² cites Michon (1905) as proving Attic origin of stone, but JC has doubts: Why then the Lemnian attribution? Cf. possible Sky analogy at **582**. Hus=Λάμπων (**834**), L1.

748 D [Κα]λλιστράτη Καλλίου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.10 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco

Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has space between *sigma* and *tau*, and shows *lambda* for patc.'s *alpha*. Gives Δ (=10 drx?). Cf. *PA* 8116 *peplos*-weaver (E1C).

749 ? Καλλιστράτη, mat.: see Οἰνάνθη Κ. Σαλαμινία (**1053**) w
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 560925

750 D [Κ]αλλίστρατος Ἁλαιεύς 2 or 7 c
LHe *IG* ii² 1223.19 166+ (*IG*; eds range 229-146) Trs
PAA 561540 *PA* 8155 Accus. Trs of Stratiotic fund, at Athens? at LHe?

751 ? Καλλίστ[ρατος] Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P c
Lem *SLC* 10(=Segre, *Ann.* #6).7f 350-200 (ed: scr) Eco
PAA 561790 Datv. Holds agreement mentioned on *horos*, said not necessarily to be from LHe (Segre p.298), although all Lemnian *horoi* of known find spots are. Ed: Cf. *PA* 8173 Κ. [Λαμπ]τρεύς *IG* ii² 2967.I.11 (M4C).

752 L Καλλιστὼ Ζώου Ἐλευσεινίου 8 θυγ. c w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 38.5, 18 001++ (Wilhelm) Bur Hon
PAA 562272 Fa's *PAA* 462562 (as Ζώης) Grave epigram with crowns from *demoi* of LHe, LMy, Imb, and Tenedos. Kaibel supports date on poetic style basis. Ζώη (L7) seems to be a misspelling of name of fa Ζώος (which citation of Kirchner's emendation in *IG*'s *apparatus* seems to imply) or (Traill insists) Ζώης in a datv. form.

753 L Καλλιστὼ Ἀντιδώρου Τειθρασίου 2 c w
Sal *IG* ii² 7536.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 562335 Fa's *PAA* 132935 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 2073 Ἀ[ριστ]οτέλης? Ἀ. Τ. *IG* ii² 678.26 *prytanis* (M3C), corrected by *Agora* XV.85.25 to Ἀμε[ι]νοτέλης Ἀ. Τ. *bouleutes* (256/5). *PA* 1035 Ἀντ. Τ. mentions Kallisto, without suggesting any conn.

754 4 [Κ]αλλιτέλης, pat.: see Φαίνιππος [Κ]α. Ἀφιδνα[ῖος] 9 (**1265**) Imb 350-314 *PAA* 562510 *PA* 8205+

755 X Καλλιτύχη Ἐπαφροδίτου Σμυρναίου n w
LHe Susini, *Ann.* #5(=Segre, *Ann.* #16).1f 001+ (Susini: scr) Bur Rel
Susini's readings (Segre begins Καλαι-). ?Bro=Δίης (**330**), L1, or perhaps ?hus, of unknown ethnicity. Phrasing makes relationships unclear: Δ. Κ. Ἐ. Σ. χαίρετε.

756 4 Καλλιφῶν d
Sal *IG* ii² 11818/9.1 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 563050 Epitaph from Sal, with reliefs of standing man, fem. slave, and sitting woman; name of wf (**1543**) lost from stone.

757 4 Καλλιφῶν Αἰξω(νεύς) 7 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*7 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 563100 *PA* 8234 ?Rel(*PA*: Bro)=*PA* 1856* (*PA* erroneously reads Ἀριστοκλῆς for *IG*'s) Ἀριστοκλείδης. (**178**), L*b*8. ?Rel(*PA*:

Son)=*PA* 1857 Ἀριστοκλῆς Κ. Α. in Attic deme decree (c.325/4). Stemma at *PA* 1856 is confused by the misreading, and its further suggestion that Kalliphon's fa was another (unattested) Aristokles is also weakened. List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

758 X Καρδένθ[ης? – – –]ζου? n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 142.1f 001++ (JC: scr) Bur
Ligatured OY. Restoration of Robert, cited at *IG* xii Supp. p.148, with observation that the name is Thraikian.

759 E Καρυστίων Σάμιος c
Sam Sch. Aristoph. *Wasps* 283b 440 (ctx) Hon
PAA 565240 Gentv., then accus. Given Athenian citizenship for informing vs. rebels at time of Perikles' attack.

760 4 Κηφισιάδης, μέτοικος...ἐν Σκύρῳ κατοικῶν n
Sky [Dem.] 52.9, 25, 29 375-365 (ctx) Eco
Apollodoros speaks of Kephisiades' dealings with the bank of his fa, Pasion. Business partner=Λύκων Ἡρακλεώτης (*ib.* 3). Supporter in court=*PA* 2304 Ἀρχεβιάδης Λαμπτρεύς of a trierarchic family.

761 4 Κηφίσιος, pat.: see Ἐπικράτης Κ. Ἰωνίδης 2 (**447**)
Sal 340-317 *PAA* 567125 *PA* 8290

762 ? Κηφισόδοτος Στράτωνος Ὀαεύς 3? c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952+.*c*51 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 567895 Fa's *PA* 12966 JC's line numbers and readings (autopsy). *PA* has patc. only; name on newer frag.: see Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 173, who brackets the *omicron* underdotted here. Demotic from plural heading Ὀαιε̃ς (L*c*49), which might instead refer to the deme Oe 6. Thus Hereward cfs. both Κ. Ὄαθεν *IG* ii^2 7824 Bur (E4C) and *PA* 12994 Σ. Ὀῆθεν *IG* ii^2 1009 (L2C).

763 ? Κηφισόδωρος Κηφισοδώρου Ἁλιμούσιος 4 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 5542.1-3 399+ (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 568350 Fa's *PAA* 568345 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy; only dating clues are Ionic alphabet and suggested conns. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 7260=*AO* 3007 Θο(ύ)κριτος Κ. Ἁ. *Agora* XV.13.15f *bouleutes* (370/69?), whose son (says *Agora*) is [Θ. Κηφισ]οδώρου Ἁ. ephebe (333/2). Cf. also *PA* 7259 Θ. Θ. Ἁ. and stemma at *PA* 7255 Θουκριτίδης Ἁ.

764 ? Κηφισόδωρος Πολυάρχου Ἀ[χ]αιός n
Sal? *IG* ii^2 8403.1-3 399+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 568770 Fa's *PAA* 777610 *IG*'s text from copy, but reported forms of *alpha* and *sigma* look classical. Epitaph on Aigina, from Sal? *IG*: "Titulus utrum Aegineticus an Salaminius sit, non liquet".

765 ? Κηφισόδωρος, pat.: see Ἡγήσιππος Κ. Λαμπτρεύς 1 (**590**)
Sal? 430-300 *PAA* 568545 *PA* 8374

766 ? Κηφισόδωρος, pat.: see Ναυσικρίτη Κ. Σηστία (**978**)
Chr 399-300 *PAA* 568785

767 4 Κηφισοκλῆς Μαραθώ(νιος) 9 c
Sam Michel 832.44 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 568930 *PA* 8394

768 ? Κηφισοφῶν ὁ Σαλαμίνιος? d
Sal? *SEG* 37.214.B15 399-350 (ed: pro) Cul
Name in list on lost lead curse tablet, apparently from Attike. Robert, *Coll.Froehner 1* reprints Froehner's maj: ΚΗΦΙΣΟΦΩΝΟ-ΣΑΛΑΠΙΛΙΝΙΟΣ, which may be emended either to K. ὁ Σαλαμίνιος or to K. Ἀφιδναῖος. Obviously, the text is only relevant to this Appendix if the former emendation is to be preferred (incidentally, a possible ID for the *other* emendation is mis-cited by Robert, followed by *SEG*: their *PA* 8365 should be *PA* 8408).

769 ? Κίκων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*30 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
IG: "Κίκων et Μάρων [(**902**), L*c*39] ad oram Maronitarum referenda sunt".

770 X Κιλικ⟨ίδ⟩ας Δαικ⟨λ⟩έους Ταρσεύς n
Sal *IG* ii[2] 10427.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
PAA 569625 Fa's *PAA* 300550 Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy, in which ΙΔ is shown as *lambda* and Λ as *alpha*.

771 D Κίμων, pat.: see [Ἀ]ρχεδίκη K. (**226**)
Imb 199-100

772 ? [Κ]ίμω[ν]?, pat.: see [Γε]λωνὸ[ς Κ]ί. (**272**)
LHe 499-375

773 E Κίμων, pat.: see Μιλτιάδης K. Λακιάδης 6 (**949**); Στησαγόρας K. (**1171A**) >1 524-513 *PAA* 569735 *PA* 8426

774 ? (Κίμων?), pat.: see Μιλτιάδης (K.?) Λακιάδης 6 (**950**)
Adr 325/4 *PAA* 569695 *PA* 8424

775 D Κλᾶρος Κλάρου Αἰξωνεύς 7 c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.17 001++ (*IG* 160-180 CE) Mys Cul
PAA 570885 Fa's *PAA* 570883 *Epoptes*. From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription).

776 ? [Κλε]αγόρης? Ἡρα⟨γ⟩ορέω d
Sam Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) #19.1f 450+ (JC: com; ed & Shipley differ) Bur
Maj. has *iota*, text brackets *gamma*; DK whether letter cut incorrectly or partially lost. Epitaph from Samos, name apparently Samian, but ed's 4C date would make it possible he died in klerouchic period. Cf. Ἡραγόρας Ἡροδότου Σάμιος *IG* ii[2] 6417.5 Bur in Athens (4C) with sons and gson bearing demotic Κηφισιεύς.

777 D Κλέανδρος, pat.: see Ἀριστόνικος K. Σαλαμίνιος (**197**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 574610

778 4 Κλεαρίστη Ἐπαινέτου d w
Sal *IG* ii[2] 11854.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur

PAA 574770 *PA* 8469c Fa's *PAA* 389680 Fa's *PA* 4749a Gravestone from Sal.

779 ? (Κλέαρχος), pat.: see Ναυσικλῆς (Κ. Ὀῆθεν 6) (**977**) Imb 353-325 *PAA* 574950 *PA* 8484

780 ? Κλειδίκη Φωκύλο(υ) d w
Sam Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) #16.1f 450+ (JC: com; ed & Shipley differ) Bur
Datv. Epitaph from Samos, name may be Samian (none of fa's name in *PA*+, and none of her own, although there are 3 masc. -ος analogues), but ed's 4C date would make it possible she died in klerouchic period.

781 4 Κλειτομάχη d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 11859.1(left) 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 575825 *PA* 8537a Epitaph with reliefs from Sal, reported lost in *IG*, but *SEG* 39.278 says it is in Rochester, NY. ?Hus=Εὔμαχος (**524**), same line (right).

782 ? Κλεόβουλος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*28 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

783 4 Κλεόμηλος Θοραι(εύς) 10 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*17 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 577320 *PA* 8601 *PA*: =*PA* 8600 Κ. Κλεοβούλου Ἀθηναῖος *proxenos* of Karthaia on Keos (M4C). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

784 L Κλεοπάτρα Νικάνδρου ἐξ Γαργηττίων 2 p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 114.6f 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 577597 Fa's *PAA* 708777 Re-used stone? DK whether of same period as epitaph of Κλεοφῶν Μόσχου Στειριεύς (**793**), L1-3; if of same period, he could be her hus. Cf. *PA* 8609 Κ. Ἀντιπάτρου Γαργηττίου θυγ. *IG* ii^2 5934 Bur (3C).

785 L Κλεοπάτ[ρα patc. lost Μα]ραθωνίου 9 c w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #14dII.1f 001+ (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
PAA 577625 *Kyrios*(?Hus)=Ἀπολλόδ[ωρος – – –] (**124**), L3. Joins Apoll. in freeing (slaves at Kabeirion).

786 D Κλεοπ[ά]τρα[ς] Σκύριος p
Sky *IG* ii^2 2332.160 199-150 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: 183/2) Eco
Contributor to wall-building in Athens.

787 ? Κλεόφαντος Κλεοφῶντος Ἐλευσ[ί](νιος) 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.19 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 8633 Fa's *PA* 8641 3 in *PA*+. *Agora*: Cf. Κλεόφα. [Ἐλευ.?] *Agora* XV.493.54 (343/2).

788 L Κλεόφημος, pat.: see Ἀνδροκλῆς Κ. Θορίκιος 5 (**91**)
Imb 250-166 *PA* 8636

789 D Κλεοφῶν p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 92.1, 12(maj.) 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel

Nomtv., then gentv. Maj. lines cited because *IG*'s text groups inscribed lines into verses. Grave epigram for hus and wf Ἀριστόπολις (**200**), L13, dedicated by their son Κάλλιππος Κ. (**742**), L11f. Epigram begins (L1f): "Kleophon from a foreigner became a native" (Ἦλθεν ἀπὸ ξείνης Κλεοφῶν χθονός).

790 ? Κλεοφῶν, pat.: see Κλεόφαντος Κ. Ἐλευσ[ί](νιος) 8 (**787**) Sal 320 *PA* 8641

791 L Κλε[οφῶν – – –],pat.: see [Ἐ]πιχάρης Κλε[– – – Στειριεύς 3] (**461**) Imb 001+

792 L [Κ]λεοφῶν Ἐπιχάρου Στειριεύ[ς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 113.2 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has *lambda* for patc.'s *alpha*. Family gravestone; relationships not all clear. Fa or son=[Ἐ]πιχάρης Κλε[οφῶντος Σ.] (**461**), L1. Other rels=[Σ]καμάνδρι[ο]ς Σκαμανδρίου Σ. (**1153**), L4; [Ν]εικάδης Σ. Σ. (**996**), L3; ?[Τ]ιμόκλεια Κτησιβίου Εἰμ[βρίου] (**1242**), L5. ?Rels=Κ. Μόσχου Σ. (**793**) on Imb (1C CE); Ἐ. (Ἐ.) Σ. (**460**) on Imb (2C CE).

793 L Κλεοφῶν Μόσχου Στειριεύς 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 114.1-3 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 578285 Fa's *PAA* 660112 Follows *IG*'s text; *ed. prin.* says patc. is a "certain" Λαόσχου. Reused stone? DK whether of same period as epitaph of Κλεοπάτρα ἐξ Γαργηττίων (**784**), L6f; if of same period, she could be his wf. ?Rel=[Κ]λ. Ἐπιχάρου Σ. (**792**) on Imb (1C CE).

794 4 Κλεώ d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 12849/50.1(right) 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 578485 *PA* 8649a Gravestone from Sal, with reliefs. ?Rels=Φαινίππη (**1263**) and Σμικυθίων (**1158**), same line (left and center).

795 L Κλέων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 10 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1051.*cde*18 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PAA 578985 *PA* 8667 Accus. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens. *PA*: Cf. *PA* 8668=*AO* 1656 Κ. [Κλε]αγόρου. *Agora* XV.44.59 *prytanis* (334/3), adopting Koehler's restoration, rejected in favor of [Δι?] in the text of *IG* ii^2 1750.64 on the basis of letter spaces (although the inscription is non-*stoichedon*).

796 D Κλέων, pat.: see Ἡδῆα Κλέ. ⟨Μ⟩υριναία (**595**) LMy? 001+ *PAA* 579295

797 L [Κλε]ωνείκη? See [Λε]ωνείκη? Διονυσίου [Εὐπ]υρίδου 4 γυνή (**857**) w Sal 001+

798 ? Κλεώνυμος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*26 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

799 X Κλώδι[ος] n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.3 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys

Praenomen (1 letter) lost. 1st of 4 Roman names at top of list; Greek names follow.

800 D Κοίντ[η Ἀσκλ]ηπιο[δ?---] d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 11882/3.1 001+ (*IG*) Bur
PAA 580430 Fa's *PAA* 221385 Epitaph from Sal.

801 ? Κόνων, pat.: see Τιμόθεος Κ. Ἀναφλύστιος 10 (**1241**)
>1 370-355 *PAA* 581750 *PA* 8707

802 4 [Κ]όνων Μενεκράτο(υ)ς Κολωνῆθεν 4 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6526.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: pro) Bur
PAA 581815 *PA* 8711 Fa's *PAA* 644080 Fa's *PA* 9952 Epitaph from Sal. Date and phyle (rather than Antiochis 10) based on suggested conns. *PA*, *IG*, *Agora*: ?Bro=*PA* 10010=*AO* 1974 Μενέστρατος Μ. Κολωνεύς *Agora* XV.13.110-112 *prytanis* (370/69?) Cf. Konon (demotic lost, but apparently of phyle Leontis) *Agora* XV.493.23 ?*bouleutes* (343/2).

803 ? Κόρδαξ, pat.: see Ἀρχῖνος Κ. [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 (**239**)
Unk 375-325 *PAA* 582010 *PA* 8718

804 D Κοσμία, mat.? see Βοίδιον Κ. (**265**) w
Sal 099+ *PAA* 583005

805 L Κότυς, kyr.: see [Ἀ]κ[ρ]όπολις Ἀπολλωνίου ἐκ Κηφεισιέων 1, γυνὴ δὲ Κ. Κηφεισιέ(ω)ς 1 (**51**) Imb 299+ *PAA* 583218

806 ? Κράτης Θεαγένους [Ἀφι]δνῆθεν 9 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 5759.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 584095 Fa's *PAA* 501575 Epitaph from Sal. Text from copy; dating clues are Ionic alphabet and odd demotic. Cf. Krates of phyle Aiantis Sundwall p.115 Kt (106/5) — although Sundwall's own comparisons are with names of Marathon.

807 D Κρατήσιον d w
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 516.1 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Ded
None in *PA*+ (7 in *PAA*, Traill informs me). Dedication to Συρίαι θεῶι.

808 D [Κρ]ά[τ]ιος, pat.: see Ἐπικλῆς [Κ.] Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**445**)
LHe 166+ *PAA* 584532

809 ? Κράτυς Ὀτρυν[εύ]ς 2 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.6 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 584770 Decree of initiates. None in *PA*+; ed says name unique. JC: ?Rel=*PA* 8764 Κρατῖν[ος ---]ς Ὀτρυν[εύς] *IG* ii^2 4399.1f at *AskAth* p.143 Ded (2nd half 4C).

810 D Κριθέα[ς]? d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 8(+Add.).1 299-200 (*IG* Add.: scr) DK
Very fragmentary, context totally unclear. *IG*'s text has only traces + θε. Use of Kern's squeeze leads to this reading in the *apparatus* of *IG*'s Add. The letters are not necessarily from a name; if they *are* from a name, they may just as easily be from its patc. or demotic.

811 L Κριτίας Ἀφιδ[ναῖο]ς 9 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*cde*18 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PAA 585330 *PA* 8794 Accus. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens. *PA*: Cf. *PA* 1410=*AO* 281 Ἀπολλόδωρος Κ. Ἀ. secretary to Trs's of Athena (432/1).

812 ? Κριτίας ἐξ Ἡφαιστίας d
LHe *IG* ii² 8826."4f" (JC num.) 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 585340 No line-numbers in *IG*. Funerary lekythos in Athens with reliefs of Kritias and dtr, Ἡδίστη Κ. θυγ. ἐξ Ἡ. (**596**), L"2f", but none of ?mo, Ἀρχὼ Δημητρίο(υ) (**241**), L"1". Only epitaph of persons "from Hephaistia" in *IG*; grouped with those of foreigners.

813 D [Κρ]ιτο[- - -] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*9 001+ (JC: scr) Mys

814 ? (Κριτόδημος), pat.: see Ἀριστόμαχος (Κ.) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν 10 (**189**) Chr? 357-353 *PAA* 585545 *PA* 8808

815 4 Κτησίας, pat.: see Τιμοστράτη Κ. Παιανιέως 3 (**1250**) Imb 399-300 *PAA* 586755 *PA* 8847

816 D Κτησίβιος, pat.: see [Τ]ιμόκλεια Κ. Εἰμ[βρίου] (**1242**) Imb 001+

817 D Κτησίβιος Λήμνιος p
Lem *IG* ii² 9209.1f 299-200 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 586900 Columella in Attike. Only "Lemnian" alphabetized by "ethnic" as such in *IG* ii²'s epitaphs.

818 D [Κτησίκλεια Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀχαρνέως 6] c w
Sal? *IG* ii² 3507.1 025-001 (*IG*: pro) Ded Cul
PAA 586955 *PA* 8856 Fa's *PAA* 147620 Fa's *PA* 1523 Inscription found on Sal, but Boeckh believed it had been moved there from Eleusis, and this name is totally restored on the basis of an almost identical text at Eleusis, *IG* ii² 3508, which would also justify restoring her office of ὀργιαστίς (presumably at Eleusis). Hus=Σοφοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς (**1169**), L2f. See stemma at *PA* 9111 — but see [Ἀ]π. [Ἀ]π Ἀ. Osborne, *AncSoc* #17 Bur (1C BC or CE), who could be her fa, contrary to the stemma. Cf. also *PA* 1522 and 1524, other homonyms of fa from same deme.

819 4 Κτησικλείδης Εὐωνυ(μεύς) 1 c
Sam Michel 832.42 346/5 (arx) Epi Pro
PAA 586990 *PA* 8860 Readings of Ohly and Aleshire (Michel brackets 2nd *iota*).

820 D Κτησικλῆς, pat.: see [Σω?]*υ*στράτη Κ. (**1211**) Imb 199-100

821 L Κτησικράτης c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 51.13f 250-166 (JC: com; eds differ) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula, i.e., eponymous Arx on Imb. See **1503** on dating problems.

822 D Κτησικράτης Ποσειδωνίου Προσπάλτιος P c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 26.*b*11 099+ (*IG*) Str
PAA 587300 *PA* 8879 Fa's *PAA* 785620 Fa's *PA* 12146 Gentv.; demotic ends -ίου. 2nd-time Str κατὰ πόλιν for LHe.

823 ? Κτησικράτης Κτησιφῶντος Φαληρεύς 9 c
Sal? *IG* ii² 7612.3 399-300 (JC: com; eds differ) Bur Rel
PAA 587320 Inscription found on Sal; ed (Dain) was told it came from Phaleron, but expressed doubt about this; cf. *IG*'s treatment as simply from Phaleron, with no mention of Sal! *IG*'s text obscures line-order: the name of Ktesikrates' fa, Κτησιφῶν Βοιήθου Φ. (**825**), L1f, is squeezed in above (i.e., apparently inscribed later than) his name. Ed infers that the son died earlier, which requires Ktesiphon to have reached extreme old age if (as ed suggests), the son=*PA* 8880 K. K. Φ. *IG* ii² 1927.116f *diaitetes*, and hence age 60 (c.325), whose fa is *PA* 8901. *IG* specifically denies this ID because of the age problem. If, however, it were accepted, it might warrant a further suggestion: ?Rel(twin bro?)=*PA* 8873 Κτησικλῆς Κτησιφῶντος Φ. *ib.* L108f (*PA* gives his fa no entry). See fa's entry in this Appendix for other suggested rels.

824 ? Κτησιμένης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*6 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
None in *PA*+ (or *PAA*, Traill says). List of 11 names, no heading extant.

825 ? Κτησιφῶν Βοιήθου Φαληρεύς 9 c
Sal? *IG* ii² 7612.1f 399-300 (JC: com; eds differ) Bur Rel
PAA 587670 Fa's *PAA* 267700 Inscription found on Sal; ed (Dain) was told it came from Phaleron, but expressed doubt about this; cf. *IG*'s treatment as simply from Phaleron, with no mention of Sal! *IG*'s text obscures line-order: this name is squeezed in above (i.e., apparently inscribed later than) the name of Ktesiphon's son, Κτησικράτης K. Φ. (**823**), L3. Ed infers that the son died earlier, which requires Ktesiphon to have reached extreme old age if (as ed suggests), the son=*PA* 8880 K. K. Φ. *IG* ii² 1927.116f *diaitetes*, and hence age 60 (c.325), whose fa is *PA* 8901. *IG* specifically denies this ID because of the age problem. *IG*: ?Rel=*PA* 2895=*AO* 539 Βόηθος. *Agora* XV.46.35 *bouleutes* (c.330). Cf. *PA* 2883=*AO* 537 Boethos, Epi of *prytaneis* of Aiantis (410/9), at Andok. 1.96.

826 L [Κ]τησίχαρις c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 98.1 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 587702 Gravestone with reliefs. 1 in *PA*+. Hus=Π⟨υ⟩θόδωρος ⟨Γαργήτ⟩τιος (**1125**), L1f (phrasing is [Κ]τ. καὶ Π. ⟨Γ⟩.). *IG*'s text followed, but not its square brackets around replacements for unintelligible letters in *ed. prin.*'s maj.

827 D Κτησὼ Ἐπιχάρου (γυνή?) d w

Imb *IG* xii(8) 116.*b*1f 299-250 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
DK her ethnicity. ?Hus Ἐπ. Εὐκτήμονος (**459**), L*a*1f, appears to be of Olynthian descent, as son of Εὐκ. Εὐδίκου Ὀλύνθιος (**522**), L*c*1-3.

828 D Κτήσων Κτή[σωνος] Εἴνβρειος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 132.1f 001+++ (*IG*: scr) Bur

829 E Κύψηλος, pat.: see Μιλτιάδης Κ. (**948**)
Chr 561-556 *PAA* 588965 *PA* 8951

830 D [Κώ]μαρχος? (pat.) See [Δα]φναῖος [..]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος (**293**) Sal 299-100

831 D Κωμέας Χαιρέους Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P c
LHe *IG* ii^2 672+.5, 11f, 32, 40 280-275 (ctx; cf. *IG*: 379/8) Hip Hon
PAA 589175 *PA* 8956 Accus. 3 times, nomtv. in L40. Hip for Lem, honored by Athens, LHe, etc. In patc., *IG* knew only Χαι[ρ.]ου — which itself is enough to eliminate *PA*'s earlier cf. of Χαρίας Λ. (**1402**) at LMy (4C). Bugh, *Horsemen* 209 cites Ferguson, *HA* 155f for describing Komeas as "perhaps an Athenian of a Lemnian cleruchic family", and cites literature for a full reading of the patc. based on a previously-unconnected frag., and for the date (*IG*'s arx-date is restored). JC: ?Fa=Χαιρ[– – –] (**1370**) creditor at LHe (L4C). ?Conns.=Κ[– – –]εύς (**716**), L17, and [Name lost] (**1552**), L39, Mov's of honorary decrees.

LAMBDA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

832 E Λ[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.13 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 600002 Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. Photo of *ed. prin.* shows letter is Attic *lambda*; incorrect maj. (with Ionic *lambda*, i.e., Attic *gamma*) misleads ed of *IG* xii Supp. 337 into printing *gamma* in text; versions in *apparatus* of *IG* i² 948 and in *IG* i³ are correct. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

833 ? Λ[– – –], pat.: see [Χ]αρίσανδρος Λ[– – – Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 (**1409**) Unk 375-325 *PAA* 600330

834 4 Λάμπων p
LHe *IG* xii(8) 30(=*IG* ii² 11946).1 399-300 (*IG* xii: scr; cf. *IG* ii²: M4C) Bur Rel
PAA 601685 Funerary amphora with reliefs, in Louvre; *IG* ii² cites Michon (1905) as proving Attic origin of stone, but JC has doubts: Why then the Lemnian attribution? Cf. possible Sky analogy at **582**. Wf=Καλλιστράτη (**747**), L2. Cf. Λ. Λαμ[πτρ]εύς (**836**) Amb from LMy (1C).

835 D Λάμ̣[πων?] d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 524.2 001+ (*IG*: scr) Ded
Restoration from *apparatus*. Sets up memorial for ?rel/?beloved (Κλαύδιος) Ἔρως (**475**), L1.

836 L Λάμπ[ων] Λαμ[πτρ]εύς 1 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*cde*19 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PAA 601715 *PA* 8998 Accus. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens. Cf. Λ. (**834**) at LHe (4C).

837 ? Λάνπων Θεοζοτίδο(υ) Τειθράσιος 2 c
Pot *IG* i³ 1510(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #1).1-5 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur
PAA 601740 Fa's *PAA* 507800 Name formula followed by Αἰγεΐδος . *APF* p.223 knew of fa's name only in 1 family of Kekropis, but this text shows that the name was also used else-

where. Therefore, a possible rel (maybe even the fa himself, contrary to the suggestions of *APF* and *AO*) could be *AO* 2981 Theozotides, Mov of the orphans' decree (Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.8) and other decrees (L5C).

838 D Λασ[θένης? Ἀσκλη?]πιάδο[υ] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 82."4f"(really 2f) 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded Rel
Very fragmentary: *IG*'s line numbers include 2 totally restored "lines" at the top. Single interpunct precedes name. His mo (name lost, **244**), L"1f" makes dedication on his behalf.

839 ? Λε[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*25 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

840 4 Λε[– – –], pat.? see Φιλ[..]τα[– – –] Λ. (**1282**)
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 602530

841 D Λεαῖνα p w
Sal *IG* ii² 11960.1 275-225 (*IG*: ctx; cf. Wagner: 243) Rel
PAA 602680 Gentv. ending in -ης. Epigram found on Sal, mentioning battle there. Hus=Ἡράκλειτος (**608**), L1; son=Λέων (**852**), L2. Wagner: Descendants of Λέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος (**853**).

842 ? Λεόν[τιος] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.11 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. Cf. *APF* p.340 Λεοντ[– – –] *IG* ii² 2974+ gymnasiarch (L4C).

843 D [Λε]οντὶς Ἀθηνοδότου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.26 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
?Sis=[Ἡρ]ῲ Ἀ. (**619**), L27. Only 1 (spelled Λεω-) in *PA*+ (none spelled Λεο-), yet 2 homonyms, with different fa's, in this same list (**844, 845**): rels? [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

844 D [Λε]οντὶς Εὐθυμένου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.25 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Only 1 (spelled Λεω-) in *PA*+ (none spelled Λεο-), yet 2 homonyms, with different fa's, in this same list (**843, 845**): rels? [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

845 D [Λ]εοντὶς Νουφράδου w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.9 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Maj. has no *epsilon*, underdots patc.'s *rho*. Only 1 (spelled Λεω-) in *PA*+ (none spelled Λεο-), yet 2 homonyms, with different fa's, in this same list (**843, 844**): rels? 3 of fa's name in *PA*+. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

846 L Λεοχάρης See Θεοχάρης Διογένου Ῥαμνούσιος 9 (**678**)
Imb 199+

847 4 Λεπτίνης of phyle Antiochis 10 c
Lem *SEG* 3.117.6f, 12f 303/2 (arx) Pri

PAA 603445 Gentv.; phyle from context. Eponymous Pri, apparently at phyle's temenos on Lem; inscription is an Attic tribal decree. Ed: ?=*PA* 9045 [Λε]π. Ὀλυγ[π-- Ἀλω]πεκῆθε[ν] *IG* ii² 1575.42f Ded, whom *APF* p.340 (see sources there) ID's with Leptines, a *choregos* (331/0). ?Conn.=Hon Εὐθύδημος (**498**), L3, who worked with him on Lem as tribal *syndikos*.

848 D Λεῦκιος, pat.: see [Στ]ρατονίκη Λ. (**1177**)
Imb 199-100

849 E ⟨Λ⟩ευκόλοφος ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος] p
Sal *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*8 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) Mag Eco
PAA 604870 *AO* 1812 *Lambda* cut as *alpha*. Lists houses on Sal sold by *poletai*. *IG*: Native Salaminian? Walbank: Unlikely a citizen. *AO*: ?Arx of Sal, could be citizen. Figueira: Must be citizen. Cf. Λ. Σκαμβω(νίδης) (**850**) on Imb (4C).

850 4 Λεοκόλοφος Σκαμβω(νίδης) 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*13 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 604865 *PA* 9063 *PA*: Rel=*PA* 202=*AO* 31 Ἀδείμαντος Λευκολοφίδου Σ. of many sources (L5C). Cf. ⟨Λ⟩ε. ἐξ Σαλα[μῖνος] (**849**). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

851 ? [– – – Λεώ?]κριτος See [– – –]κριτος (**1505**)
Sam 365-322

852 D Λέων (Ἡρακλείτου) p
Sal *IG* ii² 11960.2 275-225 (*IG*: ctx; cf. Wagner: 243) Bur Rel
PAA 602680 Accus.; patc. from context. Epigram found on Sal, mentioning battle there. Fa=Ἡράκλειτος (**608**), L1. Mo=Λεαῖνα (**841**), L1. Wagner: Descendants of Λ. ὁ Σαλαμίνιος (**853**).

853 E Λέων ὁ Σαλαμίνιος p
Sal Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.39 and *Mem.* 4.4.3 404-403 (ctx) Oth
PAA 606012 Gentv. of this phrase in *Hell.* citation. Killed by "30 Tyrants"; arrested on Sal. *PA* omits, implying non-citizen status, yet *Mem.* passage that clearly refers to him uses the phrase τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. Some believe he was even an Athenian Str; see discussion at **39** and sources and literature at Figueira, *A&A* 147 n.33; cf. Tritle, *Ploutarchos* 9 (1992) 55 and *AO* p.179. ?Rels=Family of Λ. Πειθίου Σ. (**855**). ?Descendants=Family of Λ. (Ἡρακλείτου) (**852**).

854 ? Λέων, pat.: see Πειθίας Λ. Σαλαμίνιος (**1087**)
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 606015

855 ? Λέων Πειθίου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10208.4-6 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 606020 Fa's *PAA* 770850 Family gravestone of Salaminians, found near Dipylon Gate. See **692** on letter sizes. Fa=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1087**), L1f; son=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1088**), L9. ?Mo=Θρᾶιττα (**692**), L3. ?Sis=Πλαγγὼν Χαρίου γυνή (**1098**), L7f. ?Rel=Λ. ὁ Σ. (**853**).

856 L Λεωνίδης, pat.: see Μόσχος Λ. Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**966**)
Imb 199-100 *PAA* 606390 *PA* 9127

857 L [Λε]ωνείκη? Διονυσίου [Εὐπ]υρίδου 4 γυνή c w
Sal *SEG* 21.852.1f 001+ (*SEG*) Bur
PAA 606075 *SEG*: Or [Κλε]ωνείκη? (*PAA* 579375). Epitaph from Sal. 1 Λεωνίκη in *PA*+. *SEG*: Cf. homonyms of fa from same deme, *PA* 4172 and 4174 (to whom might be added 4173 and 4175; all are late).

858 D Λη[ναῖος? ---], pat.: see Π̣ο̣μ̣[πε]ῖος Λ. (**1110**)
Imb 001+

858A ? ⟨Λ⟩[ί]βυς? Κυρ[ηναῖος]? n
Sal *SEG* 40.248.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel?
Epitaph frag. from Sal. Text of *ed. prin.* is unintelligible Α[]ΒΥΣΚΥΡ; Stroud, in *apparatus* of *SEG*, restores [Λί]βυς κτλ. ?Wf=Βακχὶς Αρ[---] (**260A**), L2.

859 4 Λογχίς d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 11974(=*CEG* 577).4 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 608605 Epigram from Sal, now in Eleusis Mus. None in *PA*+.

860 D Λούκιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 93.8 001+++ (*IG*: scr) Ded? Rel
Roman name (=Lucius), but rels' names Greek. Not certain who dedicated: mentioned in epigram of son Νεικήφορος (**1002**), L2; wf=Ἑλένη (**416**), L6.

861 E Λυκ[---] c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.11 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 610032 Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

862 4 Λυκῖνος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι [οἰκῶν] n
Sal *IG* ii^2 1574.9 330 (*IG*) Ded
PAA 610415 Dedication of freed-slave (ἀποφυγών) metic; former owners apparently named in L10-12 — same 3 as listed for Δᾶος (**292**), L4. Their residence on Sal is not assumed (see discussion at **909**). Cf. analogous entries (**292, 705**).

863 ? [-c.3-αν]δρος Λυκίνο(υ) [Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*29 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 610360 *PA* 9204 Demotic from restored plural heading. JC: [Λύσαν]δρος?

864 4 [Λυκ]ίσκος Λύκωνος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11982.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *SEG*: begin 4C) Bur
PAA 610620 Fa's *PAA* 611790 Gravestone from Sal. Text of this inscription at *SEG* 1.33 has no brackets. Cf. Ναυσιστράτη Λυκίσκο(υ) Ὑβάδο(υ) Osborne, *AncSoc* #59.2 Bur (1st half 4C).

865 4 Λύκος, pat.: see Φιλίσκος Λ. Σ[ήστ]ιο[ς]? (**1303**)
Chr? 354 *PAA* 611250

866 ? Λυκόφρων c
Lem Hypereides 1.16-18 (Loeb) 333-330 (*APF*: ctx) Hip
PAA 611395 *PA* 9255 *APF* p.353 *AO* 1828 Hip for Lem; also phylarch earlier (*ib.*). Cf. Λ. (**867**) on Imb (4-3C). *APF* specifically says *not* rel of Lykophron in family of orator Lykourgos. Conn.=*PA* 7126 Θεόφιλος *ib* 20 supporting witness, whom *PA* and *IG* ID with Θ. Μελίτωνο[ς] Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (**673**).

867 ? Λυκό[φ]ρων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*27 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*. Cf. Λ. (**866**) on Lem (L4C).

868 4 Λύκων, pat.: see [Λυκ]ίσκος Λ. (**864**)
Sal 375-325 *PAA* 611790

869 4 Λύκων Θερσίου Φρεάρριος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.7, 14 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Mag Hon
PAA 611885 *PA* 9275 Fa's *PAA* 512935 Fa's *PA* 7192 Nomtv. name only, accus. full formula. Polemarch honored in decree of ?indep. Imb. *AO*, *Agora*: =*AO* 1825 Λ. Φ. *Agora* XV.42.215 *bouleutes* (336/5?). JC: ?Fa=*AO* 2845 Θερσ[– – –] of phyle Leontis, Epi (E4C). ?Conn.=Mov Ἐξήκεστ[ος] Ἀριστογένους Ἀθμ[ο]νεύς (**429**), L5f. *Paredroi* (presumably his own appointees)=Θρασυμήδης [– – –] (**690**), L16; Με[ν]έστρατος Χ[– – –] (**929**), L15.

870 4 Λυσ[– – –]ς, pat.: see [Ἀ]μεινοκλῆς Λ. Παλληνεύς 10 (**71**)
Sal 399-300 *PAA* 612090

871 D Λυσαγόρας Πραξίνου Φυλάσ[ιος] 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 71.1f 199-001 (*IG* xii: scr) Ded
PAA 612210 Fa's *PAA* 786885 Dedicates inscribed sundial. Patc. corrected from *IG* xii's Ἡγ⟨η⟩σίνου (or the alternatives of its *apparatus*, ⟨Ἀ⟩γασίνου? ⟨Σ⟩τασίνου?) on the basis of *IG* ii^2 5216, the text on another inscribed sundial apparently dedicated by the same man in Attike.

872 ? [Λ]ύσανδρος, pat.: see [Λ]υσίμαχ[ος Λ]υ. of phyle Pandionis 3? (**887**) Unk 375-325 *PAA* 612380

873 4 Λύσανδρος Στειρι(εύς) 3 c
Sam Michel 832.11 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 612530 *PA* 9297 ?Rel=[Λ]υσίμαχ[ος Λ]υ. of phyle Pandionis (**887**).

874 4 Λυσ[ανί]ας (pat.) See [Ἀ]μεινοκλῆς Λυσ[– – –]ου Παλληνεύς 10 (**71**) Sal 399-300

875 L Λυσανίας Ἀριστοκράτου Δε(ι)ραδιώτης 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 53.3, 11f 199+ (ctx; cf. *IG*: 199-167) Hon Mil
PAA 612765 *PA* 9310* Fa's *PAA* 171205 Fa's *PA* 1934* Nomtv. name only, accus. full formula. Honored for warning vs. a plot (Foucart sees him as a klerouch who helped vs. pirates). *PA* errs on

patc.: Ἀριστοκρίτου, which eliminates *PA*'s suggested conn. with *PA* 11399 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Ἀριστοκρίτου Δ. ?Conn.=Mov Τη⟨λ⟩έας Ἀριστ[ο]κράτου Χολαργεύς (**1229**), Llf. Cf. *PA* 9309 [Μ]όλων [Λυ]σ. [Δει]ρ. and his bro (name lost) *IG* ii^2 5970 Bur (M4C). Cf. also Lysanias of phyle Leontis *Agora* XVII.23.118 trierarch Bur (c.409).

876 4 Λυσανίας Ποτάμ(ιος) 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*14 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 612980 *PA* 9320 Bradeen, *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 48f: ?Ancestor=Lysanias of phyle Leontis *Agora* XVII.23.118 trierarch Bur (c.409). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

877 E ⟨Λ⟩υσι(– – –)? See Ἰσ⟨α⟩γ(– – –)? (**707**)
Chr 525-475

878 ? Λυσίας, pat.: see Εὐκλῆς Λ. Μελιτεύς 7 (**515**)
Sal 320 *PAA* 614035 *PA* 9377

879 D Λυσίας, pat.: see Εὔνους Λ. Σαλαμίνιος (**532**)
Sal 199-001 *PAA* 614235

880 E Λυσιδίκη d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.7 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes she is a slave. 3 m, 5 f Ded's.

881 D [Λυ]σιδίκη Εὐσθένου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.22 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Maj. has 2 spaces after patc.'s Εὐ-. None of her name in *PA*+. ?Fa=[Ε]ὐσθέν[ης Π]ραξιτέ[λους Κ]ολωνῆ[θεν] (**546**); ?rels=Πρ. Ε. Κ. (**1116**) and [Σ]τρατονίκη Π. (**1178**), all on Imb (all 2C). Cf. also Ε. Κ. (**544**) also on Imb (4C). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

882 L [Λυ]σίκλεια [Λυ]σικλέους [ἐκ] Κοίλης 8 [θ]υγ., [Μ]ενεκράτου [ἐκ] Κ. 8 γυνή c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 6491.1-4 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
PAA 614665 Epitaph from Sal, *IG*'s text from copy. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 11994 Πολυκλῆς Λ. ἐκ Κ. *IG* i^2 681.12 ephebe (M3C).

883 ? [Λ]υσικύδης? See [Να]υσικύδης (**979**)
LMy 425-375

884 ? ⟨Λ⟩υσ[ι]μαχίδης p
Sky *IG* xii(8) 668."3"(really 2) 350-300 (pro) Hon
Accus. Inscription lost; text based on Cyriacus of Ancona, who wrote *alpha* for *lambda* (DK what really appeared on stone). Honored in resolution by [the *demos* of Athenians?] and/or others(?) κατοικούντων ἐκ Σκύρωι. Graindor: =Λυ. Ἁγνούσιος (**885**) from LHe; see that entry for possible office.

885 ? Λυσιμαχίδης Ἁγνούσιος 5 c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1672.278 329/8 (arx) Cul Eco
PAA 615780 *PA* 9478 Underdot based on autopsy. Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis, with Str Μνησίμαχος Ἁ. (**958**) and Δημήτρ[ι]ος ἐκ

Koí(λης) (**317**). *AO* pp. 393f calls him ?Str. If so, this might strengthen Graindor's ID of him with ⟨Λ⟩υσ[ι]μαχίδης (**884**) Hon on Sky.

886 ? Λυσίμαχος Λυσιμάχο[(υ?) ?ethnic lost] d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 7.9f, 17 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Hon Accus. Non-*stoichedon* inscription, but missing ?ethnic (or demotic?) had c.8 letters, the number depending partly on whether patc. ended with -ου or with *omicron* alone. Honored by *demos* of indep. LMy.

887 ? [Λ]υσίμαχ[ος Λ]υσάνδρο(υ) of phyle Pandionis 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.*c*48 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 616185 Fa's *PAA* 612380 JC's readings and line numbers (autopsy); Hereward underdots *chi*. Deme same as that of [-c.4or5-] Σ̲[-c.2- Θε]οδωρίδο(υ)? (**648**), L*c*47. Phyle same as that of deme indicated by plural heading 'Oαιε̃ς (L*c*49), which might instead refer to Oe 6. ?Rel=Λύσανδρος Στειρι(εύς) (**873**) on Sam (4C). Cf. *PA* 9523 (5C Arx) and 9524 (4C *bouleutes*), both named Λυσίμαχος Μυρρινούσιος.

888 4 [Λ]υσίμαχος 'Αχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal *SEG* 21.839.1f 350-300 (*APF*) Bur Rel
PAA 616360 *APF* p.358 Family gravestone from Sal, in Peiraieus Mus. Rels=Νικοφω̃ν 'Α. (**1035**), L3; Νίκων 'Α. (**1038**), L4; [...]ικράτεια (**1500**), L5. *APF*: ?=*PA* 9512(mis-cited as 9511)=*AO* 1872 Λ. Σωσιδήμου 'Α. *IG* ii² 212-214 secretary of *boule* (347/6). *APF*: ?Rels=*PA* 9480-1 both Λυσιμαχίδης Λ. 'Α. *AskAth* p.237 A9 sees *PA* 9480 as possibly his fa; see biblio. and further rels there. JC: Cf. [-3or4-]μαχος Προθυμίδο(υ) ['Α.] (**1117**).

889 4 [-c.5-]ης Λυσιμάχο(υ) [Εὐωνυμ]εύς 1 c
Unc *IG* ii² 1952.*a*7 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 616415 *PA* 9495 Letter count in name from autopsy. Schweigert's ID in L*a*5 (see **728**) leads to demotic (not Lamptreus, but of same phyle) from restored plural heading. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

890 4 Λυσιμένης Θεαινέτου Κεφαλη̃θεν 5 c
Sal *IG* ii² 6355.3 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 616825 Family gravestone from Sal. *IG*: =Λυσι[– – –] under heading for Kephale in *IG* ii² 2411.28 (c.330). Fa=Θ. Λ. Κ. (**631**), L1; mo=Χαιρεστράτη 'Αριστάνδρου Προβαλισίου (**1380**), L1-3; bros='Ερμιάδης Θ. Κ. (**468**), L3f, and Νικόστρατος Θ. Κ. (**1029**), L4f. See fa's entry for general discussion and other possible rels.

891 4 Λύσ[ιππ]ος (pat.) See ['Α]μεινοκλη̃ς Λυσ[– – –]ου Παλληνεύς 10 (**71**) Sal 399-300

892 ? Λυσίστρατος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*33 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

Either he or homonym (**893**) of L*b*40 might be ID'd with *PA* 9601=*AO* 1888 Λ. Ἀθηναῖος Delphic *hieromnemon* (326/5).

893 ? [Λ]υ[σ]ίστρατος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*40 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Either he or homonym (**892**) of L*b*33 might be ID'd with *PA* 9601=*AO* 1888 Λ. Ἀθηναῖος Delphic *hieromnemon* (326/5).

894 L [– – –]η Λυσιστράτου Χολλείδου 4 γυνή c w
Sal *SEG* 21.937.1f 299-100 (*SEG*) Bur Rel
PAA 618315 Epitaph found on Sal. Hus=[Λυ]σ. [– – –]ήτου Χ. (**895**), L3f (*PAA* treats them as 1 entry).

895 L [Λυ]σίστρατο[ς – – –]ήτου Χολλείδη[ς] 4 c
Sal *SEG* 21.937.3f 299-100 (*SEG*) Bur Rel
PAA 618315 Epitaph found on Sal. Wf=[– – –]η Λ. Χ. γυνή (**894**), L1f (*PAA* treats them as 1 entry).

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

896 X Μαγνησία Ζωτίχου 'Αλεξανδρῖτις n w
LHe *IG* xii Supp. 339.1-3 199+ (JC) Bur
JC's readings from squeeze and photo; cf. *IG*'s M. Z., 'Αλεχάνδρου γυνή. DK Zotichos' ethnicity: Alexandrian if her fa, but he could be her hus. 1 Ζώτικος in *PA*+, 5 in *Agora* XV (all with *kappa*, not *chi*). For the fem. ethnic, cf. 'Αλεξάνδρα Στύ[ρα]κος 'Αλεχανδρεῖτ[ι]ς (**52**), also at LHe.

897 ? Μαῖα d w
Sal *SEG* 37.184.1 480-300 (*SEG*: ctx) Bur
Gravestone from "classical cemetery" (*SEG*'s phrase) on Sal. None in *PA*+, 3 in *incerti* of *IG* ii²'s epitaphs.

898 ? Μαιάνδριος 'Απολλοθέμιος Κυζικηνός n
Sam Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) #15.1-3 450+ (JC: com; eds disagree) Bur
Datv. Ed's 4C date makes it possible he died under klerouchs; Shipley says 5C.

899 D [- - - Μά?]λλιος d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #2.1 001+ (ed: scr) Cul
None in *PA*+ (or *PAA*, Traill says). Traill finds *IG*'s restoration highly suspect. Assumed to be a separate person from following name in same line, 'Απολ[λόδωρος - - -] (**123**). Role inferred because remainder of inscription deals with cult.

899A E [Μ]αλὸκ̣[ιμος]? See [.]αλοκ̣[- - -] (**1480**)
LHe 500-480

900 ? Μανδρίας? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*5 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
Follows *IG*'s text; *ed. prin.* reads 'Ανδρίας, with no indication that a letter is missing. List of 11+ names, no heading extant.

901 E Μάνης d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.5 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes he is a slave. 3 m, 5 f Ded's.

902 ? Μάρων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*39 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
None in *PA*+ (although Traill reports 23 in *PAA*). *IG*: "Κίκων [(**769**),

L*a*30] et Μάρων ad oram Maronitarum referenda sunt". Cf. [Ἀ]πάτη Μοσχίου Μιλησία, Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μά[ρω]νος γυνή Osborne, *AncSoc* #135 Bur (1C BC or CE).

903 L Με[– – –] See Πραξιτέ[λης] Εὐσθένο[υς] Κολωνῆθεν P (**1116**) Imb 199+

904 E Μεγακλῆς, pat.: see Μέλητος Μ. Ἀλ[ωπεκῆθεν] 10 (**912**) Sal 402/1 *PAA* 636465 *PA* 9697

905 4 Μέδων See Μείδων Λαμπτρεύς 1 (**909**)
Imb 399-300

906 4 Μέδων Θορίκι[ος] 5 c
Lem *Agora* XIX.P4.6 370/69 (arx) Eco Mag
PAA 637050 Of Upper Omphalia on Lem; registers property of [– – –] Θεοφ[ί]λο(υ) Ἁλαιεύς (**672**), L7f, for sale by *poletai*. Meritt, *Hesperia* 29 (1960) 27 says not necessarily to be ID'd with *PA* 9708 Medon of Isaios frag. 29 "Against Medon Concerning a Χωρίον".

907 D Μεθύλλιον Θεστίου Μυριναία, Ἡγεμάχου Λευκονοέως 4 γυνή p w
LMy *IG* ii^2 9975.1-3 175-125 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 637105 Fa's *PAA* 513200 Kyr's *PAA* 480480 ?Lemnian wf of Athenian citizen (cf. **741**). *IG*: Hus=*PA* 6281 Ἡ. Λ. *IG* ii^2 2332.38 (183/2) =Ἡ. Σατύρου Λ. *IG* ii^2 6734 Bur (M2C); ?son=Ἀνδρέας Ἡ. Λ. *IG* ii^2 6720 Bur (2-1C). ?Rel=*PA* 12603=*AO* 2706 Σ. Λ. secretary of "30 Tyrants".

908 ? Μειδίας Τηλεμάχου Παλληνεύς 10 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 76.1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded
PAA 637310 *PA* 9724 Fa's *PA* 13564 Makes dedication to Dionysos.

909 4 Μείδων Λαμπτρεύς 1 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*4 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PAA 637640 *PA* 9712* *PA* errs: Μεδ-, alphabetizing accordingly (thus the name is not where it should be in *PA*'s sequence), and therefore omits, e.g., a possible conn. with *PA* 9736 Μ. Εὐθυκρίτ[ου – – –] *IG* ii^2 1574.5 and 10 (c.330) and his sons (*PA* 5614 and 9731), apparently the former owners of the freed-slave metics Δᾶος (**292**) and Λυκῖνος (**862**). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

910 ? [Μ]ειξίας, pat.: see [Π]ολύξενος [Μ]ε. [Σ]ουνιεύς 4 (**1107**) Pot 429-356 *PAA* 637973

911 ? Μελάνθιος Διοσκουρίδου p
Pot Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) #7.1-5 429-356 (ed) Bur
PAA 638330 JC's readings, from photo; cf. ed's unintelligible ΜεΛΙανθιΙοδιΙ...κουΙ....; Robert, *BÉ* (1976) 458 has the same improved readings, without underdotting or comm. Cf. Δ. Βουτάδης (2C), hus of Νικίδ[ιον] Σαλαμι[νί]α (**1008**).

912 E Μέλητος Μεγακλέο(υ)ς Ἀλ[ωπ]εκῆθεν 10 c

Sal? *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*19f, *e*3f? 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) Eco *PAA* 639330 *PA* 9828 *APF* pp.381f Fa's *PAA* 636465 Fa's *PA* 9697 Extent of preservation indicated for demotic based on inference that Μελ[-13- 'Αλωπ]εκῆθεν of frag. *e* is the same person as M. M. 'Αλ[-7-]ν of frag. *d*. Of the family of the Alkmaionidai: see *APF* pp.368-385 and Table I. [Buys] 2nd house (on Sal? His 1st house is) of Θεομένης Ξυπε[ταιών] (**663**), L*d*9 and 16, and another house (DK whose or where).

913 D Μελίτ[ων?], pat.: see Σεκ[ουνδ– – –] Με. (**1141**)
LHe 001+++

914 ? Μελίτων, pat.: see Θεόφιλος M. 'Αλωπεκῆθεν 10 (**673**)
LMy 348-314 *PAA* 639985 *PA* 9843

915 ? Μέναιχμος c
Lem *SLC* 10(=Segre, *Ann.* #6).1 350-200 (ed: scr) Arx
PAA 640920 Gentv. in dating formula: ἐπὶ M. [ἄρχοντος]. 5 in *PA*+. Cf. *PA* 9853 M. 'Αριστ[ί]ου Φιλα[ΐ]δης *IG* ii² 678.*b*38f *prytanis* (after 278), whose descendant (says Sundwall) is Sundwall pp.30f and 124 Ἄριστος M. Φ. *epimeletes* of Delos (c.150).

916 D Μένανδρος, pat.: see Δημοχάρης M. 'Αζηνιεύς 8 (**327**)
LHe 001+ *PAA* 641520

917 ? Μένανδρος Δημάρχου Παιανιεύς 3 c
Sal *IG* ii² 7066.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 641930 *PA* 9883 Fa's *PAA* 306520 Fa's *PA* 3303 Epitaph from Sal, then in Aigina Mus. *IG*'s text from copy; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. *PA*, *IG*: Cf. *PA* 9882 M. Π. *IG* ii² 2336.153 (99/8). *PA*: Cf. *PA* 3304 Δ. 'Αριστίωνος Π. *IG* ii² 4095 Ded; Δ. 'Αριστάρχου Π. *IG* ii² 7034 Bur. JC: This name suggests restoration in [Δα]φναῖος [..]μάρχου [Σαλ]αμίνιος (**293**).

918 4 Μεν[εκ]λίδης 'Αμ[αξ]αντεύς 8 c
LHe *SLC* 106(=Segre, *Ann.* #13).4-6 375-325 (ed: scr) Eco
PAA 643060 Datv. Creditor on *horos*. Ed's text from copy and squeeze, which differ from each other. 7 in *PA*+ (all spelled -κλείδης).

919 4 Μενεκλῆς, pat.: see ['Α]ρίστων M. Πήλη(ξ) 4 (**209**)
Sam 365-322 *PAA* 643425

920 ? Μενεκράτεια d w
Sal? *IG* ii² 12084.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 643530 *PA* 9926a Columella(?), text from copy (*IG*'s "?"); only dating clue is appearance in *IG* ii, not iii. Preuner said the inscription was on Sal, Rangabé said in Aigina Mus. 2 others of her name in *PA*+.

921 ? Μενεκράτης d
Sal *IG* ii² 12088.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 643685 *IG*'s text from copy; only clue for dating is Ionic alphabet.

922 L Μενεκράτης Χαιρεφίλου ἐκ Κηδῶν 1 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #16.3f 099-001 (ed: scr) Cul Mag
PAA 644040 "Elected ἱεροκῆρυξ". JC: ?Son=[– – –]εκράτους ἐκ Κ. (**1445**) Amb from Lem to Athens? (1C). Cf. Χ. ἐκ Κ. *Agora* XV.168.74 (E2C).

923 L [Μ]ενεκράτης, kyr.: see [Λυ]σίκλεια [Λυ]σικλέους [ἐκ] Κοίλης 8 θυγ., [Μ]ε. [ἐκ] Κ. 8 γυνή (**882**) Sal 001+

924 4 Μενεκράτης, pat.: see [Κ]όνων Μ. Κολωνῆθεν 4 (**802**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 644080 *PA* 9952

925 D [Name lost?] Μενεκράτο[υς Στ]ειριεύς 3 c
LMy *SEG* 28.718."2", "4f"(really 0 and 2f) 001++ (Bugh: ctx; cf. ed: 3C CE) Mag Rel
PAA 644188 Fragmentary inscription: "L1-3" really consist of 1 partial letter. Gentv. demotic; DK whether a lost gentv. name with its patc. or simply a name-demotic formula in gentv. ?Honors for the ?son of the ?*epimeletes* Menekrates? Robert: Philost. *Heroic.* 1.4(? 8.11 Teubner) says a Menekrates Steirieus discovered bones of a giant on Lem.

926 L [– – – Μενε]κράτης Ἅγνωνος Φλυ[εύς] 7 p
Lem *IG* ii^2 1053+.4(=L15 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb?
PAA 644230 Fa's *PAA* 107395 Accus. name in list. From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear). Text generally follows Traill, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 294, especially in the demotic in preference to *IG*'s Ὀλυ[– – –], except that autopsy leads to underdotting the *phi* Traill treats as certain. ?=Μ. Ἅ. *IG* ii^2 1727.9 (end 1C). Cf. Ἅ. Διονυσίου Φ. *Agora* XV.275.2-6 Pri (M1C).

927 E Μενέχσενος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
Lem *IG* i^3 1165.6 450-400 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 644860 *PA* 9974 Attic: *PA* regularizes to Μενέξ-. List in Athens in which "Lemnians" seems to be a subcategory of Hippothontis names.

928 D [Μενε]στράτη? See [– – –]στράτη [Χ]αι[ρ– – –]? (**1371**) Sky 299+

929 4 Με[ν]έστρατος Χ[– – – demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 47.15 314-307 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Mag Hon
PAA 645460 Accus. Decree of ?indep. Imb. *Paredros*, with Θρασυμήδης [– – –] (**690**), L16, of polemarch (on Imb) Λύκων Θερσίου Φρεάρριος (**869**), L7 and 14. ?=Μ. [– – –] Εὐωνυμ[εύς?] (**930**) Bur? on Imb (4C).

930 4 Μενέστρατο[ς? patc. lost?] Εὐωνυμ[εύς?] 1 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 99.3f 399-300 (JC: scr) Bur? Rel?
PAA 645632 A masc. name in full formula (**422**) follows, and this name (DK whether space within it requires it to have had a patc.) could simply be 1 of 3 partially preserved masc. names, which is how this entry is treated — i.e., as a primary entry. But it could be

secondary, if the preceding name (**1457**) is fem. (unclear from its fragmentary demotic, which is all that is preserved). This name could be that of her *kyrios* (its lost endings might be either nomtv. or gentv.). ?=M. X[– – –] (**929**) Mag on Imb (L4C). *IG*: Cf. Euonymeus family in which the names Menestratos (*PA* 10007-8) and Menekrates (*PA* 9947; see also *PA* 9945-6) alternate (3C), to which add an ephebe (c.137) whom Sundwall p.126 calls a likely descendant.

931 L [Μ]έν[η]ς Σώι[ζο]ν[τ]ος(?) See Ἕλενος? Ζωκώνιος? Μαραθώνιος 9 (**417**) Imb 299+

932 X Μενίσ[κ]ο[ς], pat.: see [Εὔ]μηλος Μ. Μειλήσιος (**527**) Imb 099+

933 ? Μένων Μηνίο(υ) Ὀαεύς 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.*c*52 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PAA 647450 Fa's *PAA* 648570 Readings of Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 173 (which JC's autopsy supports), JC's line numbers. *IG* has [– – –]νίο only, but newer frag. completes name. Traill says fa's name could be Μηνίας or Μήνιος. Demotic from plural heading Ὀαιε͂ς (L*c*49), which might instead refer to the deme Oe 6. Thus Hereward cfs. *PA* 10081=*AO* 1993 Μένων Ὀῆθεν *IG* ii² 1400.4 (390/89) and *PA* 10031=*AO* 1983 Μένιος Οἰῆεν *IG* ii² 1622.479 (356/5).

934 X Μέτελλος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.4 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
2nd of 4 Roman names at top of list; Greek names follow.

935 ? [Μη]λήσιππος Δημητρίου Προσπαλτ[ό]θεν 5 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.6-8 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
Fa's *PAA* 311762 Accus. On board of *hieromnemones*. None in *PA*+ (or *PAA*, says Traill, who rejects ed's restoration, preferring [Με]λ-, which has 8 examples in *PAA*). *PA*+ has none of fa's very common name in this deme, either.

936 ? Μηνίας or Μήνιος, pat.: see Μένων Μ. Ὀαεύς 3? (**933**) Unk 375-325 *PAA* 648570

937 D [Name lost Μ]ηνοδώρο[υ θυγ.], Μουσικοῦ [....7...]του γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii² 12117.1-3 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
PAA 649230 Kyr's *PAA* 661245 Frag. of columella from Sal. Partially preserved element after hus's name is apparently his patc., not his demotic.

938 D Μηνόδωρος, pat.: see Ἀσκληπιάδης Μ. Φλυεύς 7 or P (**247**) Unc 001++ *PAA* 649705

939 ? Μηνόφιλος, pat.: see Μυννίων Μ. Θριάσιος 6 (**969**) Sal 399+ *PAA* 650235

939A E Μητίοχος Μιλτιάδου (Λακιάδης 6?) c

Chr Hdt. 6.41; Marc. *Vit.Thuc.* 12 493 (pro: *floruit*) Mil Rel
PAA 650615 *PA* 10132 *APF* p.302 Fa's *PA* 10212 Son of M. Κίμωνος Λ. (**949**) by his 1st wf, a rel (dtr?) of Hippias the tyrant; no indication that she was ever in Chr (thus she is not listed). Demotic treated as doubtful because probably never enrolled under Kleisthenic system. Commanded a ship, captured by Persians, became naturalized Persian.

940 4 Μητροφάνης, pat.: see Βενδιδώρα Μ. Γεργισίου (**261**)
LHe 375-325

941 L (Π. Αἴλ.) Μητροφάνης Προσπάλτιος P c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 27.5f 001+++ (*IG*) Pri Rel
PAA 652117 Gentv. Chief Pri. Son=(Π. Αἴλ.) Ἐργοχάρης Π. (**465**), L6f. ?Bro-in-law=(Λ. Φλ.) Φιλόστρατος (**1329A**), L2f.

942 L Μητροφίλη Πολυκλέους θυγ. Εὐπυρίδου 4 c w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 32.1 150-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 652182 Fa's *PAA* 779097 Cf. *PA* 11984 [– – –Πο]λυκλέους of phyle Leontis, *prytanis* (L4C); and *PA* 11984=*AO* 3524 [– – – Π]ολυκ[...] E. *Agora* XV.52.4 *bouleutes* (c.325).

943 D [Name lost? Μη]τρώνακτος Με[λιτεύς 7 – – –] c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #15.3f 150-50 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
PAA 652218 Inscription is non-*stoichedon*, but ed's restorations and spacing indicate that the extant letters come from a patc. and demotic, not a gentv. name and demotic without patc.: [– – – Μαρα]θωνίου θυγά|[τηρ μετὰ κυρίου -12- Μη]τρώνακτος Με|[λιτέως κτλ.], L2-4. Joins ?wf (**1451**) in freeing θρεπτή at Kabeirion.

944 D Μιδίας d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10192.4 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 652425 Fa's *PAA* 119987 Gravestone with reliefs in Peiraieus Mus. *IG*: Bro=Ἐπαφρόδιτος Ἀλεξάνδρου. Σαλαμίνιος (**437**), L1-3; sis=Ἡδέα (**594**), L4.

945 D Μίκα d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 4699.1 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 652605 Gentv. ?Hus=Σοφοκλῆς (**1168**); son=Ἀριστώνυμος (**211**), both L1. Dedication found on Sal: Ἀ. ἀνέθηκεν. ἥρωος Σ. καὶ Μ.

946 ? Μικίνης ἐξ Ἴμβρο(υ) p
Imb *IG* i^3 1350.1f 399-300 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: c.425-400?) Bur
PAA 652760 Date estimated from photo of *ed. prin.*, Charitonides, *EA* (1958) 117 (N.D. at *SEG* 19.283). Only "Imbrian" gravestone in Attike; ed says a rare name. Traill reports 4 in *PAA*, and suggests that the name might be (fem.) Μικίνη in the gentv.

947 ? Μικίων, pat.: see Θρασύμαχος Μ. Ἐλευσίνιος 8 (**687**)
Sal 399+ *PAA* 652995 *PA* 10179

948 E Μιλτιάδης Κυψήλου c

Chr Hdt. 6.35-38; Paus.6.19.6; etc. 561-556 (ctx) Mil Mag
PAA 653685 *PA* 10209 *APF* pp.299f Fa's *PAA* 588965 Fa's *PA* 8951 Founder and ruler of settlement in Chr. No demotic because of early date, but his 'Philaid' family conns. are well attested (*APF* pp.293-312 and Table I replace stemma of *PA* 10212). Fa=*AO* 1747. Neph, adopted son, and successor as ruler in Chr=Στησαγόρας Κίμωνος (**1171A**), whose younger bro=M. Κίμωνος Λακιάδης (**949**).

949 E Μιλτιάδης Κίμωνος Λακιάδης 6 c
>1 Hdt. 6 *passim*; etc. 524-513 (ctx) Mil Mag
PAA 653820 *PA* 10212 *APF* pp.301-4 *AO* 2003 Fa's *PAA* 569735 Fa's *PA* 8426 See **948** for basic family information. Ruled Chr after childless death of elder bro Στησαγόρας Κίμωνος (**1171A**). From there he established settlers on Lem (and, most scholars believe, Imb). 2nd wf (apparently married in Chr) ='Ηγησιπύλη 'Ολόρου Θρᾴκος θυγ. (**590A**). Son (by a different wf) =Μητίοχος M. Λ. (**939A**). Descendant=M. (K.?) Λ. (**950**) *oikistes* of 4C Adr *apoikia*.

950 ? Μιλτιάδης (Κίμωνος?) Λακιάδης 6 c
Adr *IG* ii² 1629.18f and *passim* 325/4 (arx) Mag
PAA 653830 *PA* 10210 *APF* p.309 *AO* 2004 ?Fa's *PAA* 569695 ?Fa's *PA* 8424 Οἰκιστής of τῆς εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν [ἀποι]κίας (L176f). See **948** for basic family information. Ancestor=M. K. Λ. (**949**). Patc. from *APF* conns. ?Fa=*AO* 1618 (*PAA* 653835) Amb to Philip (346). Dtr=*PA* 5547 Εὐθυδίκη, who married 1st Ophellas, dynast of Kyrene, then Demetrios Poliorketes (see *APF* p.309 for sources and discussion). ?Conn=*PA* 8419 Mov Κηφισοφῶν Λυσιφῶντος Χολαργεύς, L170f and *passim*.

951 ? Μίλων Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10203.1f 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 654055 Epitaph from Peiraieus. 2 in *PA*+.

952 D Μνασίμαχος d
LHe? *IG* xii Supp. 341.1 299+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) DK
Gentv. Graffito on basin: owner? Specific Loc (not simply Lem) suggested because *IG*'s comm. says the text should follow the LHe inscription *IG* xii(8) 44.

952A ? Μνησαγόρα d w
Sal *SEG* 40.237.1 399-350 (*SEG*: scr) Bur Rel?
Gravestone from Sal; *ed. prin.* has no photo, date, or details. Stroud, in *apparatus* to *SEG*, suggests c.400-350, if gentv. ending in *omicron* only (L4) is correct. ?Hus=Θεόλλος (**661A**), L2. ?Son='Εμυθῶν? Θ. (**422A**), L3f.

953 E Μνησαρέτη Φιλινίδο(υ) ἐγ Μυρίνης p w
LMy *IG* i³ 1325.1-3 450-425 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 655195 Gravestone in Attike, DK actual find spot. Autopsy

confirms 5C dating (scr). *IG*: Philinides was Lemnian klerouch. None in *PA*+, but see M. Χαρικλέους Osborne, *AncSoc* #82 Bur (4C).

954 E Μνησαρχίδης, pat.: see Εὐριπίδης M. Φλυεύς 7 (and Σαλαμίνιος?) (**541**) Sal 485-406 *PAA* 655305 *PA* 10246

955 4 Μνήσαρχος, pat.: see Θεόδωρος M. [Ἀ]να[φ]λύσ[τι]ος 10 (**650**) Sal 399-350 *PAA* 655415 *PA* 10254

956 4 Μνησία[ς], pat.: see Χρυσανθὶς M. (**1423**) Sal 375-325 *PAA* 655640

957 L Μνησικλῆς Μνησ[– – –]εύς c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*29 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Amb
PAA 656730 *PA* 10310 *PA* entry omits all of demotic. 1 of 5 *presbeis* from LMy to Athens; colleagues **119, 319, 1259, 1462**. Cf. *PA* 10315 [Ἐρ]ατοκλῆς Μνησικλέους Λαμπτ[ρεύς] *IG* ii^2 1009.66 ephebe (L2C). *PA* 10311 [Μνησι]κλῆς [Μνησισ]τράτου [– – –]αιεύς, supposedly Bur (4C), would appear to be a possible ancestor, but this text (*IG* ii 2692) does not appear in *IG* ii^2 (DK why).

958 ? Μνησίμαχος Ἁγνούσιος 5 c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1672.277 329/8 (arx) Str Cul Eco
PAA 657120 *PA* 10336 *AO* 2028 Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis, with Δημήτρ[ι]ος ἐκ Κοί(λης) (**317**) and Λυσιμαχίδης Ἁ. (**885**).

959 ? Μνησιστράτη d w
Sal? *IG* ii^2 12158.1 399-375 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur
PAA 657520 *PA* 10358b Ed says epitaph is from Sal; *IG* denies it: "Ex Attica (non Salamine. Cf. Conze)".

960 ? Μνησίστρατος Κυ⟨θ⟩ήρ(ριος) 3 c
Sky *IG* ii^2 1672.275 329/8 (arx) Str Cul Eco
PAA 657685 *PA* 10372 *AO* 2035 Demotic's *theta* has no central dot (autopsy). Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis (only representative from Sky).

961 L Μοιρα⟨γ⟩ένης, pat.: see Ἀπολλωνία M. ἐξ ημαχιδῶν 10 (**128**) Sky 001+ *PAA* 658322

962 4 Μοιροκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Ἐλευσίνιος 8 (and Σαλαμίνιος) c
Sal *SEG* 31.109A 343-317 (*SEG*) DK
PAA 658480 *PA* 10400 Fa's *PAA* 432295 Fa's *PA* 5533 Ed, Ampolo, *RFIC* 109 (1981) 187-204 combines texts and ID's *PA* 10400 M. Σ. (from Harpokr., of whom *PA* says "erat fortasse Salamine natus, filius scilicet cleruchi Attici") with *PA* 5535 [...]ρ[οκλῆς Ε]ὐθ[υ]δήμ[ου Ἐλευ]σ[ί]ν[ιος] *IG* ii^2 1191.5f Mov of Eleusinian deme decree (321/0), with Μοιροκλῆς [Εὐ]θ[υδ]ήμου *IG* ii^2 2845.1 Ded to Dionysos at Eleusis (2nd half 4C), and with Moirokles of *IG* ii^2 1672.210. *IG*: Fa=*PA* 5533 E. Ἐ. *IG* ii^2 4962.11f = Euthydemos of *IG* ii^2 47.24, 26, 29f (both E4C) called Pri of Asklepios both places (comm. at *IG* ii^2 47 has a mistake in its cita-

tion of the other inscription). Ed says that the fa (*PA* 5533 if ID's hold) "lived or owned land on Sal". *IG*: ?Son=[Εὐθύδημος ...ρ]οκλέους Ἐ. *IG* ii^2 1194.17f Hon (c.300). Cf. also Moirokles of Eleusis *SEG* 37.124.13f *diaitetes* (330/29). See literature cited at *SEG* 39.147, especially the very detailed discussion at *AskAth* pp.244-6 Z4(=*PA* 5533) E. Ἐ., where Ampolo's ID is disputed.

963 ? Μορμυθίδεος, pat.: see Δαναίη Μ. Μιλησίη (**291**)
Sam 399-250

964 D Μοσχίων d
Sal *IG* ii^2 4687.1 299-200 (*IG*: scr) Ded
PAA 659195 Found on Sal. Full text: Μ. εὐξάμ[ενος – – –].

965 ? Μοσχίων Σήσ{σ}τιος d
Chr *IG* ii^2 10263.1f 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 659685 *Cippus* in Athens.

966 L Μόσχος Λεωνίδου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 96.1-3 199-100 (*IG*: scr; cf. *PA*: 4C) Bur
PAA 659970 *PA* 10458 Fa's *PAA* 606390 Fa's *PA* 9127

967 L Μόσχος, pat.: see Κλεοφῶν Μ. Στειριεύς 3 (**793**)
Imb 001+ *PAA* 660112

968 D Μουσικός, kyr.: see [– – – Μ]ηνοδώρο[υ θυγ.], Μ. [....7...]του γυνή (**937**) Sal 001+ *PAA* 661245

969 ? Μυννίων Μηνοφίλου Θριάσιος 6 c
Sal *SEG* 21.858.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 661960 Fa's *PAA* 650235 Epitaph found on Sal. Ionic alphabet only dating clue. No -ίων in *PA*+ (although 4 such fem. names ending -ιον).

970 D Μυρρίνη Ἀμεινοκ[– – – demotic/ethnic lost?] γυνή d w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #12.1f 275-225 (ed: scr) Ded Rel
Non-*stoichedon* inscription, DK line length (ed's 11 dots after *kappa* are arbitrary; L2 begins with γυνή), so what is lost is guesswork. Ameinok- could be Myrrine's patc., followed by the lost name of her hus; or he could himself be her hus. Similarly, DK whether Myrrine makes an offering on behalf of "[Name lost,] her dtr" or on behalf of her dtr [– – –]τη (see **69**). Ed restores [Aphrodi]te Thra[ix] as the deity involved. The only names in *PA*+ that would work for Myrrine's fa/*kyrios* are Ameinokles (10), Ameinokrates (4) and Ameinokleides (1).

971 ? Μύρω[ν patc.? and demotic lost] p
Sal *IG* ii^2 1590a.3 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PAA 662935 Non-*stoichedon* inscription found on Sal. Μύρων is slightly better represented in *PA*+ than Μυρωνίδης (7 examples vs. 5), but the latter is obviously an equally possible restoration; a further attestation is Μυρωνί[δης](?) Osborne, *AncSoc* #260 Bur (N.D.). Fragmentary context, but text's 11 names are mostly in full name-

patc.-demotic formula. Apparently renter (μισθωτής) of land on Sal, in village or area called Syptalia. His 2 sureties (ἐγγυηταί) are Σμικυθίων Σμικύθο(υ) Ἐλευσίνιο[ς] (**1160**), L4, and [– – – Ἐ]λευσ. (**1438**), L4f.

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

971A E Ναυκλε̃ς, pat.: see hεράκλειτος N. Χερρονεσίτες (**610A**) Chr 450-440

972 ? Ναύμα[χος -c.6?-]δο(υ) Περιθοίδης 6 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1590a.[5]f, 8f 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PAA 701370 Non-*stoichedon* inscription found on Sal. Renter (μισθωτής) of 2 areas on Sal, Bo(s)phagea and Kolouris. Sureties (ἐγγυηταί) are Ναυσιγένης Να[υσικλέους 'Αν]αγυράσιος (**974**), L6f, and Σμικυθίων 'Ισον[ό]μ[ο(υ?) – – –] (**1159**), L9f. None in *PA*+. Cf. *PA* 14449 Φιλιστίδης Αἰσχύλου Π. *IG* ii² 7219 Bur (4C).

973 ? Ναυσιγένης, pat.: see Ναυσικλῆς N. 'Αναγυρ(άσιος) 1 (**976**) Sal 320 *PAA* 701565 *PA* 10546

974 ? Ναυσιγένης Να[υσικλέους 'Αν]αγυράσιος 1 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1590a.6f 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PAA 701560 Fa's *PAA* 701660 Non-*stoichedon* inscription found on Sal. Patc. restored from conns. Surety (stone has plural ἐγγυηταί, but named alone) for renter (μισθωτής) Ναύμα[χος – – –]δο(υ) Περιθοίδης (**972**), L[5]f, for Bo(s)phagea area. ?=*PA* 10546 Ναυσιγ. 'A., fa of Ναυσικλῆς (**976**).

[**975** Deleted from revised sequence.]

976 ? Ναυσικλῆς Ναυσιγένου 'Αναγυρ(άσιος) 1 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.10 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 701665 *PA* 10550 Fa's *PAA* 701565 Fa's *PA* 10546 Cf. *PA* 10548 Nausikles of phyle Erechtheis *IG* i² 929 and *PA* 10545 Nausigenes of phyle Erechtheis *IG* i² 953 both Bur (both 5C). Cf. also Ναυσικλῆς [.]λλ[– – –] *Agora* XIX.P27.13 [registers] something for sale by *poletai* (341/0?).

977 ? Ναυσικλῆς (Κλεάρχου 'Οῆθεν 6) c
Imb Dem. 18.114, [115] 353-325 (pro) Str Hon
PAA 701680 *PA* 10552 *APF* p.396-8 *AO* 2077 Fa's *PAA* 574950 Fa's *PA* 8484 Patc. and demotic from *PA*'s conns. Mentioned in many sources, if ID is correct (see *APF* for sources and literature). Imb conn. is made only in bracketed (editorially rejected) Dem.

passage (*AO*: "the fake decree"), where he is Str ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων and pays 2000 Athenian hoplites on Imb to help τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον. *PA*: Son=*PA* 8480 K. N. Αἰγιλιεύς, trierarch (etc.), who was adopted, but later reverted to his original deme.

978 ? Ναυσικρίτη Κηφισοδώρου Σηστία d w
Chr *IG* ii² 10264.1 399-300 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 701870 Fa's *PAA* 568785 Gravestone from Athens. *IG*'s text and dating rely on earlier eds (*CIG* 893).

979 ? [....Να]υσικύδης d
LMy *IG* i³ 1506.1 450-375 (JC: com; eds differ) Bur
Voctv., incorrectly ending in -ες. Grave epigram. Ed, Segre, *Ann.* #7 (followed by *IG* xii Supp. 338) restores the name thus because this is more common in Athens than [Λ]υσικύδης (6 vs. none in *PA*+). *IG* i³ prints L1 as [...6...]υσίκυδες, treating Segre's restoration and Hansen's *lambda* as equally likely, and dating the inscription "450-425?".

980 ? [Να]υσινίκη [– – –]ο(υ) Εὐωνυμέως 1 [γυν]ή? c w
Sal *IG* ii² 5529/30.2-4? 399+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: 4C) Bur Rel
PAA 702080 *PA* 10580 Epitaph from Sal (lost?). *IG*'s text here, from among epitaphs of Halaieis (Nausinike's name is preceded by [– – –]ς Ἁλαεύς, **1431**), but the inscription appears in *CIG* 636 among those of Euonymeis. This juxtaposition of someone's wf with a man of another deme is surprising, and possibly solely the result of the reading (by Boeckh only) of the *eta* of the restored [γυν]ή?. Perhaps the *eta* is either nonexistent or belongs instead to [θυγάτ]η[ρ], which would make Nausinike the dtr of someone from Euonymon, who had married someone from Halai. Traces mentioned in *IG* ii would lead to an underdotted *alpha* in her name. *CIG*'s text has letters of another name (**1523**) below Nausinike's name (rel?). Much unwarranted restoration within and prior to her name formula is done by Peek, *Att.Gr.* II 19.

981 X [N]αοσίνικος Φιλοξένου Σήστιος n
Chr *SEG* 26.1022.2, 15f 324-322 (Badian: ctx) Hon Mil
Nomtv., then datv. Samian inscription, Habicht, *AM* #2, somewhat reinterpreted by Badian, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 289-294. Anti-Athenian Sestian (name's spelling differs from the 4 Ναυ- of *PA*+) honored by the returned Samians for naval activity vs. the Athenian klerouchs.

982 D Ναυτική Πεντε[– – –?] d w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 42.1 001++ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded Rel
Ligatures. Underdotting follows *IG*'s text, except *tau* of 2nd element treated as certain on basis of maj. No Nautike in *PA*+. DK whether Pente- is part of her patc. or a Roman-style indication that she is dtr #5. *PA*+ has only 1 name beginning with Πεντ- (a 2C priestess), but *SEG* 35.206(=Osborne, *AncSoc* #267) is an Attic epitaph of a

Πενταρίστη (E4C). The epitaph's ed, Robinson, is quoted as suggesting that her name possibly indicates that she was the 5th child, but Masson is cited against this suggestion, arguing instead for "phonetic dissimilation" in Πανταρίστη. Hus=Φλά(ουιος) (**1358**), L1.

983 E Νεαῖος of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.9 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 702885 *PA* 10616 List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle. ?Rel=N. Ἰκαριεύς *IG* ii² 1622.674 trierarch (M4C).

984 ? Ν[έαν]δρος Φιλοκτήμονος Κολων[εύς] 2 or 4 or 10 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.11f 425-375 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
PAA 703002 *Stoichedon* inscription makes demotic ending (accus. -έα) certain (no room for -ῆθεν); unusual ending makes it unclear whether the deme is Kolonos 2 (demotic regularly ἐκ Κολωνοῦ) or 1 of the 2 homonymous demes called Kolonai 4 and 10 (demotic normally Κολωνῆθεν). Secretary of board of *hieromnemones* dated by (local) Arx.

985 ? Νεόδωρος [Ἀρίσ?]τωνος d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 522.1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
None in *PA*+ and only 2 (Traill reports) in *PAA* — 1 of them restored.

986 D [Νε]ο[κ]λέα? See [Θε]ο[κ]λέα Ἀπολλοδώρου (**657**) w
Imb 199-100

987 4 [Ν]εοκλείδης? (pat.) See Νεομένης [Θ]εοκ.? Ἐρχιεύς 2 (**991**); [Σω]τέ[λης? Θε]οκ.? (Ἐ.) (**1219**) LHe 399-300

988 4 Νεοκλῆς (Γαργήττιος 2) c
Sam *SEG* 18.200.5; Str. 14.1.18, and many other sources 334/3 (arx) Arx
PAA 706370 *PA* 10640 Gentv. in dating formula of dedication from klerouchs on Sam at Delphoi: Arx on Sam, simultaneously with named Attic Arx. Demotic from son Epikouros; conn. made by, e.g., Strabo: κληρούχους ἔπεμψαν δισχιλίους..., ὧν ἦν καὶ Ν., ὁ Ἐ. τοῦ φιλοσόφου πατήρ, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος, ὥς φασι. Wf= Χαιρεστράτη (**1379**). Sons=Philosopher Ἐπίκουρος Ν. Γ. (**446**); Ἀριστόβουλος (**160**); Ν. (**989**); Χαιρέδημος (**1374**).

989 4 Νεοκλῆς Νεοκλέους Γαργήττιος 2 or P c
Sam D.L. 10.3 340-300 (pro) Rel
PAA 706390 *PA* 10641 Fa's *PA* 10640 Fa=Ν. (Γ.) (**988**). Mo=Χαιρεστράτη (**1379**). Bros=Philosopher Ἐπίκουρος Ν. Γ. (**446**); Ἀριστόβουλος (**160**); Χαιρέδημος (**1374**).

990 E Νεοκλῆς Φρεάρριος 4 c
Chr? Bicknell, *Historia* 31 (1982) 161-173 550-500 (pro) Rel
PAA 706445 *PA* 10645 *APF* pp.212-4 Bicknell and Lewis, *ib.* 32 (1983) 245 are cited because their discussions of Neokles' wf (**551**)

indicate the likelihood that he was a settler. Son=*PA* 6669 Themistokles.

991 4 Νεομένης [Θ]εοκλείδου? Ἐρχιεύς 2 c
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #14.1 399-300 (ed: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 706560 None in *PA*+ (ed says unique; apparently the only 1 in *PAA*). Ed's restoration in patc. JC: [N]εοκ. equally or more defensible (13 Neok. vs. 9 Theok. in *PA*+). ?Bro=[Σω]τέ[λης? Θε]οκ.? ('E.) (**1219**), L5. Ed: ?Fa=*PA* 6925 Θουκλείδης Ἐρχ[...] *IG* ii^2 1690.4 (4C).

992 ? Νεοπτόλεμος Σκύριος p
Sky Sch. Dem. 5.6 346 (ctx) Oth
PA 10647 Actor denounced by Demosthenes for favoring Philip. *PA*: Skyrian? Naturalized Athenian citizen? Born on Sky? Ghiron-Bistagne, *Acteurs*: ?Gson=N. Ἀθηναῖος? *IG* ii^2 1132.38f.

993 L Νέστωρ Ἱερων[ύ]μου Μαραθώνιο[ς] 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 79.2 001+ (*IG*) Cul Ded
PAA 706942 Fa's *PAA* 534182 Gentv. 1 of 2 assistants to unnamed Pri: ἐπιμε[λ]ουμ[ένων τοῦ ἱερέ]ως τῆς Νεμέσεω[ς]. Colleague=Εὐτύχης Γλ[αύκω]νος Κήττιος (**553**), L3.

994 X Νίγερ n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.6 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
Last of 4 Roman names at top of list; Greek names follow.

[**995** Deleted from revised sequence.]

996 L [N]εικάδης Σκαμανδρίου Στε[ιριεύς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 113.3 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 703322 Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has *lambda* for name's *alpha*. None in *PA*+ (1 Νικάδα). Family gravestone; relationships not all clear. Bro=[Σ]κ. Σ. Σ. (**1153**), L4. Other rels=[K]λεοφῶν Ἐπιχάρου Σ. (**792**), L2; ['E]π. K. [Σ.] (**461**), L1; ?[T]ιμόκλεια Κτησιβίου Εἰμ[βρίου] (**1242**), L5.

997 L Νίκανδρος, pat.: see Κλεοπάτρα N. ἐξ Γαργηττίων 2 (**784**)
Imb 001+ *PAA* 708777

998 L Νικασίων Δημητρίου Ἀτηνεύς P c
Sky *IG* xii(8) 666.1 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Mov
PAA 710130 *PA* 10725 Fa's *PAA* 310380 Fa's *PA* 3390 Introduces honorary decree. ?Conn.=Hon Ἀρκεσίδημος Πεισικράτου Ῥαμνούσιος 9 (**214**). *Agora*: Cf. Δ. Ἀ. *Agora* XV.206.117 (173/2).

999 4 Νίκη Διογνήτου Σαλαμινία d w
Sal *SEG* 25.287.1f? or 1-3? 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 710515 Epitaph found near Kerameikos. Ed, Andreiomenou, *AD* 23 (1968) A.135 #10 prints text in 2 lines; *SEG* prints as a 3-line text. Ionic alphabet and gentv. in -ου are only dating clues.

1000 4 Νικήρ[ατος demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.4 360-300 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Epi Pro

PAA 710595 *PA* 10732 Phyle should not be Pandionis 3, since 1 of 2 *symproedroi* (**1292**) represents that phyle.

1001 ? Νικήρατος Νικομάχου Μελιτεύς 7 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.10f 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Mov Cul
PAA 710695 Fa's *PAA* 716652 Introduces decree of initiates. ?Conn.=Hon Νικόστρατος Ἀρχεδήμου [Φη]γαιε[ύ]ς (**1031**), L11f. JC: ?Rel=Νικήρ. Νικηρ. Μ. *IG* ii^2 1559.79, 83, 86, 90 (c.330).

1002 D Νεικήφορος (Λουκίου) n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 93.2 001+++ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Not certain who dedicated: both fa (**860**), L8, and mo Ἑλένη (**416**), L6, mentioned in his epigram. Classified as non-Athenian because head of family has Roman name (=Lucius).

1003 ? Νικίας c
LHe *SLC* 105(=Segre, *Ann.* #12).4 450-375 (ed: ctx; cf. *APF*: later) Eco
Gentv. in -ίο. Debtor on *horos*, with 3 creditors: Εὐαίνετος Ἐρχιεύς (**478**), L5f, and 2 very fragmentary names (**1437, 1440**).

1004 ? Νικίας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*33 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1005 D Νικίας? d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 13.1 001++ (*IG*: scr) DK
Not treated as a name by *IG*: is it? Text has ---ΝΙΝΙΚΙΑΣ--- Maj. (not text) follows Σ with Λ, which could be the beginning of a patc. or demotic.

1006 ? Νικίας Εὐκταίου Ξυπεταιών 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.5 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 712590 *PA* 10815 *APF* p.407 Fa's *PAA* 437995 Fa's *PA* 5773 *PA*, *IG*: ?=N. E. Ξ. *IG* ii^2 1156.21 ephebe (334/3); cous=E. N. Ξ. (**518**), L20. ?Unc=*PA* 10814 [Νικίας] E. *IG* xii(5) 543.42 *proxenos* in Keos inscription. ?Cous=Ἡδυλίνη Νικοδήμου θυγ. Ξ. (**597**) Bur on Sal (4C). *APF* p.408 stemma differs from that of *PA* 10815. See discussion of Bugh, *Horsemen* 181.

1007 4 Νικίας Σουνιεύς 4 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #11.4 350-300 (ed: scr) Arx
PAA 712713 Gentv. in odd dating formula: ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ν. Σ. Ed says sent out from Athens (no basis); more likely chosen locally.

1008 D Νικίδ[ιον] Σαλαμι[νί]α, Διοσκουρίδου Βουτάδου P γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10204.1-5 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 713060 Kyr's *PA* 4347 Epitaph found on Akropolis. None in *PA*+, but cf. N. Γλαύκωνος Σ. (**1009**) Bur (3C).

1009 D Νικίδιον Γλαύκωνος Σαλαμινία d w
Sal Peek, *AM* #230.1-3 299-200 (ed: scr) Bur

PAA 713065 Fa's *PAA* 277215 Epitaph found in Attike. None in *PA*+, but ed cfs. N. Σ., Διοσκουρίδου Βουτάδου γυνή (**1008**) Bur (2C).

1010 D [Νί]κιππος? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.8 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
IG's *apparatus* suggests alternative restoration: [Ἄλ]κιππος? (*PA*+ has 7 Νίκ-, 4 Ἄλκ-). Name in list that includes several Roman names.

1011 L Νίκιππος Ἀπολλωνίου Ἐλαιούσιος P c
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 521.1 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 713187 Fa's *PAA* 147775 *IG* treats him as Athenian citizen with demotic, rather than as citizen of Elaious in Chr.

1012 4 Νικόδημος, pat.: see Ἡδυλίνη Ν. θυγ. Χυπεταιόνος 7 (**597**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 714385 *PA* 10872

1013 E Νικόδικ[ος] p
Sal *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*12 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) DK
PAA 714525 Neighbor of house on Sal sold by *poletai*. 1 in *PA*+.

1014 ? Νικόδωρο[ς] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 69.1 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded
Makes dedication to Hermes. Cf. N. (**1015**) Arx on Lem? in Athens?

1015 ? Νικόδωρος c
LHe *SLC* 104(=*IG* xii[8] 18).7 and 107(=*IG* xii[8] 19).1 350-300 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: 314/3) Arx?
PAA 714610 Gentv. in dating formula (both inscriptions). *IG*'s specific date is based on the inference that he is the *Attic* Arx Nikodoros (and would not belong in this Appendix), but some (e.g., Segre and Finley) see him as the *local* Arx. While I lean toward the former position, conservative methodology requires recognizing the possibility of both, with accordingly imprecise dating. Cf. Nikodoros (**1014**) on Imb (4C).

1016 ? Νικοκλέης p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.1 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

1017 4 Νικοκλῆς Ἡγησίππου Ἀναγυράσιος 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 3830(=*CEG* 767).1 342-325 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: M4C) Bur Rel Hon?
PAA 714980 *PA* 10898 *APF* p.409 Fa's *PAA* 481490 Fa's *PA* 6344 *PA*, *IG*, *APF*: =*IG* ii^2 1622.168 trierarch (342/1 or before 356). Son [Ἀπή]μων Ν. Ἀ. (**120**), L2, erected monument to him on Sal.

1018 ? Νικοκράτης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*38 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1018A ? Νικοκράτης Φρυνίωνος Ἀνκυλῆθεν 2 c
Sal *SEG* 40.219.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
Gravestone from Sal, demotic spelled with *nu*. *SEG*: Cf. *PA* 7951 Καλλικράτης Φ. Ἀγκ. *IG* ii^2 5250 Bur (3/2C), whose fa=*PA* 15015. JC: Cf. *PA* 10912 Ν. Δίωνος. *IG* ii^2 678.20f *prytanis* (276/5),

to whom *PA* cfs. *PA* 4498 [..]ίκων Δ. 'Α. *IG* ii^2 5251 Bur (3C?); *IG* says these last 2 may be bros.

1019 ? Νικομ[– – – patc. lost] Λακιάδ[ης] 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*43 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 715950 Demotic from plural heading.

1020 ? Νικόμαχος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*37 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1021 D Νικόμαχος, pat.: see [Νικ]οστράτη Ν. (**1025**)
Imb 199-100

1022 ? Νικόμαχος, pat.: see Νικήρατος Ν. Μελιτεύς 7 (**1001**)
LHe 350-200 *PAA* 716652

1022A ? Νικόμαχος Τεισαμένου Μηκιστεύς n
Pot *SEG* 39.628.1-3 399-200 (*SEG*: scr) Bur
SEG says ethnic is from city in Elis.

1023 4 Νικόμαχος Πε(ι)ραιεύς 8 c
Lem *IG* ii^2 7180(=*CEG* 475).1, 3 399-300 (JC: scr; eds differ) Bur
PAA 716685 *PA* 10959 Attic gravestone with Lemnian reference: Λῆμνο(υ) ἀπ' ἠγαθέας κεύθει τάφος ἐνθάδε γαίας ἄνδρα φιλοπρόβατον. *PA*, *IG*: Rels=*PA* 10960 Νικομένους Π. *IG* ii^2 6054.3f Bur (M4C) and 2 women Bur with him (*PA* 14258 and 14755). JC: ?Rel=*AO* 2143 Νι[κ]όμ[αχος?] of phyle Hippothontis *IG* i^3 61.*f*8 *prytanis* (5C). Cf. Ν. Π. *Agora* XV.226.32 *bouleutes* (c.155).

1024 4 Νικοστράτη c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 6111.2 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. Dain: L5C) Bur Rel
PAA 717585 Epitaph from Sal, now in Louvre. Name appears under patc. of ?hus Εὐθυκράτης Φείδωνος Ἐρχιεύς (**504**), L1.

1025 D [Νικ]οστράτη Νικομάχου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.16 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
IG's text (not its maj.) leaves a space between *omicron* and *sigma*; maj. indicates that a trace of the bracketed *kappa* was seen. [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1026 ? Νικόστρατος c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #1.1 425-375 (ed: scr) Mov
Introduces decree honoring *hieromnemones*. Cf. Ν. Ἀρχεδήμου [Φη]γαιε[ύ]ς (**1031**) Hon at LHe (4-3C). Cf. Ν. Ἁλα(ιεύς) *ib.* #6.22 on Attic mission to Kabeirion (75/4).

1027 D Νεικόστρατος Ἐπαφρ‹ο›δείτου d
Sal *IG* ii^2 3922.2 001+ (*IG*: scr) Hon
Fa's *PAA* 390455 Accus. Patc.'s *omicron* cut as *omega*. Dedication on Sal by unspecified *boule* and *demos*.

1028 ? Νικόστρ[α]τος, pat.: see Διότιμος Ν. Ἐλαιούσιος 8 (**391**)
Sam 365-322

1029 4 Νικόστρατος Θεαινέτου Κεφαλῆθεν 5 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6355.4f 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel

Family gravestone from Sal. ID with Nikostratos of *IG* ii^2 348 impossible because of trace (most of Λ) of 1st letter of his patc. or demotic. Fa=Θ. Λυσιμένους Κ. (**631**), L1; mo=Χαιρεστράτη Ἀριστάνδρου Προβαλισίου (**1380**), L1-3; bros=Λ. Θ. Κ. (**890**), L3, and Ἑρμιάδης Θ. Κ. (**468**), L3f. See fa's entry for general discussion and other possible rels.

1030 ? Νικόστρατος Ἀγαθάρχο(υ) Κυζικηνός n
Pot Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) #6.1-3 429-356 (ed) Bur
Epitaph found among several with names bearing demotics. Ed plays down Diod. 15.81.6 and conns. of Str Timotheos (**1241**) with both Kyzikos and Pot.

1031 ? Νικόστρατος Ἀρχεδήμου [Φη]γαιε[ύ]ς 2 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.11f 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Hon Trs Cul
Fa's *PAA* 209190 Trs of sacred funds. ?Bro=*PA* 476=*AO* 69 Ἀκήρατος Ἀ. Φ. *Agora* XV.38.60 *bouleutes* (341/0), whose fa=*PA* 2327 Ἀρχεδ. Φ. ?Gfa=*PA* 11055=*AO* 2173 Ν. Φ. *IG* ii^2 1697.41 and 1932.15 (see *APF* p.412 and *Agora* XV.492). ?Conn.=Mov Νικήρατος Νικομάχου Μελιτεύς (**1001**), L10f. Cf. Nikostratos (**1026**) Mov at LHe (5-4C).

1032 ? Νικόστρατος Νικοστράτου Χολαρ(γεύς) 5 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.7 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 718835 *PA* 11058 Fa's *PA* 11057 *PA*, *IG*: Bro=*PA* 10746 Νικήρατος Ν. Χ. *IG* ii^2 2411.9 (c.330). *IG*: Cf. *PA* 6028 Εὐφάνης Εὐκλέους Χ. *ib.* L11 and Ν. Εὐφάνου Χ. *IG* ii^2 7787 Bur (3C). Cf. also persons named Nikostratos in *Agora* XV.72; 101; and 204f, with conns. suggested there.

1033 ? Νικοτέλης c
Sam *SEG* 30.114 365-322 (eds) Str
PAA 718960 *AO* 2181 Accus. Clay token. Eds, Kroll and Mitchel, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 91f infer office (Str for Sam) by analogy with other tokens (name alone appears here). *AO* p.291: Office held "perhaps" in period 377/6-353/2.

1034 ? [Νικ]όφημος? See [-3or4?-]όφημος (**1521**)
Sal 361-304

1035 4 Νικοφῶν Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal *SEG* 21.839.3 350-300 (*APF*) Bur Rel
PAA 719350 *APF* p.358 Family gravestone from Sal, in Peiraieus Mus. Rels=[Λ]υσίμαχος Ἀ. (**888**), L1f; Νίκων Ἀ. (**1038**), L4f; [...]ικράτεια (**1500**), L5. *APF*: This family possibly rels of *PA* 9480 Λυσιμαχίδης Λυσιμάχου Ἀ. (see *APF* for sources).

1036 D [Ν]ικὼ Εὐβούλου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.13 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Follows *IG*'s text (maj. has *kappa* missing and *epsilon* certain). Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

1037 ? Νίκων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*35 325-275 Mys?
1038 4 Νίκων Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal *SEG* 21.839.4 350-300 (*APF*) Bur Rel
PAA 720170 *APF* p.358 Family gravestone from Sal, in Peiraieus Mus. Rels=[Λ]υσίμαχος Ἀ. (**888**), L1f; Νικοφῶν Ἀ. (**1035**), L3; [...]ικράτεια (**1500**), L5. *APF*: ?=*PA* 11107=*AO* 2154 N. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 1745(*Agora* XV.17).57 *bouleutes* (360/59). *APF*: This family possibly rels of *PA* 9480 Λυσιμαχίδης Λυσιμάχου Ἀ. (see *APF* for sources).
1039 L Νείκων, pat.: see Φλαουία Ν. Κηδ[ωνος 1?] (**1357**)
Imb 001+
1040 X Νόμω[ν], pat.: see Πολύμνηστος Ν. Ἀκροθώιος (**1104**)
LMy 404-393
1041 ? Νουμήνιος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*4 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant.
1042 D Νουφράδης, pat.: see [Λ]εοντὶς Ν. (**845**)
Imb 199-100

XI

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1043 E Χσεν[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.10 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
PAA 730790 Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1044 ? Ξενο[– – –] d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 669.1 399-200 (JC) Bur
PAA 731332 Re-use of gravestone; DK whether ?rel=Πυθόδωρος Ἀμεινίου Αὐρίδης (**1124**), L1f.

1045 D Ξενοκλῆς Ἰατρ[οκλέους demotic lost?] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 64.4f 001+ (*IG*: scr) Trs?
Gentv. (actual underdotting in -λέους). Involved in removal?/re-building? of something/someone out of the city (L2f): [– – – ἐ]πιμεληθέντων τῶν τα[μίων – – – τῆς ἀνα]στάσεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πόλεω[ς – – –].

1046 ? Ξενοκ[λῆ]ς Ἡροσ[κα]μάνδρ[ο(υ)] Ἀλ⟨ω⟩πεκῆθεν 10 c
Pot *IG* i^3 1512(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #3).1f 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur
PAA 732070 Fa's *PAA* 488665 Ed and *IG* bracket *kappa* underdotted here; demotic's *omega* cut as *omicron*; name formula includes phyle ([Ἀ]ντιόχιδος) between patc. and demotic. 2 of fa's name in *PA*+. ?Rel=*PA* 11213 [Ξ]εν[ο]κλῆς Πολυαρ[– – –] Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 5574 (4C), whose ?fa=[– – – Ξε]νοκλέους Ἀ. of a 4C list Sundwall pp.137f calls unpub. (Traill says it still is). ?Descendant=*PA* 6536 Ἡ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 1706.50 *thesmothetes* (225/4), probable fa of *PA* 3584 Δημοσθένης Ἡ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 5553 Bur (3C).

1047 D Ξενοκλῆς, pat.: see Σοφοκλῆς Ξ. Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**1169**)
Sal? 025-001 *PAA* 732110 *PA* 11216

1048 X Ξενόκριτος Ἀμύν[τ]α (Μακεδόνιος)) n
Pot Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5 p.56, L11 359-357 (ed: ctx; cf. Robinson: before 369) Hon
Accus. Hatzopoulos extensively revises text of Robinson, *TAPA* 69

(1938) #14. Eds provide ethnic. Honored by *boule* and *ekklesia* of Pot.

1049 4 Ξενότιμος Ὀλυμπιοδώρου Π⟨ει⟩ραεύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 7181.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: pro) Bur
PAA 733480 *PA* 11272 *APF* pp.419f Fa's *PAA* 743225 Fa's *PA* 11408 Epitaph from Sal, now lost; demotic copied as Πιεραεύς. Cf. Ὀ. Εὐμήλου Π[- - -] (**1058**) Sal Eco (M4C). ?Rel=*PA* 11407 Ὀ. Π. *IG* ii² 1632.317 trierarch (c.323/2), whom *PA* says =Ὀ. Φιλοξένου Π. *IG* ii² 7182 Bur (N.D.). *APF* sees them not as the same person, but as rels. *APF*, *Agora*: trierarch's ?son=Κτήσιππος Ὀ. Π. *Agora* XV.62.250 *bouleutes* (303/2). JC: Cf. Φιλόξενος Π. Sundwall p.166 Amb (172/1).

1050 ? Ξενοφ[- - -], pat.: see Πέρκων Ξ. [- - -] (**1095**)
LMy 377-350

1051 L Ξενόφιλος [Ἐ]ρχιε[ύς 2?] p
Sal *SEG* 2.51.1, 3 299-200 (*SEG*: scr) Cul
PAA 733920 Accus. Wilhelm's restoration of demotic. Lead curse tablet found on Sal; he is the one cursed (καταγράφω), L1f. ?Curser=Ἀπολλ[- - -]? (**121**), L4.

OMICRON

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1052 L Οἰνάνθη Ἐπιγένου Εὐωνυμέως 1 θυγ. c w
Sal *SEG* 21.854.1-4 199-100 (JC: pro; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 740780 Epitaph found on Sal. 3 in *PA*+, but cf. **1053**. *SEG*: ?Bro=Εὐφάνης Ἐ. Ε. (**554**) Bur on Sal. If so, fa=*PA* 4799; see ?bro's entry for other possible rels.

1053 ? Οἰνάνθη Καλλιστράτης Σαλαμινία d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10205.1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 740810 Found "prope Nicaeam in villa Guilloteau", presumably Attike. 3-dot interpunct between name and matronymic. *IG* cfs. *IG* ii^2 11568 (another name with matc.), where 9 other women's epitaphs with matcs. are cross-referenced. 3 named Oinanthe in *PA*+, but cf. **1052**.

1054 D Οἴτυλος (pat.?) See [Θ]ρ[ά]σιππος? (**684**)
Imb 001+

1055 ? Ὄλβιος? See Φ̣ᾶ̣ν̣ος? (**1270**)
Imb 325-275

1055A X Ὄλορος, pat.: see Ἡγησιπύλη Ὀ. Θρᾷκος θυγ. (**590A**)
Chr? 530+

1056 L Ὀλυμπιάδης Θεοδώρου Περιθοίδης 6 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 111.1 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 742255 Fa's *PAA* 507318 Contrary to *IG*, L1 does not appear (in maj.) to be obviously earlier than L2. ?Son/?fa=Θ. Ὀ. Π. (**654**), L2. Traill gives the patc. of Theodoros a separate entry (*PAA* 742250). Cf. *PA* 6894 Θ. Π. *IG* ii^2 1622.487 trierarch (4C).

1057 ? Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, pat.: see Θεόφιλος Ὀ. Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**674**)
Sal 399-200 *PAA* 743045

1058 ? Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Εὐμήλου Π[---] c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1596.13 375-325 (*IG*: pro) Eco
PAA 743190 *PA* 11405 Fa's *PAA* 439515 Fa's *PA* 5839 Attic financial document. Seller of χωρίον in χυτρεαῖς on Sal; buyer=Δωρόθεος Θεοδώρου ἐξ Οἴ(ου) (**409**), L16. Fragmentary demotic could fit 16 demes. See possible ID's (depending on deme) at

APF pp.419f; *Agora* XV.62.250 (Peiraieus); *AO* 1176 of *Agora* XV.43.121f (Prospalta). Possible rels (similarly) include *Agora* XV.129.115 (Potamos) and (especially, since Bur on Sal in 4C) Ξενότιμος 'Ο. Π(ει)ραεύς (**1049**).

1059 4 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, pat.: see Ξενότιμος 'Ο. Π(ει)ραεύς 8 (**1049**) Sal 399-300 *PAA* 743225 *PA* 11408

1060 E 'Ολύμπιχος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.17 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 743595 *PA* 11422 Name now entirely lost. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1061 L 'Ολύμπιχος, pat.: see Σκαμάνδριος 'Ο. 'Αφιδναῖος P (**1152**) LHe 099-001 *PAA* 743660

1062 D "Ολυμπος, pat.: see 'Αφροδεισία 'Ο. Σαλαμεινία (**255**) Sal? 001++ *PAA* 744235

1063 ? [– – –]νίκη 'Ονασαγόρου [Σ]αλαμινίου d w
Sal *Agora* XVII.656.1f 399-300 (ed) Bur
PAA 745025 3-dot interpunct between name and patc. Epitaph found in Agora.

1064 D 'Ονασὼ Τιμοκράτου Σαλαμινία, 'Αναξήνορος Οἰναίου 9 or P γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii² 10206.1-6 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PAA 745450 Epitaph found in Athens. 1 of her name, none of hus's name in *PA*+. Cf. *PA* 13757a T. T. and *PA* 13757b T. Τίμωνος Σ. both Bur on Sal.

1065 D 'Ονησᾶς 'Ε(π)αφρ(ο)(δ)ίτου d
Sal Peek, *Att.Gr.* II.147.1(left) 001++ (JC: scr; cf. ed: N.D.) Rel?
PAA 745810 Fa's *PAA* 390190 Patc. is Peek's corr. of maj.'s ΕΒΑΦΡΑΙΤΟΥ. 1 of 2 names on statue found on Sal; roles unclear. ?Wf='Αφροδὼ Ζωπύρου (**258**), same line (right).

1066 D ('Ο)ν(ή)σιμος d
Sal *IG* ii² 12587.1 001++ (*IG* iii) Ded Rel
PAA 746460 Epitaph from Sal; text from copy. Boeckh improves on ΑΝΙΣ; Dittenberger has "Αν(θ)ιμος; *SEG* 1.35 has 'Ονήσι[μ]ος. 3 in *PA*+, but cf. **1067**. Dedicates monument to bro Σεραπίων (**1142**), L2.

1067 D 'Ονήσιμος d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 677.1 001++ (JC: scr) Bur
3 in *PA*+, but cf. **1066** — and Traill informs me that *PAA* has 190! ?Christian epitaph ('Ψυχ[ὴ] χρη[σ]τὴ Χῖρε).

1068 D (Αὐρ.) 'Ονησιφ[ῶν patc. and/or demotic/ethnic lost?] d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 13.2 001++ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Context uncertain: datv. ending in -[ῶν]τι [– – –], unless name is nomtv. and patc. begins with Τι-. 2 in *PA*+.

1069 E 'Ονυμακλέης 'Ωθ[ά]ν[α]ος p

Chr? *P.Oxy.* 3711.31 625-600 (ed: ctx) DK
Ed, Huxley, *JHS* 107 (1987) 187f interprets partially preserved ethnic as possibly meaning ὁ 'Αθηναῖος, and suggests he may have been an Athenian exiled from Elaious to Alopekonnesos, then to Ainos. If ID is correct, ?assoc.=Φρύνων (**1364**) ?*oikistes* of Elaious. Cf. *PA* 11479 'Ο. 'Ελαιούσιος, fa of Ξενοκλῆς *IG* ii^2 1927.89-91 (4C).

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1070 L Παγχάρης or -ος, pat.: see Δέξιππος Π. Παιανιεύς 3 (**301**)
LHe 099-001 *PAA* 760937

1071 ? Παιδέας d
Sal *IG* ii² 3093.3 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Cul
PAA 761030 Choregic monument on Sal, dated by Arx of Sal. Teaches boys' chorus (Π. ἐδίδασκε); DK whether citizen.

1072 D [Παί]ζουσα Διοδότου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.17 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Wilhelm's corr.(? Traill finds it very unlikely) of -νουσα of *ed. prin.* None in *PA*+ (or, says Traill, in *PAA*). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1073 E Παιόνιος of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.10 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 761295 *PA* 11517 Unique in *PA*+, which regularizes Attic spelling to Παιών-. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1074 E Πάμμων Σκύριος n
Sky Hdt. 7.183 480 (ctx) Mil
Pre-conquest Skyrian, helped Persians at Artemision.

1075 ? Πάμφιλος 'Ραμνούσιος 9 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.8f 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
PAA 762958 Decree of initiates. ?=*PA* 11557 Π. Θεογείτονος 'Ρ. *Agora* XV.59.55 and 61.278 *bouleutes* (L4C), whose ?rel=Θ. Θεοκλέους 'Ρ. *IG* ii² 7353 Bur. Ed, *Agora*: Cf. *PA* 11556 Π. 'Ρ. mentioned by [Dem.], with his bro *PA* 14167 Φειδόλεως.

1076 ? Πάνανδρος Πανάρχου Βησ⟨α⟩ιεύς 10 c
Sal *IG* ii² 5908.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PAA 763565 Epitaph from Sal. Text from copy; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. None of name or fa's name in *PA*+.

1077 4 Παράμυθος ['Α]λαι(εύς) 2 c
Sam Michel 832.42f 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 766425 *PA* 11628 Aleshire's underdotting. Cf. *AO* 2258 and p.273 [Παρ]ά. Φιλίνου *IG* ii² 1696.14 some office, not *paredros* (355/4).

1078 ? Παρμενίδης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*38 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
1 in *PA*+ (spelled -είδης, and 1 in *PAA*, says Traill, spelled as here).

1079 4 Παρμονίδης Τρικο(ρύσιος) 9 c
Sam Michel 832.12 346/5 (arx) Pro
PAA 767430 *PA* 11645 4 in *PA*+. Cf. ⟨Ε⟩ὐδράμων Π. *SEG* 24.197.19 (4C).

1080 D Πάρνασος, pat.: see Φίλων Π. Σαλαμίνιος (**1351**)
Sal 099+ *PAA* 767450

1081 ? Πασικλῆς d
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.8 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Cul
Accus. ending in -κλεία. Fragmentary context. Dunst sees him as native Samian ?*hierodoulos*, caught stealing from the temple, along with Ψυλλίων (**1426**) and Ὠ[ρελίων?] (**1427**), both in same line.

1082 ? Πασικράτης, pat.: see [Ἀρισ]τοκράτης Π. Σαλα[μίνιος] (**186**) Sal? 375-325 *PAA* 767820

1083 4 Πατροφῶν Φαληρεύς 9 c
LHe *SLC* 104(=*IG* xii[8] 18).9-11 350-300 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: 314/3) Eco
PAA 768827 Datv. Holder of *synthekai* on *horos*. Specific date infers that Nikodoros (**1015**) is *Attic* Arx, which is very possibly correct: see his entry. Traill describes this name as "unheard of", and suggests that Πατρόφιλος would be more believable; I do not know of any basis for doubting the reading, which D. Harris' photo supports.

1084 D Πάτρων Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10207.1f 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 769100 *Cippus*, nothing about find spot in *IG*.

1085 ? Πανσανί[ας] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*30 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1086 ? Πεδιεύς, pat.: see Σωσίας Π. Παλληνῆθεν 10 (**1206**)
Pot 429-350 *PAA* 770590

1087 ? Πειθίας Λέοντος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10208.1f 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 770850 Fa's *PAA* 606015 Family gravestone of Salaminians, found near Dipylon Gate. See **692** on letter sizes. Earlier than other entries on stone. Son=Λ. Π. Σ. (**855**), L4-6; gson=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1088**), L9. ?Wf=Θρᾶιττα (**692**), L3; ?dtr=Πλαγγὼν Χαρίου γυνή (**1098**), L7f. ?Rel=Λ. ὁ Σ. (**853**).

1088 ? Πειθίας Λέοντος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10208.9 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 770855 Fa's *PAA* 606020 Family gravestone of Salaminians, found near Dipylon Gate. See **692** on letter sizes. Fa=Λ. Π. Σ. (**855**), L4-6; gfa=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1087**), L1f. ?Gmo=Θρᾶιττα (**692**), L3;

?aunt=Πλαγγὼν Χαρίου γυνή (**1098**), L7f. ?Rel=Λ. ὁ Σ. (**853**).

1089 E Πε(ι)ραῖος?, pat.: see Θεόγνητος Π. (**642**)
Pot 410-400

1090 L Πεισίκρατος, pat.: see Ἀρκεσίδημος Π. Ῥαμνούσιος 9 (**214**) Sky 199-100 *PAA* 771680 *PA* 11788

1091 4 Πεισίλεος c
Sam Michel 832.1, 56 346/5 (arx) Arx
Gentv. (ending in -λέω) in dating formula: Arx in Sam, synchronized with Attic Arx. None in *PA*+: Samian name?

1092 E Πείσιππος? of phyle Erechtheis 1 c
LMy *IG* i^{3} 1164.5 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PAA 771710 Follows *IG*'s text; squeeze shows almost nothing in 1st 5 letter spaces. Cf. *PA* 11789 [Π]είσι[π]πος *Agora* XVII.23 Bur (409), only example of name in *PA*+. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1093 4 Πελύσιος d
Sam Michel 832.39 346/5 (arx) Cul
Name based on Samian month, so clearly a native Samian. JC: Naturalized Athenian citizen? Called ὁ ἱερὸς τῆς θεοῦ Π., variously interpreted as meaning he is a slave (Koehler), a Pri (Barron, Dunst, Shipley), or not necessarily either (JC, ?Aleshire).

1094 D Πεντε[– – –?], pat.?: see Ναυτικὴ Π. (**982**)
LHe 001++

1095 ? Πέρκων Ξενοφ[.......14.......] d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 3.2, 9 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Hon
None in *PA*+; presumably non-Athenian (ethnic lost), since decree of LMy makes him *proxenos* (although Vartsos, *AK* 77 says he is a klerouch). ?Conn.=Mov [– – –]ς Χαιρεφῶντος Γαργήττ[ιος] (**1384**), L1f.

1096 4 Πιστόξενος, pat.: see Καλλίππη Π. θυγ. Λημνία (**741**)
Lem 399-364 *PAA* 774000

[**1097** Deleted from revised sequence.]

1098 ? Πλαγγὼν Χαρίου γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii^{2} 10208.7f 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
PAA 774565 Family gravestone of Salaminians, found near Dipylon Gate. See **692** on letter sizes. ?Fa=Πειθίας Λέοντος Σαλαμίνιος (**1087**), L1f; ?mo=Θρᾶιττα (**692**), L3; ?bro=Λ. Π. Σ. (**855**), L4-6; ?neph=Π. Λ. Σ. (**1088**), L9.

1099 ? Πολύαρχος, pat.: see Κηφισόδωρος Π. Ἀ[χ]αιός (**764**)
Sal? 399+ *PAA* 777610

1100 L Πολύε(υ)κτος, pat.: see Θεόδωρος Π. Θημακεύς P (**651**)
Sal 001+ *PAA* 778215

1101 L Πολύζηλος Φύσκωνος Χολλείδης 4 c

Sal *SEG* 21.938.1-3 199-100 (*SEG*) Bur
PAA 778500 Epitaph found on Sal. *Apparatus* of *SEG* suggests patc. may properly be -κ[ί]ω-? (*PA*+ has 1 Φυσκίων, no Φύσκων).

1102 L Πολυκλῆς, pat.: see Μητροφίλη Π. θυγ. Εὐπυρίδου 4 (**942**) LHe 150-100 *PAA* 779097

1103 ? Πολυκράτης c
Chr? [Dem.] 12.16 340 (ctx) Mov
Philip says he introduced a *dogma* regarding war with Philip by klerouchs in Chr; name included on weak possibility it was a klerouchic decree, but it was probably Attic. No name from this source is listed among *AO*'s introducers of Attic decrees for 341-339. *PA* 12027 Π. Πολυεύκτου Φηγαιεύς, known from Aigeis catalogue *IG* ii^2 1747(=*Agora* XV.36).18 (*AO* says 343/2, correcting *IG*'s c.350), is ID'd by *PA* and restored by *IG* as Mov of the foreign policy oriented decree *IG* ii^2 207.2 (349/8); *AO* p.296 says that the Mov of that decree is not this Polykrates (*AO* 2576), but *AO* 2572 Π. Πολυκράτους, and that *IG* ii^2 207 is properly dated to the late 360s (literature on the issue is cited at p.291). Other Athenians named Polykrates mentioned in the context of *boule* or *demos* at appropriate dates are *PA* 12023 Π. Οἰῆθεν *IG* ii^2 1745.38 *prytanis* of Oineis (360/59) and *PA* 12025=*AO* 2577 Π. [....]νους Πλωθεεύς *IG* ii^2 1747 (=*Agora* XV.36).45.

1104 X Πολύμνηστος Νόμω[νος] Ἀκροθῷιος n
LMy *IG* xii(8) 2.5f 404-393 (*IG*: ctx) Hon Oth
Appointed *proxenos* by *boule* and *demos* of Myrinaians. *Apparatus* of *IG* says Ἀκρόθωον is a town on Mt. Athos.

1105 D Πολύνικος, pat.: see Ἀμφικλῆς Π. Σαλαμίνιος (**79**) Sal 125-100 *PAA* 780445

1106 L Πολύξενος, pat.: see Εὐθυκρίτη Π. Κειριάδου 8 θυγ. (**505**) Sal 299+ *PAA* 780615 *PA* 12061

1107 ? [Π]ολύξενος [Μ]ειξίο(υ) [Σ]ουνιεύς 4 c
Pot? *IG* i^3 1515.1-4 429-356 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur
PAA 780650 Fa's *PAA* 637973 Epitaph found at Olynthos, pub. as Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) #11. Ed, *Agora*, *IG*: Cf. *PA* 12066=*AO* 2590 Π. Πολυκρά(τος) Σ. *IG* ii^2 1742(=*Agora* XV.13).64f *prytanis* of Leontis (M4C). Ed, *IG*: Cf. Μειξιάδης Σ. *IG* ii^2 1582.127 mine owner (348/7). JC: Cf. *PA* 9749a [....]ίας Μειξιάδου *IG* ii^2 12054 Bur (4C).

1108 ? Πολύστρατος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*43 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1109 ? Πολύφιλος c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1222.10 325-275 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: after 307/6) Trs
PAA 781970 Accus. Very fragmentary Attic copy of klerouchic

decree: is he from LHe? from Athens? Trs of (Attic) *stratiotikon*?

1110 D Πομ[πε]ῖος Λη[ναίου? ---] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 64.5f 001+ (*IG*: scr) Str
Eponymous officer? Name in gentv. preceded by [--- στρ]ατηγοῦντος. No τοῦ precedes ?patc. Cf. [---] Ληναί[ου --- έω]ς γυν[ή] Osborne, *AncSoc* #165 Bur (Roman period).

1111 D Ποσειδώνιος, pat.: see Κτησικράτης Π. Προσπάλτιος P (**822**) LHe 099+ *PAA* 785620 *PA* 12146

1112 L Ποσειδώνιος, pat.: see Ἰσιδίκη Π. Σουνιέως 4 θυγ. (**708**) LHe 199-001 *PAA* 785333

1113 ? Ποσῆς Σάμιος p
Sam *IG* ii² 1.[58], 64, 68, 73, 75 403/2 (arx) Hon Amb
PAA 785800 Accus., datv., gentv. Should be naturalized citizen, although called Σάμιος and invited to ξένια rather than δεῖπνον. 1 in *PA*+, but see Cargill, *GRBS* 328 n.18 for late examples.

1114 L Πραξῖνος, pat.: see Λυσαγόρας Π. Φυλάσ[ιος] 6 (**871**) Imb 199-001 *PAA* 786885

1115 D Πραξιτέλης, pat.: see [Σ]τρατονίκη Π. (**1178**) Imb 199-100

1116 L Πραξιτέ[λης] Εὐσθένο[υς] Κολωνῆθεν P c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 106.1-3 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
PAA 787135 Fa's *PAA* 445377 Discussion at *PA* 5990 errs, misled by Conze, *Reise* 86, calling him Με[---] Ε. Κ., although Conze's own maj. would require the impossible ΜΞ, rather than ΜΕ. *IG*: Rels=Ε. Κ. (much earlier, **544**) and [Ε]ὐ. [Π]ρ. [Κ]ο. (**546**). ?Dtr= [Σ]τρατονίκη Π. (**1178**); ?rel=[Λυ]σιδίκη Ε. (**881**) both on Imb (2C).

1117 ? [-3or4-]μαχος Προθυμίδο(υ) ['Αχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*30 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PAA 788480 *PA* 12187 Demotic from restored plural heading. JC: [Λυσί]μαχος? Cf. *PA* 9510-12 all named Lysimachos Acharneus (all 4C or just after); *PA* 9480-1 (sons of 2 of the foregoing); and possible conns. on Sal (4C): see *APF* pp.357f and [Λ]υ. 'Α. (**888**).

1118 ? Προκλῆς Ἐρξιγένου Κολλυτεύς 2 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.23 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PAA 789075 *PA* 12230 Fa's *PAA* 422525 Fa's *PA* 5179 Patc. unique in *PA*+.

1119 ? Πρώταρχος Πρωτομάχου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10209.1-3 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
PAA 791095 Fa's *PAA* 792065 Epitaph found in Kerameikos. 4 of patc. in *PA*+, and see **1120**.

1120 ? Πρωτόμαχο[ς] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.6 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L9-17's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. 4 in *PA*+ (see

also **1119**), including *PA* 12319 settler at Amphipolis (5C). See also Πρωτομάχη Νικαίο(υ) Κολλυτέως θυγ. Osborne, *AncSoc* #62 Bur (M4C).

1121 ? Πυθ[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*24 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1122 L Πυθέας c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1008.75, 80 119/8 (arx) Arx
PAA 793235 Gentv. (twice) in dating formula: Arx of Sal, synchronized with Arx ἐν ἄστει.

1123 ? Πυθόδωρος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*27 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1124 4 Πυθόδωρος Ἀμεινίου Αὐρίδης 8 c
Sky *IG* xii(8) 669.1f 399-300 (JC) Bur
PAA 794482 Fa's *PAA* 123198 ?Rel=Ξενο[– – –] (**1044**), L1, apparently inscribed in later re-use of gravestone. Cf. *PA* 12405=*AO* 2667 Π. *IG* i^2 950.180 phylarch of Hippothontis and Bur (412). *PAA*: ?Fa=*PAA* 123198.

1125 L Π⟨υ⟩θόδωρος ⟨Γαργήτ⟩τιος 2 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 98.1f 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
PAA 794527 Maj. of *ed. prin.* is gibberish; letters shown as corrected here are bracketed as restorations in *IG*'s text. ?Wf=[Κ]τησίχαρις (**826**), L1. *IG*: Cf. *PA* 12417 Π. Γ., fa of *PA* 11781 Ξεναρ[ί]στη Π. Γ. θυγ. *IG* ii^2 2679 on *horos* (303/2).

1126 L [Name lost] Πυθοκράτους (Ἐλευσινίου 8) γυνή c w
Sal *SEG* 21.849.4f 299-200 (*SEG*) Bur Rel
PAA 795115 Epitaph found on Sal. Hus=Π. Σμικύθου Ἐ. (**1127**), L1-3 (both handled in same *PAA* entry).

1127 L Πυθοκράτης Σμικύθου Ἐλευσίνιος 8 c
Sal *SEG* 21.849.1-3 299-200 (*SEG*) Bur Rel
PAA 795115 Epitaph found on Sal. None in *PA*+. Wf=[Name lost] Π. (Ἐ) γυνή (**1126**), L4f (both handled in same *PAA* entry).

1128 X Πωλλίων n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.5 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
3rd of 4 Roman names at top of list; Greek names follow.

RHO

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1129 4 'Ραίδιος Μελιτ(εύς) 7 c
Sam Michel 832.7, 60 347/6 (arx) Trs
PAA 800250 *PA* 12527 Gentv., then nomtv. Aleshire reads 'Ραδίου in L7 and Μελ⟨ι⟩- in L60 (*iota* cut as *omega*).

1130 E 'Ριποτέλος d
Sal *IG* i³ 1270.1 450 (*IG*) Bur
PAA 800625 1-word epitaph found on Sal. *IG*: Only prior ed saw the inscription. Treatment at *IG* i² 1020 indicates that it had a tailed *rho*, Attic *lambda*, and 3-bar *sigma*. DK length of o- and e-vowels (*IG*'s accent followed here). None in *PA*+: native Salaminian?

SIGMA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1131 L Σ[– – –]?[– – –]ους? Φλ⟨υ⟩εύς 7? d
LHe *IG* xii(8) 37.4f 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Rel
Conze copied ?epigram, since lost. Conze saw L3 (maj. ΟΝΦΛΙΕΙΣ) as possibly including the plural demotic Φλ[υ]εῖς (*IG*'s *apparatus*, with "?"). *IG*'s text begins with L4: [τὸν π]α[τ]έρα Σ[– – –] and its L5 begins with [– – –]ους. Σ[– – –] and [– – –]ους cannot be part of the same name formula under the nomtv. rubric Φλ⟨υ⟩εῖς unless punctuation is inferred after the accus. [π]α[τ]έρα.
1132 ? Σαλαμίνιος (name?) See Φίλων Σ. (ethnic?) (**1350**)
Sal 399-375
1133 D Σάμος Χερ[σο]νησίτης d
Chr *IG* ii^2 2332.162 183/2 (arx) Eco
PAA 811705 Name in Attic list of contributors. None in *PA*+. Restoration within ethnic based on spelling of that of countryman Ἀττινᾶς Χ[ερ]σ. (**252**), L163.
1134 D Σαραπίων c
Sal? *IG* ii^2 1228.5 150-100 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 116/5) Arx
PAA 811985 Accus. *IG* treats him as *PA* 12559, *Attic* Arx of 116/5 (see *IG* ii^2 1009.28), but the text would allow him to have been Arx of Sal, analogously with Ἐργοκλῆς (**464**) of *IG* ii^2 1227, so he is included in this list.
1135 D Σαρπηδῶ[ν patc. or demotic lost?] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 65.4 001+ (JC: pro) Str
Gentv. in apparent dating formula (στρατηγ[οῦντος] Σαρπηδό[νος .....]); if so, he is the eponymous Mag in a dedication to Livia Augusta (L2). Spacing of centered L3f apparently leads *IG* to infer 5 lost letters beyond the name.
1136 ? Σάτυρος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*3 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant.
1137 D [Σ]άτυρος [patc. lost?] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 11107.2 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur

PAA 813100 Epitaph from Sal, *IG*'s text from copy. ?Rel=Δημήτριος Δημητρίου (**314**), L1. Name-patc. combination Σ.-Δ. not found in *PA*+.

1138 L Σάτυρος Γαργήττ[ιος] P c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #4.5 250-200 (ed: scr) Epi Pro Cul
PAA 813428 Puts vote to initiates; *symproedroi* not named. Cf. Sundwall p.47 Δέξανδρος Σ. of phyle Aigeis, Kt (106/5). Cf. [Ἡ]φαισ[τία?] Σ. *Agora* XVII.348 *apparatus* Bur (4/3C).

[**1139** Deleted from revised sequence.]

1140 ? Σα[υρί]ας? c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 5.6 375-325 (*IG*: scr; cf. *AO*: 352-336) Mag Hon
PAA 813928 *APF* p.488 *AO* 2707 Follows *IG*'s text, including extra letter in brackets (*stoichedon* inscription). *Epimeletes* at LHe, honored by klerouchs at LMy. *APF*: ?=*PA* 12612 Σ. Πυθογένου[ς Δα]μπτρεύς *IG* ii^2 1147.2f *choregos* (M4C); see also [Dem.] 59.45 and 47.

1141 D Σεκ[ουνδ– – –] Μελίτ[ωνος? – – –] d
LHe *IG* xii(8) 39.4f 001+++ (*IG*: scr) Hon?
Maj. indicates ΣΕΚ is large and centered, so smaller letters in next line are not necessarily from the same name formula, although that seems to be implied by the restoration in *IG*'s text (followed here) of a gentv. ending appropriate to a patc. — of which only 1 example appears in *PA*+. See also Μελίτω[ν – – –?] Osborne, *AncSoc* #258 Bur (late Roman).

1142 D Σεραπίων d
Sal *IG* ii^2 12587.2 001++ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
Datv. Epitaph from Sal, text from copy, but letter forms in *apparatus* are definitely very late. Monument dedicated by bro ⟨Ὀ⟩ν⟨ή⟩σιμος (**1066**), L1.

1143 D Σεραπίων Σεραπίωνος Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10210.1-3 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur
Columella, nothing in *IG* about find spot.

1144 X (Τίτος) Σερουίλιος, pat.: see Καλλινίκη (Τ.) Σ. θυγ. (**739**)
Imb 099+

1145 ? Σθένυλλος Εἰρεσίδης 5 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1672.276 329/8 (arx) Str Cul Eco
PA 12643 *AO* 2810 Office misspelled στ(ρ)ατηγός. Name unique in *PA*+ (although there are 2 named Σθένελος). Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis, with Αἰσχύλος Ε. (**49**) and Σώπ[ατρο]ς Ἀλωπεκῆ⟨θ⟩εν (**1202**).

1146 E Σιγή d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.10 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
IG believes she is a slave. 3m, 5f Ded's.

1147 4 Σιλανίων Ἀριστοδήμο(υ) Κο[θ]ωκίδης 6 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6480.1 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Bur

PA 12652 *APF* p.176 Fa's *PAA* 168965 Fa's *PA* 1816 Epitaph from Sal. See **425** for discussion of readings problems and inconsistencies between stemmata of *PA* and *APF*, e.g., Ἐξηκεστίδης Ἀ. Κ. (**426**) is described as both his bro and his neph.

1148 E Σιλανόδο[ρο]ς? d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 518.1 550-473 (*IG*: scr) Ded
Name on vase for Apollon. Archaic spelling: *omicron* represents either itself or *omega*, so -δωρος and -δοτος are equally possible. None of either in *PA*+, only 4 named Σιλανός and 1 Σιληνός.

1149 D [Name lost] Σιμαλίωνος Ἐρχιεύς 2 c
Lem? *IG* ii^2 1053+.5(=L16 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb? *PA* 12660 Accus. name in list. From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear).

1150 D [Σι]μίχη Εὐξένου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.14 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
None in *PA*+. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

1151 ? Σιμ[ί]ων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*26 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze; *IG* has only the initial *sigma*. None in *PA*+.

1152 L Σκαμάνδριος Ὀλυμπίχου Ἀφιδναῖος P νεώτερος c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #16.8-10 099-001 (ed: scr) Eco Cul
Fa's *PAA* 743660 Frees slave to *paramone*, at Oraia. Ed (without apparent basis) says he comes from Attike, not from Lem. ?=*PA* 12723 Σκάμα[νδρος Ὀλυ]μ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 2336.192 *thesmothetes* (97/6), also mentioned at *F.D.* 3.2.2. Ed says *PA* 12723 is not the same person, but his unc, and that the description "younger" is designed to differentiate them. See also *Agora* XV index possibilities.

1153 L [Σ]καμάνδρι[ο]ς Σκαμανδρίου Στε[ιριεύς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 113.4 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Family gravestone; relationships not all clear. Bro=[Ν]εικάδης Σ. Σ. (**996**), L3. ?Wf=[Τ]ιμόκλεια Κτησιβίου Εἰμ[βρίου] (**1242**), L5. Other rels=[Κ]λεοφῶν Ἐπιχάρου Σ. (**792**), L2; [Ἐ]π. Κ. [Σ.] (**461**), L1. 2 spelled -δριος and 1 restored -δρος in *PA*+.

1154 4 Σμῖκρος d
Sal *SEG* 17.122.1(left) 399-300 (JC: scr; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
Epitaph found on Sal. This name above relief of old man; young man at right, Σμῖκρος Ἀκο(υ)σίο(υ) (**1157**), clasps his hand. Reliefs and homonymy suggest the young man is his gson.

1155 ? Σμῖκρος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*38 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. [Σμ]ῖκρος?, emendation for [..]σικρος [---]ους (**1531**) on Imb (3C?).

1156 D [Σμ]ῖκρος? See [..]σικρος [---]ους (**1531**)
Imb 299+

1157 4 Σμῖκρος Ἀκο(υ)σίο(υ) d
Sal *SEG* 17.122.1(right) 399-300 (JC: scr; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
Fa's *PAA* 117075 Epitaph found on Sal. This name above relief of young man; old man at left, Σμῖκρος (**1154**), clasps his hand. Reliefs and homonymy suggest the old man is his gfa. Ed, Daux, *BCH* 82 (1958) 637f and 688 originally suggested fa's name was Ἀκο(ύ)σιος, but later accepted Klaffenbach's Ἀκο(υ)σίας; Daux's title refers to Ἀ. as "un nom athénien", but all his examples are non-Attic.

1158 4 Σμικυθίων d
Sal *IG* ii^2 12849/50.1(center) 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PA 12766a Gravestone from Sal, with reliefs. ?Rels=Φαινίππη (**1263**) and Κλεώ (**794**), same line (left and right).

1159 ? Σμικυθίων Ἰσον[ό]μ[ο(υ) demotic lost] c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1590a.9(f) 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
Fa's *PAA* 542250 Non-*stoichedon* inscription found on Sal; role requires citizen. Surety (ἐγγυητής) for renter (μισθωτής) Ναύμα[χος – – –]δο(υ) Περιθοίδης (**972**), L8f for Kolouris on Sal. 2 with fa's name in *PA*+.

1160 ? Σμικυθίων Σμικύθο(υ) Ἐλευσίνιο[ς] 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1590a.4 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
Inscription found on Sal. 1 of 2 sureties (ἐγγυηταί) from Eleusis (with **1438**, name lost) for renter (μισθωτής) Μύρω[ν– – –] (**971**), L3, for Syptalia on Sal.

1161 ? Σμίκυθος Σωσίππου Αἰξωνεύς 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.18 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 12784 Fa's *PA* 13276 Bro=*PA* 2973 Γλαυκίδης Σω. Α. *SEG* 36.185f+ Mov (313/2). ?Rels=*PA* 12773 Σμικυθ[– – –] *IG* i^2 241 secretary of Trs's of Athena (425/4), especially if Aristoph. *Kts*. 969 refers to him (Kock); *PA* 12779 Σ. Ἀθηναῖος Ded of 3C Rhodian inscription on statue base with signature of Salaminian sculptor.

1162 4 Σμίκυθος Φιλοκράτου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 5835.1-3 399-300 (*IG*: pro) Bur
PA 12787 *APF* p.542 Epitaph from Sal. *APF*: ?Son=*PA* 14604 Φ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 1632.56f trierarch (322); ?fa=Φ. Φρυνίχου Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 5847 Bur (M4C); ?rels=*PA* 12788 Σ. Χα[ρ]ίνο(υ) Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 77.1 and 4 secretary of *boule* (1st quarter 4C) and *PA* 9661 Μάληκος Σ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 5816 Bur (1st half 4C). *APF* also cites a late (1C) Philokrates in the deme, at *IG* ii^2 5808; this name appears as the patc. of Ἱέρων [Φιλο]κ. Ἀ., which might in turn suggest conns. with 4C Acharnians named Hieron, in *IG* ii^2 5809 and 5810. See also [Φιλ]οκράτης Φιλ[– – –] Ἀχα[ρνεύς – – –] *Agora* XV.62.160 *bouleutes* (303/2). *Agora* XV's index suggests that he (not Smikythos) may be fa of *PA* 14604, the trierarch.

1163 L Σμίκυθος, pat.: see Πυθοκράτης Σ. Ἐλευσίνιος 8 (**1127**)
Sal 299-200

1164 ? Σμίκυθος, pat.: see Σμικυθίων Σ. Ἐλευσίνιο[ς] 8 (**1160**)
Sal 399-350

1165 X Σολπίκι[ος] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*12 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Large letters; other names in list are Greek.

1166 E Σόλον of phyle Erechtheis 1 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.3 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PA 12807 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ων. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1167 D Σόλων Μυριναῖος d
LMy? *IG* xii(3) 43.10 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Oth
Sculptor's signature on statue base, Telos. *IG*: ?=[– – –] Μυριν-α[ῖος] (**1476**) sculptor on statue base from Rhodos (2C). "Myrina" here is not necessarily LMy on Lem.

1168 D Σοφοκλῆς d
Sal *IG* ii^2 4699.1 199-001 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Gentv. ?Wf=Μίκα (**945**); son=Ἀριστώνυμος (**211**), both L1. Dedication found on Sal: Ἀ. ἀνέθηκεν. ἥρωος Σ. καὶ Μ.

1169 D Σοφοκλῆς Ξενοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal? *IG* ii^2 3507.2f 025-001 (*IG*: pro) Cul Hon Rel
PA 12830 Fa's *PAA* 732110 Fa's *PA* 11216 Accus. Inscription found on Sal, but Boeckh believed it had been moved there from Eleusis, and therefore totally restored the name of Sophokles' wf, [Κτησίκλεια Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀ.] (**818**), L1, on the basis of an almost identical text at Eleusis, *IG* ii^2 3508. See stemma at *PA* 9111. Cf. Σοφο[– – –] Ἀ. *Agora* XV.190.7 *bouleutes* (c.180). See also demesmen with fa's name at *Agora* XV.444.2f and [10f] Arx (L2C CE) and 449.13 fa of *bouleutes* (c.205 CE).

1170 X Σόφων, kyr.: see Ἡρακλειῶτις Σ. Σινωπέως γυνή (**611**)
LHe 299+

1171 D Στατειρία d w
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.2 199+ (ed: scr) DK
Context lost, only *nu* preceding; probably another followed, i.e., name is in accus. (cf. **220**). None in *PA*+. Name list (m & f): DK purpose.

1171A E Στησαγόρας Κίμωνος c
Chr Hdt. 6.38.1f, 103.4 556-515 (*APF*: ctx) Mag
PA 12896 *APF* p.300f Fa's *PAA* 569735 Neph, adopted son, and successor as ruler in Chr of Μιλτιάδης Κυψήλου (**948**). Assassinated while administering justice, dying childless, succeeded by younger bro M. Κι. Λακιάδης (**949**).

1172 D Στόλος Δημοκράτου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10211/12.1f 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 316920 Gravestone in Peiraieus Mus.

1173 ? Στρατ[– – –] Σαλαμιν[– – –] d
Sal Peek, *Att.Gr.* II.91.1f 399+ (JC: gss; cf. ed: N.D.) Bur
Missing endings make it impossible to determine this entry's sex. Epitaph from Peiraieus Mus., but Peek's text from copy: no dating clues at all.

1174 D Στράτηγο[ς]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 87.*b*2 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys?
Later text on frag. *a* has heading showing its names are those of initiates, but no heading on frag. *b*. *IG*'s accent here treats Strategos as a name, but it could be the office (στρατηγός) of Εὔδημος (**487**), L*b*1; listing generals first is common Athenian practice (cf. **1198**, although the formula there is fuller). None of this name in *PA*+.

1175 4 Στράτιος Παιανι(εύς) 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*10 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PA 12919 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

1176 D [Name lost] Στρατοκλέους d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*14 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
From *IG*'s *apparatus* (Nikephoros), not in text.

1177 D [Στ]ρατονίκη Λευκίου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.28 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
[Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1178 D [Σ]τρατονίκη Πραξιτέλου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.18 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
[Gives Δ (=10 drx?)]. ?Fa=Π. Εὐσθένο[υς] Κολωνῆθεν (**1116**) Bur on Imb (2C).

1179 D (Φλάβιο[ς] Στράτ]ων Παια[νιεύς] 3 c
LHe Follet, *Rev.de Phil.* 48 (1974) 32-34(=Accame, *Ann.* #20).3f 001+ (ed: scr) Arx?
Eponymous Mag (unclear where). Robert, *BÉ* (1974) 430 quotes Follet's improvement on Accame's text, and says Straton is of a great priestly family of Eleusis.

1180 4 Στράτων? (Ποτειδαιεύς) n
Pot Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5 pp.56f, L9 359-357 (ed: ctx; cf. Robinson: before 369) Mov?
Hatzopoulos extensively revises text of Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938) #14. Decree of *boule* and *ekklesia* of Pot. Context fragmentary: ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΑ[-c.8-], but name comes after resolution formula, so role inferred.

1181 4 Στράτων Τρικο(ρύσιος) 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*13 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PA 12999 Cf. Διονύσιος Σ. Τ. *Agora* XV.267.18 (1C). List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai*.

1182 ? Στράτων, pat.: see Κηφισόδοτος Σ. Ὀαεύς 3? (**762**)
Unk 375-325 *PA* 12966

1183 D [Σ]τρόβιλος? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 124.1 199+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
Trace in maj. contradicts text's restored *sigma*. None in *PA*+.

1184 X Στύ[ρα]ξ, pat.: see Ἀλεξάνδρα Σ. Ἀλεξανδρεῖτ[ι]ς (**52**)
LHe 001+

1185 D Σύνμαχος, kyr.: see Δύναμις Ἀφροδισίου Σαλαμινία, Σ. Εὐπυρίδου 4 γυνή (**405**) Sal 001++

1186 D Σφαῖρος, pat.: see Γλαῦκος Σ. Σαλαμίνιος (**277**)
Sal 199-100

1187 ? Σω[---] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*23 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1188 ? Σώδαμος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*43 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
1 in *PA*+ (L4C), but see **1378**.

1189 D Σώδαμος, pat.: see [Χ]αιρεστράτη Σ. (**1378**)
Imb 199-100

1190 L Σώι[ζω]ν (pat.) See Ἕλενος? Ζωκώνιος? Μαραθώνιος 9 (**417**) Imb 299+

1191 4 Σωκ[---] of phyle Oineis 6 or Hippothontis 8 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.3 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro
Dunst says from Oineis, but position in list and phyle of Epi permit 2 possibilities.

1192 ? Σωκλῆς, pat.: see Χαραμαντίδης Σ. Εὐωνυμεύς 1 (**1392**)
Sal 320 *PA* 13069

1193 ? Σωκλῆς Ἀλεξιμάχου Εὐωνυμεύς 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.22 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 13070 Fa's *PAA* 120345 Fa's *PA* 540 Fa=*AO* 76 (misleadingly referenced as "*APF* 540" in the list of *AO*'s index, but referenced more conventionally at p.258) Ἀ. Ἀλεξίου Ε. *Agora* XV.14.12 *prytanis* (367/6). ?Cous=Χαραμαντίδης Σ. Ε. (**1392**), L9. Cf. Χαρμοκράτης Σ. Ε. *Agora* XV.86.44 (M3C) and Σ. Ε. *ib*. 141.42 (L3C).

1194 ? Σωκράτης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*40 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1195 4 Σωκράτης Αἰγιλι(εύς) 10 c
Sam Michel 832.44 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 13097 Habicht nts.: Rel=Εὐκλῆς Σ. Α. *IG* ii^2 1008.103ii ephebe (119/8).

1196 ? Σ[ω]κ[ρ]άτης Εὐδράμονος Ἀφιδναῖ(ος) 9 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.12 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 13105 Fa's *PAA* 430165 Fa's *PA* 5441 *PA*: Cf. Σ. Σ. Ἀ. *IG* ii^2 1990.17 ephebe (61/2 CE). Cf. *PA* 13104 Σ. Ἀ. fa of *PA* 3939 Διόδωρος Σ. Ἀ. (c.33) and his homonyms, *PA* 3937-8.

1197 4 Σωκράτης Λαμπτρεύς 1 c
Sam Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) #18.1f 365-322 (ed: pro) Bur
PA 13116a Gentv., ending -ος. Gravestone on Sam. *PA*: ?=*PA* 13116=*AO* 2749 Σ. Λ. *IG* ii^2 1388.14 (and restored in several other inscriptions) leader of Trs's of Athena (399/8). Wallace rejects the ID, saying the klerouch would have been too old.

1198 D Σωκράτης Ἀρχελάου Πειραιεύς 8 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 216.5f 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Str Mys
Fa's *PAA* 209755 Called ὁ ἀπ' ἄστεως στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἐν Ἴμβρῳ Σ. Ἀ. Π., L4-6 (Samothraike inscription). *IG*: Bro=Ἀβάσκαντος Ἀ. and rel=Ἀ. Ἀπολλωνίου ephebes, etc. (both 2C CE). Cf. Σ. Σ. Π. *Agora* XV.62 (L4C) and Ἀ. Ἀ. of phyle Hippothontis *ib*.448 (L3C).

[**1199** Deleted from revised sequence.]

1200 ? [Σ]ωιναύτης, pat.: see Κ[α]λ[λίας Σ]ω. Κολωνῆθε(ν) 4 or 10 (**731**) Sal 320 *PA* 13139

1201 ? Σώιν[ομος] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.10 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. 1 in *PA*+.

1202 ? Σώπ[ατρο]ς Ἀλωπεκῆ⟨θ⟩εν 10 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1672.276 329/8 (arx) Cul Eco
PA 13147 *AO* 2755 *Theta* cut as *omicron*, i.e., without central dot (autopsy). *AO* pp.393f calls him ?Str. Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis, with Str Σθένυλλος Εἰρεσίδης (**1145**) and Αἰσχύλος Ε. (**49**).

1203 D Σώπατρος, pat.: see Διονύσιος Σ. Σαλαμείνιος (**378**)
Sal 001++

1204 ? Σώπολις Σωτέλους [Με]λ[ι]τε[ύς] 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6871.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
Epitaph from Sal. *IG*'s text from copy; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. Cf. *AO* 3260 [– – –]λης Σωπό[λιδος – – –] *IG* ii^2 280.5 oath-taker in treaty (before 336/5).

1205 4 Σωσθένης Εὐων(υμεύς) 1 c
Sam Michel 832.5f, 58 347/6 (arx) Trs
PA 13169 Gentv., then nomtv. Name fully extant in L58; in L5f Aleshire's [Σωσθ]ένους is to be preferred to Ohly's Σω[σθέν]ους. Cf. [– – –]ΣΩΣ[– – –], perhaps from name (**1532**) of Mov on Sam (4C).

1206 ? Σωσίας Πεδιῶς Παλληνῆθεν 10 c
Pot *IG* i^3 1511(=Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 [1974] #2).5-7 429-356 (ed; cf. *IG*: 429-404) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 770590 Ed accents Παλλήνηθεν. Cf. other names on same gravestone, Καλλίας (**732**), L1, and Ἰσχόμαχος Ἱππομάχο(υ) Λαμπτρᾶθεν (**712**), L2-4. Cf. Πεδιεύς *SEG* 37.50.11 Bur (M5C).

1207 ? Σωσικράτ[ης] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*c*31 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1208 E [Σ]ωσίνομος Ἀριστονό[μο(υ) ...7....]ς c
Sal *Agora* XIX.P2.*d*12f 402/1 (*Agora*: pro; cf. *IG*: E4C) Eco
PA 13265 Fa's *PAA* 174260 Fa's *PA* 2036 [Buyer] of house on Sal, sold by *poletai*. Name and patc. both unique in *PA*+.

1209 ? Σώσιππος, pat.: see Σμίκυθος Σ. Αἰξωνεύς 7 (**1161**)
Sal 320 *PA* 13276

1210 4 Σωστράτη p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 117.3 399-300 (JC: scr) Bur Rel
?Hus=Χαρία[ς] Χαρισθένου (**1400**), L1f. Cf. other women of same name (**1211**, **1212**) on Imb (both 2C).

1211 D [Σω?]υστράτη Κτησικλείους p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.20 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Blank space as indicated. [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)]. Cf. Σ. (**1210**) on Imb (4C).

1212 L Σωστράτη Ἀσκληπιοδότου Ἀθμονέ⟨ω⟩ς 7 θυγ. c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 94.1-3 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 221490 Datv. *IG*'s text shows restored *omega* in (gentv.) demotic, but maj. indicates a fully preserved (and misspelled) -ΕΟΥΣ. Cf. Σ. (**1210**) on Imb (4C).

1213 ? Σώστρατος Ἐπαμείνονος d
Sam Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881) #17.1f 450+ (JC: com; ed and Shipley disagree) Bur
Datv. Ed's 4C date would make it possible he died under the klerouchs; DK. ?Rel=Σ. Τηλοκλέ[ους] Εἰτεαῖος (**1214**) Bur in Samian *Peraia* (4C). Cf. Ἐ. [- - -] Ἐπικηφίσ[ιος] (**434**) in possible list of klerouchs (4C).

1214 ? Σώστρα[τος] Τηλοκλέ[ους] Εἰτεαῖος 5 or 10 c
Sam Keil, *JÖAI* 11 (1908) Beiblatt, col.164 #7 375-325 (Habicht; cf. ed: Hellenistic) Bur
Epitaph of Athenian Bur at Anaia in Samian *Peraia*. 1st letter of demotic cut over *omicron*, i.e., mason corrects error. ?Rel=Σ. Ἐπαμείνονος (**1213**) Bur on Sam (5-4C).

1215 L Σώστρατος Σωστράτου Κριωεύς 10 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 107.1-3 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PA 13360

1216 ? Σώστρατος Λήμνιος p
Lem *IG* ii^2 1956.92 305-300 (ctx) Mil
?Ethnic from plural heading. 1 of 2 "Lemnians" (same name; see **1217**) in Attic list of mercenaries.

1217 ? Σώστρατος Λήμνιος p
Lem *IG* ii^2 1956.93 305-300 (ctx) Mil
?Ethnic from plural heading. 1 of 2 "Lemnians" (same name; see **1216**) in Attic list of mercenaries.

1218 D Σωτᾶς Βότρυος Δαιδαλίδης 7 c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.14 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys

Fa's *PAA* 267930 From Imb? From Athens? (Samothraike inscription).

1219 4 [Σω]τέ[λης? Θε]οκλείδο[υ] (Ἐρχιεύς 2) c
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #14.5 399-300 (ed: scr) Bur Rel
Ed's restoration at beginning of patc. JC: [Νε]οκ. equally or more defensible (13 Neok. vs. 9 Theok. in *PA*+). *Upsilon* at end of patc. restored here (rather than inferring a gentv. ending simply with *omicron*) by analogy with spelling of patc. of ?bro Νεομένης [Θ]εοκλείδου (**991**), Ll (note the same ambiguity about how the fa's name begins). Ed: ?Fa=*PA* 6925 Θουκλείδης Ἐρχ[...] *IG* ii^2 1690.4 (4C).

1220 ? Σωτέλης, pat.: see Σώπολις Σ. [Με]λ[ι]τε[ύς] 7 (**1204**)
Sal 399+

1221 E Σωτήριχος d
Sky *IG* xii(8) 667.3 450-400 (*IG*: pro) Ded
None in *PA*+. *IG* believes he is a slave. 3m, 5f Ded's.

1222 X Σω[τιὰ]ς Ἡρα[κλε]ῶτις n w
Sal *IG* ii^2 8797.1 001+ (*IG*) Bur
Epitaph from Sal.

1222A ? [Σώ]φιλος See [Δί]φιλος (Αἰξωνεύς 7) (**398**)
Sam 330-325

1223 L Σώφιλος, pat.: see Χαίριον Σ. Πειραιέως 8 θυγ. (**1388**)
Sal 299+ *PA* 13420

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1223A ? Τεισάμενος, pat.: see Νικόμαχος Τ. Μηκιστεύς (**1022A**)
Pot 399-200

1224 ? Τείσανδρος, pat.: see Φιλόστρατος Τ. Πειρα(ιεύς) 8 (**1335**) Sal 320 *PA* 13463

1225 D [- - -Τ]ελεσίδημος 'Αμι[ν]ίου 'Εκαλῆθεν P c
Lem *IG* ii² 1224.*abc*11 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Hip
PA 13523 Fa's *PAA* 123805 Fa's *PA* 716 Hipparch for Lem (2nd time).

1226 L Τελεσίππη Τελεσί[ππου] Κηφισιέω[ς] 1 c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 109.5f 199-100 (*IG*) Bur Rel
Family gravestone. ?Hus=either Χαροπίδης Φρύνων[ος] Μυρινούσιο[ς] (**1416**), L1, or his son 'Αριστογένης Χ. Μ. (**166**), L3f. ?Ancestor=Τελέσιππος Στράτωνος Κ. *SEG* 40.134 *peripolarchos* Hon at Rhamnous (c.350). Cf. Τελέσιππος of phyle Erechtheis *Agora* XVII.23.13 Bur (409).

1227 L Τελέσι[ππος], pat.: see Τελεσίππη Τ. Κηφισιέω[ς] 1 (**1226**) Imb 199-100

1228 X Τέχνων Φρύξ n
Sal *IG* ii² 10490.1f 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
Gentv. Verse epitaph of Phrygian, from Sal.

1229 L Τη⟨λ⟩έας 'Αριστ[ο]κράτου Χολαγεύς 5 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 53.1f 199+ (ctx; cf. *IG*: 199-167) Mov
PA 13557 Fa's *PAA* 171560 Fa's *PA* 1928 *Lambda* cut as *delta*, early eds say. Proposes Imbrian honorary decree, under Makedonian domination. Unique in *PA*+. ?Conn.=Hon Λυσανίας 'Αριστοκράτου Δε(ι)ραδιώτης (**875**), L3 and 11f.

1230 ? Τηλέμαχος, pat.: see Μειδίας Τ. Παλληνεύς 10 (**908**) Imb 399-300 *PA* 13564

1231 ? Τηλεφάνης Μεγαρεύς n
Sal *IG* ii² 3093.4 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Cul
Choregic monument on Sal, dated by Arx of Sal; flutist for chorus.

IG: =T. of Plut. *Mor.* 1138A(=*On Music* 21).

1232 L [Τηλ]εφάνης Οἰῆθεν 6 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1051.*cde*20 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
PA 13572 Accus. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens.

1232A ? Τηλοκλῆ[ς], pat.: see Σώστρα[τος] Τ. Εἰτεαῖος 5 or 10 (**1214**) Sam 375-325

1233 X Τιανός? d
Imb *IG* i^3 1507(=Peek, *GVI* 916=*IG* xii[8] 90).1 500-450 (Peek: scr; cf. *LSAG*: 1st decade 5C) Rel?
Attic [– – –]ΤΙΑΝΟ. Peek says the letters constitute a (gentv.) name; *LSAG* 307.60 accepts this. *IG* xii, Pfohl 178, *CEG* 79 deny it is a name; *IG* i^3 treats the letters as unrelated to a name, without comm. on this controversy at all.

1234 4 Τιμαίνετος Αἰγι(λιεύς) 10 c
Sam Michel 832.12 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 13598 Unique in *PA*+. Cf. Painter of Paus. 1.22.7.

1234A ? Τίμαιος Ἀριστίωνος Ἐπιδαύριος n
Sal *SEG* 40.224.1-3 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *SEG*: N.D.) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 166820 Found on Sal, *perirhanterion* base re-used as gravestone. Only dating clue is Ionic alphabet; no photo or description of letters in *ed. prin.*

1235 ? Τιμόδημος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*37 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. T. Ἀχαρνεύς (**1237**) associated with Lem (4C).

1236 ? Τιμόδημος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*40 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. T. Ἀχαρνεύς (**1237**) associated with Lem (4C).

1237 ? Τιμόδημος Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Lem *IG* ii^2 3207.29 365-321 (*PA*: ctx; cf. *IG*: 307/6) Mov
PA 13680 Proposes a crown (for the Athenian statesman Lykourgos, most eds agree) on behalf of "the *demos* in Lem"; another such crown on the same stele from "the *demos* in Samos" (see **453**) makes *IG*'s date impossibly late, unless as a date for re-inscribing the stele. Was his proposal made in Lem, or in Athens? — i.e., was he a settler or not? *AO*: ?=*AO* 3073 T. Κηφισοδότ[ου] Ἀ. *Agora* XV.54.5f *bouleutes* (c.321). Interestingly, Timodemos is not even mentioned in *AO* p.420's citation of *IG* ii^2 3207 ("taken as the bottom part of 457" — an inscription *IG* also dates to 307/6, with the Arx's name totally restored). Cf. T. Τιμονόου Ἀ. (**1238**) on Sal (5C). Cf. also 2 ?*mystai* named Timodemos (**1235, 1236**) on Imb (4/3C).

1238 E Τιμόδημος Τιμονόου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
Sal Pindar, *Nemean* 2.19 and Sch. 470-450 (ctx) Hon
PA 13681 Fa's *PA* 13801 Pankratist; Sch. says he was τῶν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα κατακληρουχησάντων Ἀθηναίων. Cf. T. Ἀ. (**1237**) associated with Lem (4C) and 2 ?*mystai* named Timodemos (**1235, 1236**)

on Imb (4/3C).

1239 D Τιμόθε[ος] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*10 001+ (JC: scr) Mys

1240 ? Τιμόθεος Ἀλωπε(κῆθεν) 10 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1672.274 329/8 (arx) Cul Eco Arx?
PA 13698 *AO* 3111 Brings 1st-fruits to Eleusis; no office indicated. *AO* says Arx of Sal; Whitehead says probably some other official, or a private person.

1241 ? Τιμόθεος Κόνωνος Ἀναφλύστιος 10 c
>1 Many sources: See *AO* 370-355 (ctx) Str
PA 13700 *APF* pp.509f *AO* 3112 Fa's *PAA* 581750 Fa's *PA* 8707 Associated with Sam, Chr, and Pot.

1242 D [Τ]ιμόκλεια Κτησιβίου Εἰμ[βρίου] p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 113.5 001+ (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Follows *IG*'s text, though earlier eds differ. Family gravestone; relationships not all clear. Apparently "Imbrian" wife of Athenian, but hus could be any of [Σ]καμάνδρι[ο]ς Σκαμανδρίου Στε[ιριεύς] (**1153**), L4 (probably most likely, by proximity); [Ν]εικάδης Σ. Σ. (**996**), L3; [Κ]λεοφῶν Ἐπιχάρου Σ. (**792**), L2; or [Ἐ]π. Κ. [Σ.] (**461**), L1.

1243 4 Τιμοκράτης Τιμοκράτους d
Sal *IG* ii² 12797.1f 399-300 (*IG*) Bur
Stele from Sal, apparently lost; *IG*'s text from copy. Cf. T. Τίμωνος (**1244**) Bur on Sal (4C?); Ὀνασὼ Τ. Σαλαμινία, Ἀναξήνορος Οἰναίου γυνή (**1064**) Bur (2C).

1244 ? Τιμοκράτης Τίμωνος d
Sal *IG* ii² 12798.1f 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
PA 13757b Fa's *PA* 13837a Stele from Sal, apparently lost; *IG*'s text from copy. Cf. T. Τιμοκράτους (**1243**) Bur on Sal (4C); Ὀνασὼ Τ. Σαλαμινία, Ἀναξήορος Οἰναίου γυνή (**1064**) Bur (2C).

1245 D Τιμοκράτης, pat.: see Ὀνασὼ Τ. Σαλαμινία, Ἀναξήνορος Οἰναίου 9 or P γυνή (**1064**) Sal 199-100

1246 D [Τι]μοκρίτη Ἤθωνος p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.24 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
2 in *PA*+; fa's name not in *PA*+. [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1247 E Τιμόνους, pat.: see Τιμόδημος Τ. Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**1238**) Sal 470-450 *PA* 13801

1248 ? Τιμοσθένης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*33 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1249 4 Τιμο[σθένης]? -[στρατος]? c
Sam *SEG* 18.201.2 352-329 (JC; cf. ed: 331/0 or 330/29) Arx
Delphic inscription. Gentv. in dating formula, if ending was preserved: Arx on Sam, synchronized with Attic Arx Ἀρισ[– – –] (I add the Arx of 352/1 to ed's 2 possibilities). Restorations (equally likely) by ed, Bousquet, *BCH* 83 (1959) 152-5, although autopsy

leads me to bracket the 1st *sigma*, which he underdots. ?Rels=*PA* 13824 Τιμόστρατος and family, with Samian conns. (2C); see Cargill, *GRBS* 328 n.18.

1250 4 Τιμοστράτη Κτησίου Παιανιέως 3 c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.4-6 399-300 (*PA*) Bur Rel
PA 13814 Fa's *PAA* 586755 Fa's *PA* 8847 Family gravestone; stemma at *PA* 15227=hus Χαιριγένης Ἀγασίου Ἰκαριεύς (**1387**), L1-3. Dtr=Χαίρυλλα Χ. Ἰ. (**1390**), L10-12; son-in-law=Ἀνδρόκριτος Διοδώρου Ἀφιδναῖος (**92**), L7-9; gson=Χαιριγ. Ἀ [Ἀ]φ. (**1386**), L13-15; later ?rel=[..]σικρος [– – –]ους (**1531**), L16f. Cf. Φοῖβος Κ. Π. *Agora* XV.378.23 (L2C); Ἀντιγένης Τιμοστράτου Π. *ib*.47(=*SEG* 36.219).11.

1251 4 Τιμό[στρατος]? See Τιμο[σθένης]? -[στρατος]? (**1249**)
Sam 352-329

1252 D [T]ειμώ d w
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 525.1 001++ (JC: scr) Ded Rel
Sets up monument for "her own son" Φίλανδρ[ος] (**1287**), same line. 4 women named Τιμώ in *PA*+ (none spelled as here).

1253 ? Τίμων, pat.: see Τιμοκράτης Τ. (**1244**)
Sal 399+ *PA* 13837a

1254 D [– – –]ίσων Τείμονος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 128.1 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
IG indicates exactly 5 missing letters in a non-*stoichedon* inscription; no apparent basis. Fa's name spelled only Τι- in *PA*+.

1255 D Τρύφη [....κ]λέους Σ[α]λ[αμ]ινία d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 10213.1 299-100 (*IG*: scr) Bur
Columella in Theseion.

1256 ? Τυχήσιππος, pat.: see Εὐφίλητος Τ. [Λα]κιάδης 6 (**557**)
Pot 429-350

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1257 D Φα[– – –] See Ζωσίμη Φλ. (Ζωσίμου Σκυρίου θυγ.?) (**579**) Sky 001++

1258 E ⟨Φ⟩άε(ι)νος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.15 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PA 13917 All in portion of stone now lost; follows text of *IG* i² 947. *Phi* reportedly cut as *omicron*, but see Bradeen & Lewis, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 242 and *IG* i³ comm. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1259 L Φαιδρία[ς] Ἀμαξαντεύς 8 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1224.*abc*28 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Amb
PA 13938 1 of 5 *presbeis* from LMy to Athens; colleagues **119, 319, 957, 1462**.

1260 ? Φαιδρίας [Π]αλλη[νεύ]ς 10 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.9 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
Decree of initiates. Cf. Φαιδρι[– – –] of phyle Antiochis *Agora* XVII.23.326 Bur (409).

1261 D Φαῖδρον Θέωνος γυνή d w
Sal *IG* ii² 12841.1-3 299+ (*IG*) Bur
Kyr's *PAA* 513510 Columella on Sal.

1262 E Φαιν[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.9 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1263 4 Φαινίππη d w
Sal *IG* ii² 12849/50.1(left) 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
PA 13971a Gravestone from Sal, with reliefs. ?Rels=Σμικυθίων (**1158**) and Κλεώ (**794**), same line.

1264 ? [Φ]αίνιππος d

Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*34 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. Φα [Κ]αλλιτέλους Ἀφιδνα[ῖος] (**1265**) Hon on Imb (4C).
1265 4 Φαίνιππος [Κ]αλλιτέλους Ἀφιδνα[ῖος] 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 46.2f, 6, 7 350-314 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: before 318) Hon Fa's *PAA* 562510 Fa's *PA* 8205+ Honored in klerouchic decree; has *prosodos* (residence assumed). *PA* knew patc. but not name, because of Conze's inadequate text, but associated him (see *PA* 8205a) with a sis, *PA* 14257 [Φί]λη Κα[λλιτέ]λου [Ἀφι]δνα[ίου θυ]γ., [Τ]ιμο[θέο]υ γυνή *IG* ii² 5772 Bur (4C). ?Conn.=Mov [Ἀν]τικλῆς Φανοκλέου[– – –] (**104**), L2. Cf. [Φ]αίνιππος (**1264**) on Imb (4-3C).
1266 4 Φαινιππος Κήττι(ος) 4 c
Sam Michel 832.10 346/5 (arx) Epi Pro
PA 13982 Aleshire's underdot.
1267 E Φαινο[– – –] d
Chr *IG* i³ 417.2 450-445 (*IG*: ctx) DK
Fragmentary inscription mentioning Chr has dating formula(?) ἐπὶ Φ. *IG* doubts that the letters come from a name. Even if they do, the name is probably Attic, not from Chr.
1268 L Φανίας, pat.: see Ἀριστώνυμος Φ. Ἐλευσίνιος 8 (**212**)
Sal 106/5 *PA* 14018
1269 4 Φανοκλῆς, pat.: see [Ἀν]τικλῆς Φ. [– – –] (**104**)
Imb 350-314 *PA* 14044a
1270 ? Φᾶνος? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*35 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
IG's *apparatus* suggests alternative reading: Ὄλβιος? 5 of each name in *PA*+.
1271 ? Φάυλλος Α[– – – Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952.*b*39 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PA 14124 Fa's *PAA* 100595 Demotic from restored plural heading. *Agora*: Descendant=Φαίδων Φ[αύλ]λου Ἀ. *Agora* XV.68.17 (c.290-280).
1272 L Φαιδαντίδης c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #16.1 099-001 (ed: scr) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula in cultic proclamation. 1 in *PA*+.
1273 4 Φειδιάδης Αἰθαλί(δης) 4 c
Sam Michel 832.43 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 14147 Cf. Φ. Θάλητος D.L. 3.3 apparent Athenian settler on Aigina (5C), in whose house the philosopher Platon is said to have been born; see Figueira, *A&A* 57-59.
1274 ? [Φ]ειδύλος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*28 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*. None spelled thus in *PA*+ (4 with -λλ-).
1275 ? Φείδων, pat.: see Ἀμεινίας Φ. Αἰξωνεύς 7 (**65**)
LHe 425-375

1276 4 Φείδων, pat.: see Εὐθυκράτης Φ. Ἐρχιεύς 2 (**504**)
Sal 375-325

1277 ? Φείδων Θρι(άσιος) 6 c
Lem *SEG* 30.114 350-325 (Kroll) Hip
PA 14178 *AO* 2346 Accus. *PA* did not know demotic. Hipparch for Lem: name on 26 clay tokens; see Kroll & Mitchel, *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 89-91, pll.13d and 14. Also phylarch: see Athen. 9.402.

1278 D [Name lost] Φερεκλείδο[υ] (γυνή?) d w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 119.1 299+ (JC: scr) Bur Rel?
Gravestone: Reliefs seem to indicate seated fem. figure is Bur, but only name extant is in gentv. and associated with standing male figure, apparently her hus (or fa?). *IG*: Cf. *PA* 14186-7 (only 2 named Pherekleides in *PA*+).

1279 E Φι[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.12 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1280 ? Φι[– – –]?, pat.?: see Φιλόνεως Φ. (**1323**)
LHe 325-275

1281 ? Φι[– – –? patc. lost? Χολ]αργεύς 5 c
LMy? *IG* ii² 550.16f 314/3-307/6 (com) DK
Accus. In demotic, autopsy supports *IG*'s bracketed *lambda* over the underdotted letter of Maier, *Mauerb.* #54. *IG* ii² does not treat Φι as part of a name; *IG* xii(8) p.4 capitalizes *phi*, but seems to see the letters as part of a toponym; unknown line length makes certainty impossible. This person is specifically connected with Byzantion, although the inscription mostly concerns Athenian relations with LMy, so a possible conn. with LMy is inferred also.

1282 4 Φιλ[..]τα[– – –] Λε[– – –]? p w
Sal *IG* ii² 7107.4f 399-300 (*IG*) Bur Rel
Placement of this fragmentary name on the stone, and the fact that its 2nd element (L5) does not match either the name or patc. of [Ἀ]μεινοκλῆς Λυσ[– – –]ου Παλληνεύς (**71**), L1-3, seem to imply that this is the name of the wf, not the son or bro, of Ameinokles; therefore the "w" code. Λε- begins L5, so it probably begins her patc. (note possible fa's name: Λέων, cf. **852-855**).

1283 D (Αὐρ.) Φίλα d w
LHe? Millet, *BCH* 29 (1905) p.57, L2 001+++ (ed: ctx) Rel
Gentv. Hus=Εὐφρόσυνος Ἡφαιστιαῖος? (**563**), L1. Called [ἡ σύμβιος] μοῦ in Christian epitaph from Mt. Athos; DK whether hus's ?ethnic refers to LHe on *Lem.*

1284 D [Name lost Φιλ]αδέλφ[ο]υ Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii² 10214.1 001+ (*IG*) Bur

Frag. of stele in Verona (*CIG* 763).
1285 D Φιλαθηναῖος, pat.: see Ἐπίκτητος Φ. (**452**)
Sal 001++
1286 ? Φιλαιγίδης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*36 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
1 in *PA*+.
1287 D Φίλανδρ[ος] d
Sky *IG* xii Supp. 525.1 001++ (JC: scr) Bur Rel
Datv. with restored *iota* subscript. None in *PA*+. Monument set up for her son by mo [Τ]ειμώ (**1252**), same line.
1288 D Φιλαρχίδης (Φιλαρχίδου?) Παιανιεύς 3 c
Lem? *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*10 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Str
PA 14227 Gentv. Patc. from *PA*. Str for Lem, but inscription mostly relates specifically to LMy. *PA* cites as a 2nd source for the same person a list of *epimeletai* that includes Φ. Φ. Π. *IG* ii^2 1939.24 (130-120). *IG* says he is fa of the *epimeletes*.
1289 ? Φιλέας Διοκλέους Ἐλαιούσιος 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.17 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 14237 *APF* p.157 Fa's *PA* 4021 *APF*: Διο[κ]λ[ῆ]ς [Δ]ι. Ἐ[λαι]ού[σιος] *IG* ii^2 1624.63f trierarch (330s), treated as Phileas' fa at *PA* 4021, could also be his bro. Cf. Sundwall p.156 Σωσίστρατος Φ. Ἀθηναῖος *IG* ix(2) 3.8 *proxenos* of Ainos (after 323). See *Agora* XV for very late possible descendants named Diokles.
1290 ? Φίλεια d w
Sal *SEG* 37.176.1(right) 480-300 (*SEG*: ctx) Bur Rel
Found in "Classical cemetery" on Sal. ?Hus=Βρυσωνίδης (**270**), same line (left).
1291 X [Φ]ιλήμων [Φι]λήμωνος Ἁλικαρνασεύς n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 133+Supp.1-4 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
1292 4 Φιλιάδης Πρ[ασιεύς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.5f 360-300 (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Pro
PA 14298 1 of 2 *symproedroi* (other name lost, **1547**) with Epi Pro (**1000**). Unique in *PA*+.
1293 E Φιλινίδης, pat.: see Μνησαρέτη Φ. ἐγ Μυρίνης (**953**)
LMy 450-425
1294 ? Φιλῖνος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*42 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Cf. [– – –]ας Φ. [Λαμπτρ]εὺς Καθυπέρ(τερος) (**1295**) klerouch to Unc Loc (M4C).
1295 4 [-c.5-]ας Φιλίνο(υ) [Λαμπτρ]εὺς Καθυπέρ(τερος) 1 c
Unc *IG* ii^2 1952.*a*11 375-325 (*IG*) DK
PA 14329 *APF* p.536 Letter count from autopsy, demotic from restored plural heading. *IG*, *PA*, Sundwall, *APF*: Fa=Φ. Λ. *IG* ii^2

1609.91 trierarch (370/69). *APF*: ?Bro=Φιλοκράτης Φ. Λ. Πάραλος *Agora* XV.14.37 *bouleutes* (367/6), depending on possibilities in split demes. Cf. Philinos (**1294**) on Imb (4-3C). LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

1296 L Φιλῖνος Διοφάντου Πειραιεύς 8, γόνωι δὲ Ἀριστομένου c
Sal *IG* ii² 7194.1-3 299+ (*IG*) Bur
PA 14337 Fa's *PAA* 173320 Adoptive fa's *PA* 4437 Columella from Sal, later on Aigina. Cf. Ἐπικράτης Δ. Π. (**449**) Kt on Sal (320). Cf. *PA* 14336 Φ. Π. and his sons Ἱέρων and Λύσιππος. See also *AskAth* p.236 A5(=*PA* 7798) Καλλιάδης Φ. Π. and p.237 A10(=*PA* 9482) Λυσιμαχίδης Φ. Π. both *IG* ii² 1252.5f Cul Hon's (c.350-300).

1297 ? Φίλιπ[πος] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.16 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. Cf. Φιλόνεως Φι[– – –]? (**1323**) Amb from LHe (4-3C); Φι[– – –? Χολ]αργεύς (**1280**) associated with LMy (L4C).

1298 ? Φίλιππος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*29 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1299 ? [Φί]λιππος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*41 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1300 D Φίλιππος [Χα]ριδήμ[ου demotic lost?] p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 70.1 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Pri
Gentv. in dating formula. *IG* infers there was a demotic, perhaps from spacing: DK. Eponymous Pri, apparently of Hermes.

1301 4 Φίλιππος Θορί(κιος) 5 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.3 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro

1302 L Φί[λιππ]ος, pat.: see Ἀπα[τ]ούριος Φ. Μ[αρα]θ[ώ]ν[ι]ος 9 (**119**) LMy 166-134 *PA* 14404

1303 4 Φιλίσκος Λύκου Σ[ήστ]ιο[ς]? n
Chr? *IG* ii² 133.2f, [9], 20f, 23 354 (*IG*) Hon
Fa's *PAA* 611250 Datv. Arx restored, although name of secretary is clear. Made *proxenos* and *euergetes* (thus clearly not an Athenian citizen) for something involving the Byzantine fleet. Athenian *limenophrouros* in the Hellespont, *archontes* in the Hellespont, and *strategoi* are to protect him.

1304 L Φιλιστίδης Θεοφίλου Προβαλίδιος P c
Sal *IG* ii² 7299.5f 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur Rel
Family gravestone from Sal. Fa=Θ. Φ. Π. (**675**), L1f; mo=Διόκλεια Ἀρχεβίου Σκαμβωνίδου θυγ. (**354**). *Agora*: Cf. *AO* 2961 Θ. Π. *Agora* XV.42.166 *bouleutes* (336/5?), fa of [Φιλισ]τίδης Θ. [Προ]β. *ib.* 61.236 *bouleutes* (304/3).

1305 D Φιλιστὼ Μυριναία d w
LMy? Konstantinopoulos, *AD* 18 (1963) A.23 #41.1f 210-190 (ed: scr) Bur

Epitaph found on Rhodos. Myrina here not necessarily LMy on Lem.

1306 ? Φιλλινώ p w
Pot Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974) #8.1 429-356 (ed) Bur
Gravestone among several with demotics. Name unique; Robert, *BÉ* (1976) 458 miscopies as Φιλιννώ, but ed's photo is clear. *PA*+ has 1 Φιλινώ and only 1 name that begins with Φιλλ- (but see **1307**).

1307 L Φίλλις Φιλινίδου Λαμπτρεύς 1 c
Sal *SEG* 21.885.1f 299-200 (*SEG*) Bur
Epitaph found on Sal. None in *PA*+, which has only 1 name that begins with Φιλλ- (but see **1306**).

1308 ? [Φιλοκλ]⟨ῆ⟩ς? (Φορμίωνος?) Ἐροιάδης 8 or 10 c
Sam *IG* ii² 1628.110 (+ Dein. 3 *passim* and Dem. *Letter* 3.31?) 326/5 (arx) Str
PA 14541? *APF* p.540 *AO* 3507 Datv.; *APF* emends stone's -ωι ending to -⟨η⟩ι, then restores name from literary sources. Patc. from Leonardos, *AE* (1918) 76 #97.8-10 Φ. Φ. Ἐ. *kosmetes* on ephebic list (324/3). Str for Sam, connected with Harpalos if *APF*'s ID is correct. *AO* p.400 denies it and prints Str's name as [...6...]ος, same as *PA*'s deme list entry. *SEG* 39.186 cites Worthington denying that the *kosmetes* is either Philokles of Dein. 3 or *PA* 14541 Φι. Ἐ. *IG* ii² 1631.444 trierarch; see also *SEG* 37.233 for additional biblio.

1309 L Φιλοκλῆς Πειραι[ε]ύς 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1227.38 131 (arx) Trs
PA 14556 Accus. Is to provide money authorized by *demos* of Sal for inscribing decree. Cf. *PA* 14555 Φ. Π. at D.L. 7.12 (3C). Cf. Φιλόφων Φ. Π. (**1343**) on Imb (4-3C) and the homonymous surety at *Agora* XIX.L6.100f (434/2).

1310 ? Φιλοκλῆς, pat.: see Φιλόφρων Φ. Πειραεύς 8 (**1343**) Imb 325-200

1311 L [Φ]ιλοκλῆς Ἡνιόχου Ποτάμιος 4 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1008.75 118/7 (arx) Mov
PA 14557 Fa's *PAA* 483785 Fa's *PA* 6432 Introduces Salaminian decree appended to Athenian decree honoring ephebes. *PA* does not indicate any conn. with Sal.

1312 4 Φιλοκλῆς Φρεάρ(ριος) 4 c
Sam Michel 832.3 346/5 (arx) Trs
PA 14565 *Agora, AO*: ?=*AO* 2424 Φ. Φρ. *Agora* XV.42.216 *bouleutes* (c.336/5); see *AO* pp.364f for some problems with the date. Cf. Φ. of phyle Leontis at Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) 46 #8.63 Bur (413/2).

1313 D Φιλοκράτης d
Sal *IG* ii² 12957.1 001++ (*IG*) Bur
Epitaph from Sal; full text is Φ. ἥρως.

1314 ? [Name lost] Φιλο[κρά]του (θυγ.?) p w
Sal *IG* ii^2 6354.1 399+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur Rel
Epitaph from Sal. Text from copy; only dating clue is Ionic alphabet. Only assumed to be a woman because Bur with ?hus [– – –]υκράτης Θεαγ⟨έ⟩νου [Κεφ?]αλῆθεν or ['Εκ?]αλῆθεν (**630**), L2f. On the possibility that she married a man of her fa's deme, cf. *PA* 14611 Philokrates of Kephale *IG* ii^2 665.57ii ephebe (283/2) and *PA* 14608 Ph. of Hekale *IG* ii^2 1534.259 Cul (232/1).

1315 4 Φιλοκράτης, pat.: see Σμίκυθος Φ. 'Αχαρνεύς 6 (**1162**)
Sal 399-300

1316 D Φιλοκράτης, pat.: see Εἰσίδωρος Φ. 'Οῆθεν 6 or P (**710**)
Unc 001++

1317 D Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκράτους 'Οῆθεν 6 or P c
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.7f 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys
From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription). JC: ?=Φ. [Φ.] 'Ο. *Agora* XV.352.14(=*IG* ii^2 2069.32) ephebe (2C CE). Bro=Εἰσίδωρος Φ. 'Ο.. (**710**), same lines (phrasing is Φ. ὁ καὶ Εἰ. Φ. 'Ο.).

1318 ? Φολικτήμων, pat.: see N[έαν]δρος Φ. Κολων[εύς] 2 or 4 or 10 (**984**) LHe 425-375

1319 X Φιλομάθης Εὐχαρίστου Τενέδιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 140.1-3 099+ (JC: scr) Bur Rel
Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has *omicron* for name's *theta*. None in *PA*+. ?Son (or former slave?)="Εφεσος Φ. (Τ.?) (**568**), L4f.

1320 4 Φιλόμηλος c
Sal *IG* ii^2 3093.5 399-375 (*IG*: scr) Arx
AO 2445 Nomtv. dating formula: Φ. ἦρξε. Arx of Sal (not a 4C Attic Arx) on choregic monument found on Sal.

1321 ? [Φιλ]όμηλος Φιλομήλ[ο(υ) 'Αχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*31 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PA 14663 Demotic from restored plural heading. Cf. *PA* 14657 Φιλομηλίδης 'Α. *IG* ii^2 7119 Bur (L5C) and conns.

1322 X [Φι]λόμηλος [Δ]αμᾶ [Μι]λήσιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 135.1-3 001+ (JC: scr) Bur
IG's text has erroneous [Μι]ιλ at beginning of ethnic; maj. clarifies.

1323 ? Φιλόνεως Φι[– – –? demotic lost?] c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1222.14 325-275 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: after 307/6) Amb
Accus. Φι[– – –]=patc.? demotic? (if so, only possible deme is Philaidai 2). Cf. Φ. Φιλοξένο(υ) Κηφισιεύς *IG* ii^2 6444 Bur (4C). Cf. Φ. Φιλοσ[– – –] Περγασε[ὺς καθυπ.] *SEG* 39.184ii.6 ephebe (333/2).

1324 E Φιλόχσενος of phyle Aigeis 2 c
LMy *IG* i^3 1164.11 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PA 14698 Attic: *PA* regularizes to -ξεν-. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle. Cf. Philoxenos (no demotic) Sundwall p.166 Mov (5C).

1325 ? Φιλόξενος, pat.: see Χαρίδημος Φ. Ἀχαρνεύς 6 (**1407**) >1? 364-333

1326 X Φιλόξενος, pat.: see [Ν]αοσίνικος Φ. Σήστιος (**981**) Chr 324-322

1327 ? Φιλο[στέ]φ[αν]ο[ς] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.17 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs. None in *PA*+.

1328 4 Φιλόστρατος p
Sam Michel 832.35 346/5 (arx) Mag Cul
Listed (ἀνέγραψε) treasures; DK exact capacity. Samian? ?=Φ. ἐξ Οἴ(ου) (**1334**), L6 and 59, or Φ. Κηφι(σιεύς) (**1331**), L10.

1329 D Φιλόστρατο[ς] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 87.*b*3 001+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys?
Follows *IG*'s text; maj. has *lambda* for its *alpha*.

1329A L (Λ. Φλ.) Φιλόστρατος c
LHe *IG* xii(8) 27.2f 001+++ (*IG*) Pri Ded
Eponymous Pri of Hephaistos (*IG*: =Φ. of *Souda*); honors neph (Π. Αἴλιος) Ἐργοχάρης (Μητροφάνους) Προσπάλτιος (**465**), L6f, son of (Π. Α.) Μ. Π. (**941**), L5f.

1330 ? Φιλόστ[ρα]τος Θάλλο(υ) Θοραιεύς 10 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 68.1f 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded
PA 14728 Fa's *PAA* 500815 Fa's *PA* 6579 Makes dedication to Hermes.

1331 4 Φιλόστρατος Κηφι(σιεύς) 1 c
Sam Michel 832.10 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 14731 ?=Φ. (**1328**), L35. *PA*: Son=*PA* 14732 Φ. [Φ]ι. Κ. *IG* ii^2 498.9f Mov (303/2). Habicht nts.: Cf. [– – –Κηφ]ισιεύς *IG* ii^2 341.1 [Mov?] (333/2?) — but *IG*'s text says *vacat* immediately above this line, and allots exactly 3 letter spaces for the name, in a *stoichedon* inscription, so something is amiss (JC).

1332 ? Φιλόστρατος Ξυπεταιών 7 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.8 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Pro Cul
Decree of initiates. Cf. Γλαῦκος Φ[ι]λ. Ξ. (**276**) at LHe (5-4C).

1333 ? Φ[ι]λόστρατος, pat.: see Γλαῦκος Φ[ι]λ. Ξυπεταιών 7 (**276**) LHe 425-375

1334 4 Φιλόστρατος ἐξ Οἴ(ου) 4 c
Sam Michel 832.6, 59 347/6 (arx) Trs
PA 14739 Gentv., then nomtv. ?=Φ. (**1328**), L35. Sundwall p.167: Rel=Φ. ἐξ Οἴου *Agora* XV.125.9 (3C).

1335 ? Φιλόστρατος Τεισάνδρου Πειρα(ιεύς) 8 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.11 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 14743 Fa's *PA* 13463

[**1336** Deleted from revised sequence.]

1337 D (Κορνηλία) Φιλότροφον ἐξ Ἀζηνιέων 8 c w
Unc *IG* xii(8) 216.13 001++ (*IG*: 160-180 CE) Mys
From Imb? Athens? (Samothraike inscription).

1338 D Φιλουμέν[η?], mat.? See [Α]ὐφιδία Φ. (**253**) w
Imb 199+

1339 ? Φιλο(υ)μένη Ἑρμ{ν}ησιάνακτος p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 115.1 499-300 (*IG*) Bur
Only source is Cyriacus of Ancona's copy, which (presumably erroneously) inserts an unneeded *nu*; Bodnar and Mitchell (1976) p.35 #3 erroneously treat as "unpub.", misleading both *SEG* 26.1026 and Robert, *BÉ* (1977) 8. None of fa's name in *PA*+.

1340 D Φιλούμεν[ος?], pat.? See [Α]ὐφιδία Φ. (**253**)
Imb 199+

1341 4 Φιλουσία d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 12987.1 399-375 (*IG*) Bur
Epitaph from Sal, in Peiraieus Mus. None in *PA*+.

1342 D Φιλόφρω[ν] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 118.2 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
Maj. indicates that L2 was inscribed much later than L1. ?Rel= [Δι]όδωρο[ς] (**344**), L1. Cf. Φ. Φιλ[- - -] *SEG* 37.92 Mov (185/4). Cf. Δ. Φ. Πειραεύς (**353**) and his fa Φ. Φιλοκλέου(ς) Π. (**1343**) both Bur on Imb (4-3C).

1343 ? Φιλόφρων Φιλοκλέου(ς) Πειραεύς 8 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 110.3f 325-200 (JC: pro) Bur Rel
Only source is Cyriacus of Ancona's copy; Bodnar and Mitchell (1976) p.35 #2 erroneously treat as "unpub.", misleading both *SEG* 26.1025 and Robert, *BÉ* (1977) 8. Son=Διόδωρος Θ. Π. (**353**), L1. Cf. combination of names Philophron (**1342**) and Diodoros (**344**) on gravestone from Imb. Cf. Φιλοκλῆς Πειραι[ε]ύς (**1309**) on Sal (L2C) and his Attic homonym *PA* 14555; also *PA* 3955 Δ. Π.

1344 D Φιλοφῶν d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*44 299+ (*IG*) Mys?
IG: Name added to list late. None in *PA*+.

1345 4 Φίλτων Λαμπ(τρεύς) 1 c
Sam Michel 832.2 346/5 (arx) Trs
PA 14790

1346 ? Φίλων c
Imb Dem. 18.[115] 352-330 (pro) Mag Eco
Gentv. Bracketed section rejected by eds: Name not in *PA*, *APF*, or *AO*. Said to have been chosen to take money to soldiers on Imb, working with hoplite Str Ναυσικλῆς (Κλεάρχου Ὀῆθεν) (**977**). Cf. homonyms associated with Imb (**1347, 1348**, and the patc. **1352**).

1347 ? Φίλων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*5 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
List of 11+ names, no heading extant.
1348 ? Φί[λω]ν d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*32 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
1349 L Φίλων, pat.: see Καλλισθένης Φ. Μαραθώνιος 9 (**745**)
LHe 001+
1350 ? Φίλων Σαλαμίνιος? d
Sal? *IG* ii^2 12579/81(=i^2 1050).1f 399-375 (*IG* ii^2: scr; cf. *IG* i^2: pre-4C) Bur
Order of text (in Peiraieus Mus.) is actually Σαλαμίνιος | Φίλων. Inscription is only relevant here if *Salaminios* is an "ethnic", not a name. *IG* ii^2 treats it as a name; *IG* i^2 treats it as an ethnic, but says the reference is to *Kyprian* Sal (no argument, no apparent reason). Cf. Φ. Παρνάσου Σ. (**1351**).
1351 D Φίλων Παρνάσου Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal *IG* ii^2 10215.1-3 099+ (*IG*) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 767450 Columella in Athens. Cf. Φ. Σ.? (**1350**).
1352 4 Φίλων, pat.: see Χάρης Φ. Σφήττιος 5 (**1396**)
Imb 399-300 *PA* 14875
1353 X Φίλων Δημοκράτους Φυγελεύς n
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #15.1-3 299-200 (ed: scr) Bur
1354 L Φίλωνίδης 'Αραφή[νιος] 2 c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1223.23 166+ (*IG*; eds range 229-146) Amb
PA 14891 1 of 5 sent to Athens to announce klerouchs' honorary decree. *AskAth*: Rel=Φ. Παρμενίωνος 'Α. Mov of Cultic decree (L2C); see discussion, sources, and further rels at p.200.
1355 L Φιλωνίδης, pat.: see Φίλλις Φ. Λαμπτρεύς 1 (**1307**)
Sal 299-200
1356 ? Φιλωτάδης, pat.: see Δίφιλος Φ. [Λ]αμπτρεύς 1 (**399**)
Sal 320 *PA* 14925
1357 L Φλαουία Ṇείκωνος Κήδ[ωνος 1?] p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 81+Supp.1 001+ (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Ded Pri
Name=Roman Flavia. 2nd-time priestess makes dedication to Is[is and Sarapis?] (Supp. restoration).
1358 X Φλά(ουιος) n
LHe *IG* xii(8) 42.1 001++ (JC: pro; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
Datv. with *iota* subscript restored; ligatures. Wf=Ναυτική Πεντε[---] (**982**), L1. He (=Roman Flavius) is called τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἑαυτῆς Φ.
1359 D [---]κιος Φοῖβο[ς---] d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.6 199+ (ed: pro) DK
Ed restores [Λεύ?] (of which *PA*+ has 6), but [Λού]=Roman Lucius seems equally likely, since there are other Roman names in this name list (m & f) of unknown purpose. Alphabetized here by the

clearly Greek element. No Φ. in *PA*+, but 5 appear in *Agora* XV, all 2C or later.

1360 E Φόλλος of phyle Aiantis 9 c
LMy *IG* i³ 1164.19 450-400 (JC: com; *IG* eds differ) Bur?
PA 14941 Name in part of inscription now lost. Unique in *PA*+. List in Athens of Lemnians from LMy, by phyle.

1361 ? (Φορμίων?), pat.?: see [Φιλοκλ]⟨ῆ⟩ς? (Φ.?) Ἐροιάδης 8 or 10 (**1308**) Sam 326/5

1362 4 Φόρυς Μελι(τεύς) 7 c
Sam Michel 832.11 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 14964 *APF* p.557 *PA*, *APF*: =Φ. Μ. *IG* ii² 1616.75 in trierarchic symmory (M4C). No others in *PA*+ or *Agora* XV and XVII, but see *SEG* 15.22.4 [– – –]ΦΟΡΥΣ[– – –] financial official (403-377). That name may be incomplete, however: *AO* p.226 offers Φ., Φορυσ[κίδης], and Φορύσ[κος] as possible names there (in *AO*'s Index, the *sigmas* are accidentally omitted from the 2 longer names, *AO* 2507a and b). *SEG* 39.282 has a new example of Phoryskos, as patc.; *SEG* 40.125 restores another in *Agora* XIX.L8.11.

1362A ? Φρυνίων, pat.: see Νικοκράτης Φ. Ἀνκυλῆθεν 2 (**1018A**) Sal 399+

1363 E Φρύνων c
Chr? Strabo 13.599f 625-575 (ctx) Mag Oth
PA 15029 Olympic victor, *oikistes* at Sigeion, which would be irrelevant for this Appendix, except that *ATL* III.289 n.75 emends [Skymnos] 707f Φορβοων and says that Phrynon also founded Elaious in Chr. Graham, *CMC*² 33 n.5 questions this interpretation.

1364 L Φρύνων, pat.: see Χαροπίδης Φ. Μυρινούσιο[ς] 3 (**1416**) Imb 199-100

1365 L Φύσκων, pat.: see Πολύζηλος Π. Χολλείδης 4 (**1101**) Sal 199-100

1366 ? Φωκίων d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*34 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?

1367 ? Φώκυλος, pat.: see Κλειδίκη Φ. (**780**)
Sam 450+

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1368 4 X[---], pat.: see Με[ν]έστρατος X[---] (**929**)
Imb 314-307

1369 ? Χ̣[-c.4-5-], pat.: see Δημητρία Χ̣[---] Σαλαμ[ινία] (**310**)
Sal 325-300

1370 4 Χαιρ[--- demotic lost?] p
LHe *SLC* 110(=*IG* xii[8] 20)."6"(really 5) 325-300 (*SLC*) Eco
"L1" is blank. Leader of *eranistai* creditors on *horos*. ?Son=Κωμέας Χαιρέους Λαμτρεύς (**831**) Hip for Lem (E3C). Cf. Ἡφαιστία Χαιρεδήμου Ἀχερδουσίου *IG* ii² 7189 Bur (M4C).

1371 D [---]στράτη [X]αι[ρ---]? d w
Sky *IG* xii(8) 672.1 299+ (JC: scr) Bur
Follows *IG*'s text in capitalizing 2nd element, i.e., treating it as a patc. But it could also be just the customary funereal farewell, [χ]αῖ[ρε]. For her name, ed, Lebègue, *RA* 35 (1873) 176 suggests [Μενε]στράτη.

1372 D Χαιρέας, pat.: see Κωμέας X. Λαμπτρεύς 1 or P (**831**)
LHe 280-275

1373 X Χαιρέας Ζωίλ[ου] Μειλήσιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 137.1f 099+ (*IG*) Bur
IG cites ed Nikephoros for date.

1374 4 Χαιρέδημος Νεοκλέους Γαργήττιος 2 or P c
Sam D.L. 10.3 340-300 (pro) Rel
PA 15121 Fa's *PA* 10640 Fa=N. (Γ.) (**988**). Mo=Χαιρεστράτη (**1379**). Bros=Philosopher Ἐπίκουρος N. Γ. (**446**); Ἀριστόβουλος (**160**); Νεοκλῆς (**989**).

1375 L Χαιρέδημος Ἐπιχαρίνου Κολωνῆθεν 4 or P c
Sal *IG* ii² 1225.1 253/2 (*IG*) Mov
PA 15126 Fa's *PAA* 399785 Fa's *PA* 5015 Introduces klerouchic decree honoring Attic Str Ἡράκλειτος Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀθμονεύς (**609**), L1f and 23. *PA*: Cf. *PA* 5016=*AO* 1024 Ἐ. Εὐθυκράτο[υ] K. *IG* ii² 1750.67f *bouleutes* of Antiochis (334/3). If in fact this *is* a rel, the phyle of Chairedemos is definitely P, not 4 (Kolonai of Antiochis was shifted in 307).

1376 D [X]αιρεστράτη Ἡγίου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.5 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
IG's maj. indicates space between *sigma* and *tau*. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

1377 D [X]αιρεστράτη Καλλιάδου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.6 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
?Fa=K. (**722**) Pri on Imb (199+). Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

1378 D [X]αιρεχτράτη Σωδάμου p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.4 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
1 of fa's name in *PA*+ (4C), but see **1188**. Gives Δ (=10 drx?).

1379 4 Χαιρεστράτη Νεοκλέους Γαργηττίου 2 γυνή c w
Sam D.L. 10.1 360-300 (pro) Rel
PA 15142 Kyr's *PA* 10640 Hus=N. (Γ.) (**988**). Sons=Philosopher Ἐπίκουρος N. Γ. (**446**); Ἀριστόβουλος (**160**); Νεοκλῆς (**989**); Χαιρέδημος (**1374**).

1380 4 Χαιρεστράτη Ἀριστάνδρου Προβαλισίου 3 c w
Sal *IG* ii² 6355.1-3 350-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Fa's *PAA* 163970 Family gravestone from Sal. Hus=Θεαίνετος Λυσιμένους Κεφαλῆθεν (**631**), L1. Sons=Λ. Θ. Κ. (**890**), L3; Ἑρμιάδης Θ. Κ. (**468**); Νικόστρατος Θ. Κ. (**1029**), L4f.

1381 D Χαιρέστρατος Χαιρεστράτου? Δειραδιώτης 4? p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*15(f?) 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Nikephoros' reading of patc.; cf. Kiepert's Χαιρίππου. Nikephoros seems to treat Δειραδιώτης as a *name* (none in *PA*+) with a missing patc., but it is treated here as a demotic. Although no other demotics are extant, or required by spacing, in this very fragmentary text (thus my "?" and Athenian-ness code "p", not "c"), the ethnic [T]ενέδιοι does appear (L*a*6).

1382 4 Χα[ι]ρεφάνης Ἁλαι(εύς) 2 c
Sam Michel 832.10f 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 15178 Aleshire's underdotting.

1383 L Χαιρέφιλος, pat.: see Μενεκράτης X. ἐκ Κηδῶν 1 (**922**)
LHe 099-001

1384 4 [....8....]ς Χαιρεφῶντος Γαργήττ[ιος] 2 c
LMy *IG* xii(8) 3.1f 399-350 (*IG*: scr) Mov
PA 15195 Proposes *proxenia* for Πέρκων Χενοφ[---] (**1095**), L2 and 9. *PA*: Rels=*PA* 15196 X. Γ. *IG* ii² 5946 (2C) and his family.

1385 L [Name lost Χαι?]ρίου Λαμπ[τρεύς] 1 c
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #9.1f 199-100 (ed) Mov?
Apparently introduces decree of *demos* of Hephaistians, but ed's restoration is guesswork (DK line length). Cf. *PA* 15213-4 both named Chairias of phyle Erechtheis *IG* i² 929 Bur (459/8).

1386 4 Χαιριγένης Ἀνδροκρίτου [Ἀ]φιδναῖος 9 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.13-15 399-300 (*PA*) Bur Rel
PA 15226 Fa's *PAA* 128375 Fa's *PA* 875 Family gravestone; see entry for gfa (**1387**), L1-3, for full details.

1387 4 Χαιριγένης Ἀγασίου Ἰκαριεύς 2 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.1-3 399-300 (*PA*) Bur Rel
PA 15227 Fa's *PAA* 105930 Fa's *PA* 97 Family gravestone; *PA*'s stemma here. Wf=Τιμοστράτη Κτησίου Παιανιέως (**1250**), L4-6; son-in-law=Ἀνδρόκριτος Διοδώρου Ἀφιδναῖος (**92**), L7-9; dtr=Χαίρυλλα Χ. Ἰ. (**1390**), L10-12; gson=Χ. Ἀνδ. [Ἀ]φ. (**1386**), L13-15; later ?rel=[..]σικρος [– – –]ους (**1531**), L16f. *IG*: Fa=*PA* 95 Agasias *IG* ii^2 330.32 Mov (336/5), but *AO* 35 and p.364 suggests problems with that ID.

1388 L Χαίριον Σωφίλου Πειραιέως 8 θυγ. c w
Sal *IG* ii^2 7200.1-4 299+ (*IG*) Bur
PA 15236 Fa's *PA* 13420 Columella on Sal. *IG*, *PA*: Cf. *PA* 13365 Σώστρατος Σ. Π. *IG* ii^2 7188 Bur (4C). Cf. 4 named Sophilos Peiraieus (different patcs.) in *Agora* XV, 1 of whom is probably the fa of *PA* 13365. See also Sophilos [of phyle Hippothontis] *Agora* XVII.23.276 Bur (409).

1389 D Χαίριππος? (pat.) See Χαιρέστρατος Χαιρεστράτου? Δειραδιώτης 4? (**1381**) Imb 001+

1390 4 Χαίρυλλα Χαιριγένου Ἰκαριέως 2 c w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.10-12 399-300 (*PA*) Bur Rel
PA 15273 Fa's *PA* 15227 Family gravestone; see entry for fa (**1387**), L1-3, for full details.

1391 4 Χαίρων Κικυν(νεύς) 5 c
Sam Michel 832.62 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 15277

1392 ? Χαραμαντίδης Σωκλέου Εὐωνυμε(ύς) 1 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1955.9 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
PA 15284 Fa's *PA* 13069 Unique in *PA*+. *IG*: ?Cous=Σ. Ἀλεξιμάχου Ε. (**1193**), L22. Cf. Χαρμοκράτης Σ. Ε. *Agora* XV.86.44 (M3C) and Σ. Ε. *ib*.141.42 (L3C).

1393 4 Χάρης p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 77.4 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Pri
Gentv. Eponymous Pri of ?Asklepios. ?=Χ. Φίλωνος Σφήττιος (**1396**), L3.

1394 L Χάρη[ς?], pat.: see Διόδωρος Χ. (**350**)
Imb 299

1395 ? Χά[ρης] (Θεοχάρους Ἀγγελῆθεν 3) c
Chr *IG* ii^2 228.11; Dem.23.173; etc. 357-340 (ctx) Str
PA 15292 *APF* p.568 *AO* 610 Fa's *PAA* 512815 Fa's *PA* 7183 Accus. Patc. and demotic from context. Made treaty with region in 357 (*SV* 303); slaughtered Sestians and established klerouchs in 353/2 (Diod. 16.34.4); Attic decree of 340 (cited here) tells him to treat Elaiousians the same as Athenians in Chr.

1396 4 Χάρης Φίλωνος Σφήττιος 5 c

Imb *IG* xii(8) 77.3 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Ded
PA 15302 Fa's *PA* 14875 Dedication to Asklepios. ?=X. (**1393**) Pri, L4. Co-Ded=Διοπείθης Διογείτονος Παιανιεύ[ς] (**386**), L2. ?Son/?fa=Either of 2 named Φ. (**1347, 1348**) ?Mys on Imb (4-3C).

1397 4 Χαριάδης Χαρίου Κήττιος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 101.1-3 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 394-318) Bur Rel
PA 15312 Fa's *PA* 15344 Family gravestone, *PA* stemma here. Fa=Χαρίας Εὐξιθέο(υ) Κ. (**1401**), L4-6; mo=Ἄγνυλλα Χαριάδο(υ) Κηφισιῶς (**22**), L7-9. ?Rel=Χαρ̣ίας Χαρισθένο̣υ̣ (**1400**) Bur on Imb (4C).

1398 4 Χαριάδης, pat.: see Ἄγνυλλα Χαριάδο(υ) Κηφισιῶς 1 (**22**)
Imb 399-300 *PA* 15313

1399 4 Χαρίας, kyr.: see Πλαγγὼν Χ. γυνή (**1098**)
Sal 399-300

1400 4 Χαρία̣[ς]? Χαρισθένο̣υ̣ p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 117.1f 399-300 (JC: scr) Bur Rel
?Wf=Σωστράτη (**1210**), L3. ?Rels=Χαρίας Εὐξιθέο(υ) Κήττιος (**1401**) and family, Bur on Imb (4C).

1401 4 Χαρίας Εὐξιθέο(υ) Κήττιος 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 101.4-6 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 394-318) Bur Rel
PA 15344 Fa's *PAA* 441235 Fa's *PA* 5907 Family gravestone. Wf=Ἄγνυλλα Χαριάδο(υ) Κηφισιῶς (**22**), L7-9; son=Χαριάδης Χαρίου Κ. (**1397**), L1-3. ?Rel=Χαρ̣ίας Χαρισθένο̣υ̣ (**1400**) Bur on Imb (4C).

1402 4 Χαρίας Λαμπτρεύς 1 c
LMy *IG* xii(8) 5.3f 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Mag
PA 15348 Secretary in klerouchic decree. *PA*'s association of him with Κωμέας Λ. (**831**), always doubtful, is no longer tenable, since a new frag. shows that Komeas' fa is named Χαιρέας.

1403 4 (Χαρίας?), pat.: see Εὐκτή[μων] (Χ.?) [Λου]σι[εύς 6?] (**521**) Unc 370/69

1404 4 Χαρίας Ξυπεται(ών) 7 c
Sam Michel 832.43 346/5 (arx) Pro
PA 15353 Aleshire's readings.

1405 ? Χαριδημίδ[η]ς Εὐρήμονος Ὀαεύς 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.c50 375-325 (*IG*) DK
Fa's *PAA* 444510 Fa's *PA* 5947 *PA* knows of patc. only; name and plural heading Ὀαιε͂ς on newer frag.: see Hereward, *AJA* 60 (1956) 173. The heading (Lc49) might instead refer to the deme Oe 6.

1406 D [Χα]ρίδημ̣[ος], pat.: see Φίλιππος [Χα]ρ. [---?] (**1300**)
Imb 199-100

1407 ? Χαρίδημος Φιλοξένου Ἀχαρνεύς 6 c
>1? Dem.23 *passim*; 18.[116]; ?*IG* ii² 118.7; etc. 364-333 (ctx) Str Mil?

PA 15380 *APF* p.570 *AO* 637 From Oreos on Euboia; citizen from 357/6; fa thus has no demotic and is not in *PA*. Loc's are Chr, Sal?, and Pot? Dem. 18 passage treated by eds as spurious. Restoration of [Χαρίδ?]ημος in inscription was always uncertain (and the date could be prior to his citizenship, thus precluding his holding the office of Str), and is strongly challenged by Whitehead, *AHB* 3 (1989) 105, who prefers the name of a Poteidaian ?Amb, e.g. [Ἡφαιστόδ?]ημος (see **1494**). *SEG* 39.71 cites recent literature.

1408 L Χαρικλῆς Λευκονοεύς 4 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1228.20, 22-25 150-100 (JC: ctx; cf. *IG*: 116/5) Hon Cul Eco
PA 15415 Nomtv., then accus. Cf. *PA* 15414=*AO* 646 Χ. Λ. *IG* ii^2 110.5 Epi Pro (363/2).

1409 ? [Χ]αρίσανδρος Λ[--- Ἀχαρν]εύς 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*36 375-325 (*IG*: scr) DK
PA 15480 Fa's *PAA* 600330 Demotic from restored plural heading.

1410 4 Χαρισθένης, pat.: see Χαρία[ς] Χ. (**1400**)
Imb 399-300

1411 4 Χαρίτης Μυρρινο(ύ)σιος 3 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 6908.1f 399-350 (*IG*) Bur
PA 15496 Epitaph on Sal, then on Aigina.

1412 D Χαρίτων, pat.: see Διονύσιος Χ. Σαλαμίνιος (**379**)
Sal 001+

1413 D Χαρίτων, pat.: see Εὐκαρπία Χ. Σαλαμινίου θυγ. (**512**)
Sal 299-200

1414 D Χαρμοσύνη ἐκ Σφηττίων 5 d w
Sky *IG* ii^2 10368(=*IG* xii[8] 676).1f 001++ (*IG* ii^2: scr) Bur Rel
Family gravestone apparently brought from Sky to Athens, after being copied on Sky, so that its text appears (in somewhat different forms) in 2 different volumes of *IG*; I follow *IG* ii^2's text. *IG* xii(8) has instead the masc. name Χαρμόσυ[νος] Σκύριος. Apparently an Athenian (or metic? thus "d" rather than "c") woman married to a Skyrian, Ζώσιμος Ἀριστωνύμου Φλ.? Σκύριος? (**582**), same lines. ?Dtr=Ζωσίμη Φλ. (**579**), L1.

1415 D Χαρμόσυ[νος] Σκύριος See Χαρμοσύνη ἐκ Σφηττίων 5 (**1414**) Sky 001++

1416 L Χαροπίδης Φρύνων[ος] Μυρινούσιο[ς] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 109.1f 199-100 (*IG*) Bur Rel
IG's *apparatus* says perhaps patc. should be Φρυν[ί]ων[ος], cf. *PA* 15018-20 examples, but neither maj. nor text indicates any such possibility. Son=Ἀριστογένης Χ. Μ. (**166**), L3f. ?Wf/?dtr-in-law= Τελεσίππη Τελεσί[ππου] Κηφισιέω[ς] (**1226**), L5f. *PA*'s source citation for *PA* 15532 Charopides of phyle Pandionis Bur (5C) is appar-

ently erroneous, since the text corresponding to the citation in *IG* i^2 does not include any such name, nor any from that phyle.

1417 ? [Χά]ροψ, pat.: see Ἀπολ[λωνίδης Χά]ρο. Π[ε]ι[ρ]αι[εύς] 8 (**129**) Lem 307/6-300

1418 ? Χαρτικ[λέης] p
LHe Segre, *Ann.* #10.9 399-300 (ed: scr) DK
Spelling in restoration based on parallels in L1 and 13. None (by any spelling) in *PA*+. Phyle not same as L1-7's? Ed: List of new klerouchs.

1419 4 Χίων Κειρι(άδης) 8 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*b*10 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PA 15554 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

1420 ? Χιωνίδ[η]ς Θ[ριάσιος] 6 c
>1 *IG* ii^2 1492.132f 305/4 (arx) Mag Eco
PA 15558 In text B; see discussion at *SEG* 38.146. More fully preserved name in L101 makes demotic certain. Brings money from Lem and Imb (and King Antigonos) to Athens. Himself from Athens? Assoc.=[– – – Ἐρ]οιάδης (**1441**), L133.

1421 4 Χιωνίδης Ἰωνίδης 2 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 63.*a*8 399-300 (JC; cf. *IG*: 352/1) Hon
PA 15559 List by phyle (2 each); *IG* infers Attic Arx named and thus date precise, other names *bouleutai.*

1422 ? Χρεμ[– – –]? or Χρημ[– – –? patc. and/or demotic lost?] p
LHe *IG* ii^2 1222.13 325-275 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: 307-300) Amb?
Letters *chi-rho* seem either to begin, or to precede, a list of names. *SEG* 40.125 restores Χρ[έ]μης Φαλ[– – –] in *Agora* XIX.L8.14. But autopsy would allow an underdotted *eta* for *IG*'s underdotted *epsilon.* Perhaps these letters are not from a name, but from another word, e.g., χρῆμ[ατα]?

1423 4 Χρυσανθὶς Μνησίο[υ] d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 13072.1 375-325 (*IG*: scr) Bur
Fa's *PAA* 655640 None in *PA*+.

1424 D Χρυσέρως, pat.: see Εὐσχήμων Χ. Πειραιεύς 8 (**549**) Unc 001++

1425 D Χρύσιππος, pat.: see Ζωσίμη Χ. Σαλαμινία (**578**) Sal 001+

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1426 ? Ψυλλίων d
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.8 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Cul
Accus. Fragmentary context. Dunst sees him as native Samian ?*hierodoulos*, caught stealing from the temple, along with Πασικλῆς (**1081**) and 'Ω[ρελίων?] (**1427**), both in same line.

OMEGA

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1427 ? 'Ω[ρελίων?] d
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.8 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Cul
Accus. Dunst's restoration (and his "?"). *PA*+ has only 5 names beginning with *omega*. Fragmentary context. Dunst sees him as native Samian ?*hierodoulos*, caught stealing from the temple, along with Πασικλῆς (**1081**) and Ψυλλίων (**1426**), both in same line.

PHYLE

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1428 E [-4or5-]κράτες of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.5 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Attic *epsilon* for *eta*. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1429 E [-7or8-]μος of phyle Hippothontis 8 c
LHe *IG* i³ 1477.6 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1430 ? [Name lost —]ωνος of phyle Pandionis 3? c
Unk *IG* ii² 1952+.*c*46 375-325 (*IG*) DK
C.10-11 total letters lost from name and patc. Demotic same as that of [– – –'Ε]ξηκεστίδο(υ) (**424**), L*c*45; phyle same as indicated by deme heading 'Οαιε̃ς (L*c*49), which could possibly be Oe 6.

DEMOTIC

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1431 4 [– – –]ς Ἁλαεύς 2 or 7 c
Sal *IG* ii^2 5529/30.1 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Epitaph from Sal. Eds differ greatly in readings. ?Rel=[Να]υσινίκη [– – –]ο(υ) Εὐωνυμέως [γυν]ή? (**980**). Nausinike could instead be this man's wf, if the final *eta* is misinterpreted or nonexistent: see discussion at her entry. See also **1523**.

1432 ? [Name lost] Ἁ[λ]αιεύς 2 or 7 c
Lem *Agora* XIX.P4.35 370/369 (arx) Eco
Gentv. Probably property owner on Lem; context very fragmentary.

1433 ? [Name lost – – –ο]υ Ἁλαιεύς 2 or 7 c
LMy? *IG* ii^2 550.11 314/3-305/4 (JC: com; eds disagree) DK
Accus., in list of names with patcs. and demotics; context very fragmentary (JC restores *omicron* of patc.). Athenian inscription concerning LMy; this person's city of residence unclear. Amb?

1434 L [Name (and patc.?) lost Ἀ]τηνεύς P c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #13.3 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon
Whether there was a patc. or not depends on (unknown) line length; demotic (only) of 1 colleague preserved: [– – –] Θοραιεύς (**1444**), L4. [Crowned? b]y *demos*; ed infers also Ded, apparently because inscription is on statue base.

1435 L [Name lost Ἀφι]δναῖος 9 c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1223.23f 166+ (*IG*; eds range 229-146) Amb
Absence of patc. inferred from form of extant names (**236, 1354**). 1 of 5 sent to Athens to announce klerouchs' honorary decree.

1436 L [– – –]μος Δεκελεύς, kyr.: see [– – –]θέα Ἰσιδώρου ἐκ Δε[κελείας 8, – – –]μου Δ. 8 ⟨γ⟩υνή (**709**) Sky 299+

1437 ? [Name lost Διομ]ειεύς 2? c
LHe *SLC* 105(=Segre, *Ann.* #12).6-8 450-375 (ed: ctx) Eco
Datv. Ed underdots [Διομ]ειεῖ, but D. Harris photo shows that only the final *iota* requires underdotting. *Horos*: 1 of 3 creditors of Νικίας (**1003**), L4, the others being Εὐαίνετος Ἐρχιεύς (**478**), L5f, and [– –

–]ρος Ἐρ[– – –] (**1440**), L9f.

1438 ? [Name and patc. lost Ἐ]λευσίνιος 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1590a.4f 399-350 (*IG*: pro) Eco
Inscription from Sal with names mostly in full formula. 1 of 2 sureties (ἐγγυηταί) for Μύρω[ν – – –] (**971**), L3, renter (μισθωτής) of land on Sal. Other surety=Σμικυθίων Σμικύθο(υ) Ἐ. (**1160**), L4.

1439 ? [Name lost – – –]ου Ἐλευ[σίν](ιος) 8 c
Sal *IG* ii² 1955.27 320 (*IG*: ctx) Kt Ded
In *PA*'s deme list. 16 total letters lost in name and patc.

1440 ? [– – –]ρος Ἐρ[– – –] c
LHe *SLC* 105(=Segre, *Ann.* #12).9f 450-375 (ed: ctx) Eco
Datv. Ed restores [Διοδώ]ρωι Ἐρ[χιεῖ] 2, but inscription is non-*stoichedon*; other possible demotics are Erikeieus 2 and Eroiades 8 or 10. *Horos*: 1 of 3 creditors of Νικίας (**1003**), L4, the others being Εὐαίνετος Ἐρχιεύς (**478**), L5f, and [– – – Διομ]ειεύς (**1437**).

1441 ? [-c.6- Ἐρ]οιάδης 8 or 10 c
>1 *IG* ii² 1492.133 305/4 (arx) Mag Eco
In text B; see discussion at *SEG* 38.146. Brings money from Lem and Imb (and King Antigonos) to Athens. Himself from Athens? Assoc.=Χιωνίδ[η]ς Θ[ριάσιος] (**1420**), L132f.

1442 ? [...6...]ος Ἐροιάδης See [Φιλοκλ]⟨ῆ⟩ς? (Φορμίωνος?) Ἐ. 8 or 10 (**1308**) Sam 326/5

1443 4 [-c.9-] Εὐωνυ(μεύς) 1 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.1f 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro
Approx. letter count from autopsy.

1444 L [Name (and patc.?) lost] Θοραιεύς P c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #13.4 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon
Whether there was a patc. or not depends on (unknown) line length; demotic (only) of 1 colleague preserved: [’– – – Ἀ]τηνεύς (**1434**), L3. [Crowned? b]y *demos*; ed infers also Ded, apparently because inscription is on statue base.

1445 D [Name lost – – –]εκράτους ἐκ Κηιδῶν 1 c
Lem? *IG* ii² 1053+.6(=L17 with new frag.) 099-001 (*IG*) Amb?
From Lem? From Athens? (context unclear). In *PA*'s deme list. ?Fa=Μενεκράτης Χαιρεφίλου ἐκ Κ. (**922**) at LHe (1C).

1446 D [– – –]νευς Κυδα[– – –] c
LMy? *IG* ii² 1051.*a*19f 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Arx
Gentv. in dating formula ([– – – ἐπὶ – – –]νέως ἄρχοντος Κυδα[– – –]), possibly Arx on Lem. In *PA*'s deme list (as *Attic* Arx) for Kydathenaion 3 or P, although (as *PA* recognizes) he could also be from Kydantidai 2.

1447 4 [Name and most of patc. lost – – –]ς Κυδαθη(ναιεύς) 3 c
Sam Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) #5.2 365-322 (ctx) Mov

3-dot interpunct after patc.'s *sigma*. Introduces Pandionis tribal resolution, on Sam, vs. debtors at tribal sanctuary.

1448 4 [Name and patc. lost Λαμπτρ]εύς Πάραλος 1 c
Unc *IG* ii² 1952.*a*13 375-325 (*IG*) DK
Demotic from restored plural heading: at least 1 lost name from this deme was on the list. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

1449 4 [– – –]ος Λευκον(οεύς) 4 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.2f 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro
2-dot interpunct after -ος.

1450 L [– – –]πτος? [Λευκον]οεύς 4 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 66.2 199+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Pri
Gentv. Apparently eponymous Pri in dating formula.

1451 D [Name and patc. lost Μαρα]θωνίου 9 θυγ. c w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #15.2 150-50 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
[*Kyrios* (hus?)]=[– – – Μη]τρώνακτος Με[λιτεύς] (**943**), L3f. Joins [*kyr.*] in freeing θρεπτή at Kabeirion.

1452 4 [Name and patc. lost ἐξ] Οἴο(υ) 4 c
Unc *IG* ii² 1952.*a*25 375-325 (*IG*) DK
Demotic from heading: at least 1 lost name from this deme was on the list. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

1453 D [Name lost Π]αιανιεύς 3 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #15.8 150-50 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
Gentv. No patc., if ed's restorations are essentially correct. *Kyrios* of ?wf [– – –]ως θυγ. (**1495**), L7. Joins ?wf in freeing female (slave) to *paramone*, at Kabeirion.

1454 D [– – –]ένης Παλληνεύς 10 c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #25.1 299-250 (ed: scr) Ded Eco
Owner/Ded of clay vase (to the *K*[*abeiroi*?] -JC). ?=*PA* 998 Ἀντιγένης Ἀντικλέους Π. *IG* ii² 7108 Bur (3C).

1455 D [Name lost – – –]ου Παλληνεύς 10 c
LMy *IG* ii² 1051.*b*3f 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Str
Gentv. Context very fragmentary; unclear whether Str in Athens or in Lem.

1456 4 [-c.7-]Σ[– – – Π]οτ[άμιος] 4 c
Unc *IG* ii² 1952.*a*23 375-325 (*IG*) DK
Approx. number of letters before *sigma* from autopsy; DK how many follow (demotic from restored plural heading on another line — whose *tau* was not visible at time of autopsy). The *sigma* could be the last letter of the name (followed by its lost patc.), but it need not be. LHe (JC's preference), Krithote, Imb only possible Loc's.

1457 ? [.]ο[– – – patc. lost] Πρα[σ]ιε[ύς?] 3 c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 99.1f 399-300 (JC: scr) Bur? Rel?
Restorations follow *IG*'s text, which treats this as 1 of 3 masc.

names, but it could be the gentv. demotic of a woman's fa (ending with -έ[ως]), followed by her hus's name below: see discussion at **930**. ?Rel=[Ἕ]λπων Ἕ. Π. (**422**), L5f.

1458 4 [Name lost] Ῥαμνούσ(ιος) 9 c
Sam *Heraion* Inv. J24.4 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. Dunst: c.346) Pro

1459 4 [– – –]ος Ῥαμνού(σιος) 9 c
LHe *SLC* 104(=*IG* xii[8] 18).4f 350-300 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: 314/3) Eco
Datv. Creditor on *horos*. Specific date infers that *Attic* Arx is named: see discussion at **1015**.

1460 D [Name lost – – –]οδώρου Σουνιεύς 4 c
LHe? Accame *Ann.* #5.(1-)2 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
Accus. Ed indicates 9 lost letters, but inscription is non-*stoichedon*; extant letters in L2. Crowned, stele set up in temple of *K*[*abeiroi*]; stone could have been brought from Attike. Appropriate names (for fa) attested at Sounion are Apollodoros, Asklepiodoros, and Diodoros: see *PA* 1446, 2634, and 3962 (all 2C).

1461 L [– – –]τος Φη[γ]ούσ[ιος] 1 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1051.*cde*20 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
Presbys from LMy to Athens.

1462 L [Name lost – – – ο]υ Φρεάρριος 4 c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1224.*abc*28 166-134 (JC: com; *IG* differs from Tracy) Amb
1 of 5 *presbeis* from LMy to Athens; colleagues **119, 319, 957, 1259**.

1463 ? [Name and patc. lost] Φυ[λ]άσ[ιος] 6 c
Unk *IG* ii^2 1952.*b*44 375-325 (*IG*) DK
Demotic from plural heading: at least 1 lost name from this deme was on the list.

ETHNIC

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1464 D [Name lost – – –]κλίου Ἀλωπεκοννήσιος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 95.1 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur?
Inscription is from Imb, but person named is from Chr. Is fa's name in L2 (see **1465**)?

1465 D [Name lost Ἀλωπ]εκο[ν]ν[ήσι]ος n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 95.2 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur?
Inscription is from Imb, but person named is from Chr. Spacing indicates there was no patc., although countryman of L1 (**1464**) has one; perhaps the fa's name appeared here.

1466 X [– – –]τιον [Ἡρακ]λειῶτις n w
Sal *IG* ii^2 8824.1f 299+ (JC: gss; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur
Columella(?) from Sal (*IG*'s "?"). Text apparently from copy; only dating clues are Ionic alphabet and presence in *IG* ii, not *IG* iii.

1467 D [Name lost Ἴ]μβριος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 130.1 299+ (JC: gss) Bur

1468 X [Name lost?] Κορ[πεῖλος?] n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 141.1 299+ (JC: scr) Bur
Entire text is 3 letters; but see ethnic in other inscriptions from Imb (**1469, 1470**).

1469 X [– – –]νὶς [patc. lost] Κορπείλου θυγ., γυνὴ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Κορπίλου n w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 126+Supp. 1-4 299+ (JC: scr) Bur Rel
Accepts S. Reinach's ΝΙΣ in L1, but *IG*'s blank L2, which seems necessary if Κορπ. is an ethnic (*IG*: "Κορπίλους gentem thraciam fuisse Larfeld...recte adnotat"), not a patc.

1470 X [.]δ[– – –] Κορπεῖλ[ος] n
Imb *IG* xii(8) 127.1f 299+ (JC: scr) Bur
Ethnic's ending missing; DK case.

1471 D [– – –]ς (same name as son) Λήμνιος d
Lem Segre, *Ann.* #1.7 199+ (ed: scr) DK
Patc. is really a backwards "C". Name list (m & f); DK purpose.

1472 E [....]ν [Μαδ]ύτιος d

Chr *Agora* XVII.1.36 464 (*IG* i^2: ctx) Bur
Stoichedon; ethnic from plural heading. Casualty list associated with battle of Drabeskos, thus dated. Countryman=Καλλία[ς Μαδ]ύτιος (**733**), L35.

1473 D [Name lost ‒ ‒ ‒]ίου (Μαρωνίτης?) d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 134.1 199+ (JC: scr) Bur
Extant letters in L1; name began in lost line above. Ethnic is a guess, from reuse of stone by Θεόξενος Ἀπολωνίου Μαρωνίτης (**667**), L3-5.

1474 4 [..]ιστο[-14-15-] Μηθυμναῖος n
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #11.1f 350-300 (ed: scr) Hon Mag Cul
Ed's text has [.....]ιστο[.......13......] M., but his photo is followed here. The restoration [Ἀρ]ιστο[‒ ‒ ‒] seems very likely. Apparent (*isoteles*?) metic elected βοώνης, crowned by *isoteleis* and initiates.

1475 X [.]δ[.]ν[..] [Μι]λήσ[ιος]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 139.1 299+ (JC: gss) DK
Epitaph? *IG*'s maj. indicates traces like the bottom bar of an *epsilon* in the blank space shown here before the *delta* and in the space where *IG*'s text (this is the entire inscription) has the underdotted *sigma* of the ethnic. If *sigma*'s lower bar was indeed horizontal, the inscription is obviously late. The restoration of the ethnic seems too uncertain to justify a clear "n" code; therefore my "d".

1476 D [Name lost] Μυρινα[ῖος] d
LMy? *IG* xii(1) 105."4" (text unnumbered) 199-100 (*IG*: pro) Oth
Fragmentary signature on statue base found on Rhodos; Myrina here not necessarily LMy on Lem. *IG*: ?=Σόλων M. (**1167**) sculptor's signature on statue base from Telos (2C).

1477 E [Name lost? Σαλ]αμίνιος? d
Sal? *IG* i^3 748.1 500-480 (*IG*) Ded
3-bar *sigma*. Printed among dedications from acropolis. *IG* i^2 640 restores [‒ ‒ ‒ ἀνέθεκεν Σαλα]μίνιος; *IG* i^3 drops restoration of verb, but prints 1 more letter as certain. Ethnic or name?

1478 ? [Name lost] Σαλαμίνιος d
Sal Peek, *Att.Gr.* II #93.1 399+ (JC: scr; cf. ed: N.D.) Bur
Find-spot not indicated by Peek.

1479 X (Unnamed?) Σά[μιος?] d
Sam? *SEG* 30.292."2"(really 1) 399-375 (*IG*) Bur
Peek, *ASAW* 69.2 (1980) 57f #69 interprets the fragmentary beginning of the Attic epitaph *IG* ii^2 13093 (--ΑΣΙΝΕΥΣΣΑ--) as referring to a Samian whose name is not provided, rendering the passage thus: ‒ ‒ ‒ π]ᾶσιν ἐὺς Σά[μιος ‒ ‒ ‒. *CEG* 498: Peek's restoration is not generally accepted.

FRAGMENTARY

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1480 E [.]αλοκ̣[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^{3} 1477.8 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
No *kappa* in *IG*'s text, only left hasta drawn; underdotted letter here based on photo and maj. of eds, Picard and Reinach, who suggest (but do not put in their text) the restoration [Μ]αλόκ̣[ιμος]. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.
1481 ? [...I(?).]αν̣[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*b*1 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
Sic! Follows *IG*'s maj. (not in *IG*'s text or in *ed. prin.*). List of 11+ names, no heading extant.
1482 ? [– – –?]α̣νδρ[– – –]? p
LHe "Atti", *Ann.* 63 (1985) p.342 fig.6(f?) 399+ (JC: gss; cf. ed: N.D.) Ded?
Vase frag., described by ed as Attic, dedicated at Kabeirion. Letters could be from name of Ded, and could come from the beginning of the name, but both suggestions are uncertain.
1483 D [– – –]αντος p
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #13.1 250-200 (ed: scr) DK
Gentv. Ed restores dating formula and plural verb ending — [ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἐκφ]άντου(?) ἀνέθηκ̣[αν – – –] — and ID's the person with an Attic Arx (236/5). None of this seems necessary: the fragmentary name could be a patc., the verb could be singular, and, even if the person is an Arx (the formula would be irregular), he could be an Arx on Lem.
1484 ? [– – –]α̣τος c
Sam Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) #5.7 365-322 (ctx) Arx
Accus. JC's underdotted *alpha* represents ed's trace that could also belong to *lambda*, and probably also to *nu*. Arx on Sam? Eponym in resolution of phyle Pandionis.
1485 E [– – –]ΑΤΟΣ[– – – | – – –]ΟΣΕΡ[– – –]? d

Lem Segre, *Ann.* #19.1f 499-400 (ed: scr) DK
Bronze frag.; ed gives no indication of whether any edges are preserved. Letters are not necessarily from name(s); if they are, a name may end with -ατος, as many do.

1486 L [– – –]ΓΟΝΤ[– – – patc. (and demotic?) lost] c
LMy Accame, *Ann.* #3.19 250-200 (ed: scr) Hon Cul
DK whether all letters are from same word: accus. name could end with -γον and its patc. could begin with T- (the other partially preserved name in the list, **84**, is accus. and has a patc.; the inscription is too fragmentary to show whether any also had demotics). Among *theoroi* (total number uncertain) from LMy honored by initiates at LHe.

1487 D [-c.4-]δ[-4or5-]δ[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*10 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (nothing in text). Top of a round letter to the right of the 2nd *delta*, with possibly space enough for an *iota* between the trace and the *delta*. Tenedian? (L*a*6).

1488 4 [– – –]δης? [– – –]ι? or υ? p w?
Imb *IG* xii(8) 91.2(f?) 399-300 (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Bur?
IG treats fragmentary name as gentv. fem. (restoring [σῆμα ε]ἰμὶ [– – –]δης), but in this very fragmentary inscription nomtv. masc. is also possible. Under *sigma* in *IG*'s text, the 1st extant letter of L3, is a "certain" *iota*, but it should be underdotted, since the maj.'s trace would also allow *upsilon*, an appropriate ending for a masc. name's patc. The statement about this *iota* is, incidentally, equally true of the final *iota* of *IG*'s [ε]ἰμί, which further weakens *IG*'s restoration.

1489 D [.]διτ[-c.7-ο]υ p w
Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.2 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
Non-*stoichedon*, but *IG*'s 8 lost letters prior to the patc.'s *upsilon* seem consistent with maj. (JC restores *omicron*). [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1490 D [-c.2-]ε[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*12 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (not in text).

1491 D [-c.2-]είδη[ς]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*5 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
IG's text has only – – –, and maj.'s ΕΙΔΗ, with indications of problematic traces before and after, seems unlikely in a list of names. This is JC's emendation of maj., without autopsy.

1492 ? [– – –]ΕΚΚ[– – –] p
LHe Susini, *Ann.* #22 (all) 425-375 (ed: scr) DK
Frag. with only 3 letters (only top left corner of 1st letter preserved, although *epsilon* seems the only real possibility). Still, several demotics begin with ἐκ K-, so the fragment could very possibly belong to an Athenian's name.

1493 ? [– – –]ṇ p w
Lem *SLC* 10(=Segre, *Ann.* #6).2f 350-200 (ed: scr) Eco Rel
Datv., ending -ηι. Fem. creditor on *horos*, with *kyrios* (?rel) A[– – – 'Οτρ]υνεύς (**4**), L3f.

1494 ? [....8....]ημος d
Pot *IG* ii^2 118.7 364-358 (Whitehead: pro; cf. *IG*: 361/0?) Amb?
Stoichedon inscription. *IG* restores a reference to Charidemos Philoxenou Acharneus (**1407**), Athenian Str. But Charidemos should not yet have been made a citizen at this time. Whitehead, *AHB* 3 (1989) 105 suggests instead that the person may be the leader of a group of Poteidaian Ambs, restoring, *exempli gratia* (with other possibilities in a footnote): [– – – πρέσβε]ις τῶμ Ποτει[δαιάτων 'Ηφαιστόδ?]ημος καὶ οἱ μ[ετ' αὐτō? – – –].

1495 D [Name lost – – –]ως θυγ. c w
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #15.7 150-50 (ed: scr) Eco Rel Cul
Extant letters could be end of patc. or of fa's demotic; space seems to favor the former. Fa's name apparently ended with -εύς, although the rarer -ις cannot be ruled out, so this entry is rather arbitrarily alphabetized by the *theta* of θυγάτηρ. *Kyrios* (hus?)=[– – – Π]αιανιεύς (**1453**), L8. Joins *kyrios* in freeing fem. (slave) to *paramone*, at Kabeirion.

1496 ? [-c.5-]ι[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 84.*a*1 350-250 (*IG*: scr) Mys?
Follows *IG*'s maj.; nothing in text (yet the line is counted). List of 11+ names, no heading extant.

1497 ? [-c.7?-]ίας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 86.2 403++ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) DK
Fragmentary list with only 1 preserved name (**167**): Mys?

1498 X [– – –]ιασιο[– – – patc. and most of ?ethnic lost – – –]ιος n
LHe *IG* xii(8) 15.1(f?) 299+ (JC: scr; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Hon
Accus. Very fragmentary inscription (non-*stoichedon*, no line ends preserved, line length unknown), but full name formula seems to be required.

1499 E [– – –]ικ[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.16 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
IG's text has a trace to left of *iota* that could belong to *alpha* or *delta* or *lambda*. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a* (L14-16 are on face *c*). *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1500 4 [...]ικράτεια p w
Sal *SEG* 21.839.5 350-300 (*APF*) Bur Rel
APF p.358 Family gravestone from Sal, in Peiraieus Mus. Rels=[Λ]υσίμαχος 'Αχαρνεύς (**888**), L1f; Νικοφῶν 'Α. (**1035**), L3; Νίκων 'Α. (**1038**), L4.

[**1501** Deleted from revised sequence.]

1502 L [Name lost – – –]ινίου p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 64.4 001+ (*IG*: scr) Trs?
Partly lost patc., not demotic, on analogy with name following, after καί (**1045**). Role unclear: [– – – ἐ]πιμεληθέντων τῶν τα[μίων – – – τῆς ἀνα]στάσεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς πόλεω[ς – – –]ινίου καὶ κτλ.

1503 D [Name lost? – – –]ί[ο]υ? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 51.1 250-166 (JC: com; eds differ) Hon
Beginning of extant text; trace in *IG*'s text could also fit *tau*. Appears to be end of patc. of last-listed Hon. Eds differ so extremely in dating that some suggested ID's and/or conns. for names in the inscription must be impossible, if others are correct. See the sensible discussion of dating problems by Tréheux, *BCH* 80 (1956) 465f, who himself prefers 3C, probably the 2nd half.

1504 D [...]ιπ[π..] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 88.9 001+ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) Mys
Name in list with 4 Roman names at top.

1505 ? [– – –]κριτος c
Sam *SEG* 18.202."5"(really 1) 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: 328/7) Arx
Gentv. in long restoration of Attic and Samian dating formula (these letters are actually the first ones extant). Ed, Bousquet, *BCH* 83 (1959) 152-5 restores [– – – Εὐθύ]κριτος, i.e., *PA* 5611=*AO* 1256 Attic Arx (328/7); *Syll.*[3] 276B restores [– – – Λεώ?]κριτος, treating him as an undated Arx on Sam. Analogies exist for both restorations.

1506 ? [....]λ[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*20 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Follows *IG*'s maj. (nothing in text).

1507 4 [...6...]λεμ[– – –]? c
Sam *SEG* 18.202."16f"(really 12f) 365-322 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: 328/7) Cul
Epigraphically, *lambda* requires underdotting (ed's photo shows), but it is very likely. This name is the 1st of a list to *theoroi* to Delphoi (other names lost). Ed, Bousquet, *BCH* 83 (1959) 152-5 restores, *exempli gratia*, 3 possible names with the element -πολεμο-. JC: [Νεοπτό]λεμ[ος] is equally possible, which would suggest ID with *PA* 10652=*AO* 2094 N. Antikleous Meliteus, who is heavily involved in cultic activities (2nd half 4C); see *APF* pp.399f for sources. *AO* p.416 cites Raubitschek (unpublished) via Lewis for a suggestion to restore his name, instead of Tlepolemos, in *IG* ii[2] 1231(=*SEG* 30.98).2f, a decree of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai (L4C), also cultic; see further *SEG* 39.151. If the ID holds, ?bro=*AO* 3690 (identified by *APF* p.399 with *PA* 1062) [– – –]ης 'A. M. See also *AskAth* p.235 A1=*PA*

1069 'Αν[τικ]λῆς Μέμνονος (Μελ.) *IG* ii^2 1259.2f attested in cultic activities (313/2).

1508 ? [– – –]μεων[– – –?] p
LHe "Atti", *Ann.* 63 (1985) p.342 fig.6(e?) 399+ (JC: gss; cf. ed: N.D.) Ded?
Vase frag., described by ed as Attic, dedicated at Kabeirion. Letters could be from name of Ded, and could come from the end of the name, but both suggestions are uncertain.

1509 E [..]ν̣[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.7 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
IG i^3's text takes underdotted *nu* from photo in *ed. prin.*; nothing in text of *IG* xii Supp. 337. Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a*; face *b* (L7-13) in different hand. *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1510 ? [...]να[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*a*19 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Follows *IG*'s maj. (nothing in text).

1511 ? [– – –]νενμ̣[– – –]? p
LHe "Atti", *Ann.* 63 (1985) p.342 fig.6(d?) 399+ (JC: gss; cf. ed: N.D.) Ded?
Vase frag., described by ed as Attic, dedicated at Kabeirion. Letters could be from name of Ded, but this is uncertain.

1512 ? [– – –]νίδης d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 85.*b*29 325-275 (*IG*) Mys?
Read by Conze, not *IG*.

1513 L [Name lost – – –]νίου, Θεο[– – – Λευ]κον[οέως 4? γυνή?] p w
LHe *IG* xii(8) 35.1f+ 299+ (JC: scr) Bur Rel
Follows *IG*'s text; its maj. (Conze) incompatible. Name formula would begin above extant L1 and (if γυνή is correctly restored) end below extant L2. Cf. *PA* 6715 Θεογένης Κ[α]λλιμάχου Λ. Mov (2C); *PA* 6950 Θεόκριτος Λυ[ς– – –] Λευ[– – –] or *PA* 7184 Θεοχάρης Χαι[ρεφῶντος] Λευ[– – –] *IG* ii^2 2434.23 and 25 (M3C); [Θ]εογέν[η]ς [Θεογ]ένου Λ. *Agora* XVII.216 Bur (c.M1C CE).

1514 E [– – –]ντε[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^3 1477.14 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a* (L14-16 are on face *c*). *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.

1515 D [...]νω[ν..]ων[ος]? See Χαρμοσύνη ἐκ Σφηττίων 5 (**1414**)
Sky 001++

1516 ? [– – –]οιχ[– – –] d
Sal *SEG* 37.201.1 480-300 (ed: com) Bur
Gravestone in "classical" cemetery on Sal.

1517 ? [– – –]οκλῆ[ς..]α[– – –] p
Sal *SEG* 40.130.1 361-304 (JC: com; cf. *SEG*: c.320) Hon?
Very fragmentary honorary decree found on Sal. Eds, Harris and Lawton, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 110: Maybe set up on Sal because Hon lived there? Context lost (JC restores *sigma*); DK whether *alpha* is in patc. or demotic, if either.
1518 ? [-4or5?-]όμαχος d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 86.3 403++ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) DK
Mys? Fragmentary list with only 1 preserved name (**167**).
1519 ? [– – –]ονατ[– – –] d
LMy *IG* xii(8) 14.1 499+ (*IG*: scr) Bur?
Role is *IG*'s guess; these are the only extant letters.
1520 ? [-c.7?-]όρας d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 86.1 403++ (JC; cf. *IG*: N.D.) DK
Mys? Fragmentary list with only 1 preserved name (**167**).
1521 ? [-3or4?-]όφημος c
Sal? *SEG* 40.130.2 361-304 (JC: com; cf. *SEG*: c.320) Arx?
Very fragmentary honorary decree found on Sal. Name in dating formula, ο[....7...]οφήμο(υ) ἄρχο[ντος – – –], but eds, Harris and Lawton, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 110 deny that he is *PA* 11067=*AO* 2159 Νικόφημος Attic Arx (361/0), saying the letters look later, and ask whether he might be Arx of the *genos* of the Salaminioi. *SEG*: Eds do not mention the Salaminian *demos* or the Arx of Sal.
[**1522** Deleted from revised sequence.]
1523 4 [– – –]πύλιος? d
Sal *IG* ii^{2} 5529/30.5? 399-300 (*IG*: scr) Bur Rel
Epitaph from Sal. Line accepted by *CIG* 636, but not by *IG* ii or *IG* ii^{2}. ?Rels=[– – –]ς 'Αλαεύς (**1431**), L1; [Να]υσινίκη [– – –]ο(υ) Εὐωνυμέως [γυν]ή? (**980**), L2-4?
1524 E [– – –]ρι[– – –] c
LHe *IG* i^{3} 1477.15 500-480 (*IG*) Bur?
Archaic *cippus* at LHe (now lost) with Attic tribal heading on face *a* (L14-16 are on face *c*). *LSAG*: Not settlers, but soldiers from Athens.
1525 4 [...]ρ[οκλῆς – – –] See Μοιροκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου 'Ελευσίνιος 8 (and Σαλαμίνιος) (**962**) Sal 343-317
1526 L [– – –]ρος [– – –]δίου [– – –]ọύσιος c
Sky *IG* xii(8) 671.1-3 299+ (JC: scr) Bur
7 possible demotics, of 6 phylai.
1527 ? [-c.14?-]ς? c
LHe Accame, *Ann.* #2.1 350-200 (JC: ctx; cf. ed: after 307) Arx
Gentv. (ending in *sigma*) in dating formula in decree of initiates. Ed supplies 14 dots, but inscription is non-*stoichedon*. DK whether Arx has a very long name, or *sigma* is from his patc. or (gentv.) demotic.
1528 D [......12......ο]ụ p w

Imb *IG* xii(8) 83.1 199-100 (*IG*: scr) Cul Eco
JC restores *omicron.* [Gives Δ (=10 drx?)].

1529 D [-c.4-]σ[.]λ̣[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*a*7 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (nothing in text, although line counted); large letters. Tenedian? (see L*a*6).

1530 D [c.1]σακιε[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*8 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (not in text); large letters.

1531 D [..]σικρος [– – –]ους p
Imb *IG* xii(8) 100.16f 299+ (JC) Bur?
Name added later to family gravestone (4C); perhaps a later rel (see **1387** for 4C names). *IG*'s text indicates 3 lost letters at beginning of name, but maj. shows there was only room for 2 letters. *IG*'s *apparatus* suggests the emendation [Σμ]ῖκρος? DK whether any demotic was ever present (as with all the above names). A tempting restoration of his patc. would be [Χαιριγέν]ους, since 2 men of that name (**1386, 1387**) appear above, although the name's patc. form at **1390** is without *sigma.*

1532 4 [– – –]ΣΩΣ[– – – patc.? and demotic? lost] c
Sam *SEG* 1.349+*Heraion* Inv.J212.1 365-322 (Dunst: ctx) Mov
These letters begin extant L1 and perhaps begin the name, but not necessarily: lost line(s) above are possible. If these letters begin, or form any part of, a name, the name must have appeared in full formula, since the line had 28-30 letters. Whether the extant letters are part of his name or not, Mov was in L1, since L2 begins at the left margin with εἶπεν. ?Conn.=Hon Διότιμος Νικοστ̣ρ[ά]τ̣ου Ἐλαιούσιος (**391**), L4f.

1533 D [-c.2-]τ[1or2]ο[– – –]? d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*6 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (not in text). Top of *iota* in 1st lost letter space?

1534 D [c.1]το[-c.3-]ο[– – –] d
Imb *IG* xii(8) 89.*b*11 001+ (JC: scr) Mys
Follows *IG*'s maj. (not in text).

1535 X [Name and beginning of ethnic lost – – –]ινία d w
Sal? Osborne, *AncSoc* #158 (all) 001+ (*IG* iii) Bur
Epitaph from Athens. Inscription is *IG* iii 3710, but is not included in *IG* ii^2. Ed: [Σαλαμ]ινία? [Α]ἰνία?

1536 ? [Name (and patc.?) lost? – – –]ν c
LHe *IG* ii^2 1222.13f 325-275 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: 307-300) Amb?
Autopsy indicates *nu* is certain (*IG* underdots it). If part of a name at all (probably in a list of Amb's), it could be the last letter of an accus. demotic (or of an abbreviated demotic).

1537 D [Name (and patc.?) lost? – – –]ο[..]ν̣? d

Imb *IG* xii(8) 64.1 001+ (*IG*: scr) DK
Accus.? demotic? (*IG*'s maj. has OIIION). Hon? Not necessarily even from a name formula.

1538 L [Name lost ---]ριος c
LMy *IG* ii^2 1051.*cde*18f 038/7-001 (*IG*: ctx) Amb
Accus.; autopsy makes the *rho* of the demotic questionable. *Presbys* from LMy to Athens.

ANONYMOUS

Number Res. NAME-PATRONYMIC-DEMOTIC Phyle no. Athenian? Woman?
LOC. SOURCE NUMBER.Line/Sec. DATE (WHO: WHY; CONTRA) ROLE 1 ROLE 2
PAA PA APF AO Father's *PAA* and/or *PA* (any that exist)
Possible Identifications, Relatives, Textual Problems, Comments, etc.

1539 E (Unnamed, plural) c
Sal Sch.Patm. Dem. 23.71 480-450 (pro) Hon
Sch. (see Figueira, *A&A* 148 for Greek and trans.) says the killers (from Sigeion?) of Peisistratos' dtr Myrrine were given citizenship and allowed to live on Sal.

1540 ? (Name apparently extant but not supplied) c
Lem Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 170 n.24 450-300 (JC: gss) Arx
Arx's name on unpub. *horos*; seen by Stroud in 1963 outside Myrina Mus. Harris nts. indicate that the inscription may be Mus. no.2189, listed on p.67 of the Mus. inventory book.

1541 ? [Name lost] c
Sam? Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) #4.5, 12 412-322 (JC: ctx; cf. ed and Shipley: 4C) Arx?
Presumably gentv. (probably 9 letters, *stoichedon* text) in dating formula of decree of soldiers. Therefore Arx on Sam? JC: Probably Attic Arx — and 5C.

1542 ? [Name lost] c
Lem *Agora* XIX.L3.5 399-375 (Stroud: pro; cf. *IG*: 386/5) Arx
Name (presumably gentv.) lost in dating formula ([– – – ἐπὶ – – – ἄρ]χοντος ἐν Λήμν[ω]ι). Stroud improves text, showing, e.g., the impossibility of restoring [στρατη]γο(υ)ντος. All eds see Θεο[– – –], L32 as the Attic Arx Theodotos (387/6), but it is possible that the same official is mentioned in L5 and 32. See **634**.

1543 4 [Name lost] d w
Sal *IG* ii^2 11818/9 (lost line) 399-350 (IG: scr) Bur Rel
Epitaph from Sal, with reliefs of hus Καλλιφῶν (**756**), L1, and a seated woman, her name not extant.

1544 ? [Name lost] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 7350 below L3 399+ (JC: gss) DK
Below epitaph from Sal, now in Aigina (*PA* makes no mention of any Salaminian conn.), of ?rel Ἐχεκλῆς Ἀρχικλείους Ῥαμνούσιος (**569**), L1-3 are traces, not described. *IG*: "Infra v.3 nomen

postmodo additum, cuius reliquiae exiguae exstant". If a name, probably another Bur?

1545 4 (Unnamed, plural) c
Chr Dem. 23.159 360-358 (JC: ctx) Arx
Demosthenes refers to letters from τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐκ Χερρονήσου concerning Charidemos. 1 definitely at Krithote (**1546**). Local eponymous Mag's, or governors sent from Athens?

1546 4 (Unnamed) c
Chr Dem. 23.161 360-358 (JC: ctx) Arx
ὁ ἄρχων Κριθώτης informs Athens of the actions of Charidemos. 1 of several *archontes* from Chr (**1545**). Local eponymous Mag's, or governors sent from Athens?

1547 4 [Name and demotic lost] c
Imb *IG* xii(8) 48.6 360-300 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: 318-307) Pro
1 of 2 *symproedroi*, with Epi Pro (**1000**). His phyle should not be Pandionis 3, since that of his colleague (**1292**) is.

1548 ? (Unnamed, plural) c
Chr *IG* ii^2 1613.297f 353/2 (*IG*: ctx) Mag Mil
Oikistai: Attic decree refers to triremes [ὧν οἱ] οἰκισταὶ ἔχουσιν [οἱ εἰς Χερ]ρόνησον.

1549 4 (Unnamed) d w
Sam Michel 832.22, 37 346/5 (arx) Pri?
Title only, in nomtv. (ἡ εὐαγγελίς), then gentv. Koehler, *AM* 7 (1882) 370f n.2: =Priestess of Hera. Aleshire simply transliterates: "the Evangelis".

1550 ? (Unnamed) c
Sam Habicht, *AM* #1.3f 323 (Errington: ctx; cf. ed: 321) Str
Called [τ]ὸ̣ν [σ]τρα[τ]η̣γὸν [τ]ὸν [τῶν 'Α]θη̣ναίων εἰΣάμον [κ]εχει̣[ρ]οτον[ημ]έ̣νον.

1551 ? [Name lost] c
Sal *IG* ii^2 1260.9f, 14f, 19 307-250 (JC: com; cf. *IG*: 307-304) Str Hon Mil
Fragmentary inscription found at Sounion. Beloch (accepted by Wilhelm) dates it to "4 Years' War" with Kassandros; thus *IG*'s precise range of dates. Elected *peripolarchos* (L9f) and Str (L14f) by *demos*; crowned by *Salaminioi* (L19).

1552 L [Name, patc. and demotic lost] c
LHe *IG* ii^2 672+.39 280-275 (ctx; cf. *IG*: 279/8) Mov
IG's text has [-17 dots- εἶπεν]. Introduces 1st of 2 klerouchic decrees honoring Κωμέας Χαιρέους Λαμπτρεύς (**831**), L11f, 32, 40.

1553 D (Unnamed, 2 references; DK if to same person) c
LMy Crosby, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 457-461 #7.17 and #8.6 167/6-125 (ed: ctx) Hip
2 Attic inscriptions (same date) with lists of mostly Attic offices (no

names at all). This office mostly restored; better preserved example is [ἵππαρχο]ς εἰς Μυρίναν. Bugh, *Horsemen* 197 and 218: Served under Str in LHe in this period.

1554 D [Lost ?name, ?patc., and/or demotic?] d
Sal *IG* ii^2 3562 (above L1?) 001++ (*IG*: ctx) Ded Pri
Inscription found on Sal. Chief Pri of the Augusti, whose name probably appeared in missing line(s) at the top, dedicates statues from own resources.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

In the footnotes and appendixes of this study, both primary and secondary works are generally cited in brief forms. Ancient literary works are cited by abbreviated author and/or title and/or standard number (book, oration, etc.); I follow the numbering and textual divisions of the Loeb edition for any works that exist in that edition, indicating this explicitly when I am aware that other available editions differ. Historical fragments and inscriptions are cited by short title, and/or occasionally editor's surname, in standard collections (see below). Books are usually cited by surname of author/editor and abbreviated title, plus page number(s); articles or chapters within books (collections on related topics, conference papers, Festschriften, etc.) are cited in similar fashion. Journal articles are generally cited by author's surname, abbreviated title of the journal, volume number, year (in parentheses) and page(s). When a volume number is "n.s." (New Series), I do not explicitly mention that fact, nor do I mention actual issuance dates that are later than dates indicated in the publication itself (rather a frequent phenomenon, in the case of some journals). Journal titles are abbreviated as by *L'Année Philologique*, with a few exceptions: I use *Annuario* instead of *ASAA*, *AM* instead of *MDAI(A)*, *TAPA* instead of *TAPhA*.

ANCIENT LITERARY WORKS, when directly consulted and cited in the notes (normally in abbreviated form) are listed below in full author-title form, including standard numbers of orations. A few works are included that are not handily available (in the Loeb series, etc.), but are cited via secondary treatments that include quotation of the relevant Greek passages (such entries have the parenthetical notation "via Greek in ____", referencing some work listed below). In the notes, mere reportage that some modern author cites a source does not automatically imply my personal verification of the citation, if the point is tangential or the source is one in a list of otherwise verified sources; secondarily-cited works of this type are not listed here. Pseudonymous works are cited using brackets. Scholia, if cited independently rather than secondarily via *ATL* or some author who quotes them, have entries under the names of the authors/editors of collections of scholia in the main bibliography, and these are cross-referenced here. Entries for fragments cited via *FGrH* include the author numbers assigned by Jacoby; most other fragments are cited secondarily from works in the main bibliography, or via the accessible ancient works in which they appear (e.g., Athenaios). I do not provide translators, editions, or

places and years of publication or printings. In most cases, it is to be assumed that I employ the Loeb editions and printings accessible to me in my own office or nearby libraries; one Loeb printing is usually identical with another. When editors/translators are cited for their opinions or quoted, their names are mentioned in the notes. The *Hypothesis* to an oration has generally been consulted in the Budé edition.

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  2. *On the Embassy*
  3. *Against Ktesiphon*
Sch. Ais. 1.53 (via Greek in *ATL*)
Sch. Ais. 2.31 (Loeb numbering, via Greek in *ATL*, as Sch. Ais. 2.34)
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  2. *Second Olynthiac*
  3. *Third Olynthiac*
  4. *First Philippic*
  5. *On the Peace*
  6. *Second Philippic*
  7. [*On Halonnesos*]
  8. *On the Chersonesos*
  9. *Third Philippic*
  10. *Fourth Philippic*
  11. [*Answer to Philip's Letter*]
  12. [*Philip's Letter*]
  15. *For the Liberty of the Rhodians*
  18. *On the Crown*
  19. *On the Embassy*
  20. *Against Leptines*
  23. *Against Aristokrates*

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44. [*Against Leochares*]
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8. *On the Peace*
12. *Panathenaïkos*
15. *Antidosis*
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INDEX OF SOURCES CITED

Every important argument or bit of data in this work is closely tied to some source(s), and can be located via this source index. Indexes of either personal or geographical names, or of subjects, would be redundant. Chapters 1 and 2 are both divided into sections along geographical lines (Chapter 1 is divided chronologically as well); the section titles of Chapter 3 provide a virtual "subject index" for subjects other than those easily referenced by names, toponyms, or dates; Appendix A is a series of discussions of specific epigraphic sources; and Appendix B has entries for more than 1500 names, in alphabetical order.

The divisions within this Index are a simplified version of those of "Abbreviations and Bibliography", whose entries clarify any abbreviated source citations used here. Ancient literary works that exist in the Loeb editions are cited by the textual divisions of those editions. Most epigraphical sources are cited by their numbers in standard collections or editions, including collections in English translation. An inscription in more than one contemporaneous standard collection (some volume of *IG* and also *SLC* or *CEG*, for example) may be listed more than once, with secondary listing(s) cross-referenced to the way the inscription is primarily cited. *IG* references take precedence as primary citations unless they have been explicitly superseded (as often in the *Agora* volumes and sometimes in *SEG*), even when improvements or discussions (especially in *SEG*) are secondarily referenced. The *ed. prin.* of an inscription is indicated as its source only when that inscription has never (or has not yet) been incorporated into some standard collection. When such an *ed. prin.* includes several numbered texts (as is especially the case for the Bibliography's "Briefer Collections in Article Form"), I cite the inscription here by its number (using "#"), not by the page(s) on which it appears in the journal article.

Each individual source's entry in this index has potentially three subdivisions (the ten inscriptions illustrated in the Plates may have four):

1. "Source for" items in Appendix B, referenced by boldface numbers, with boldface numbers of secondary Appendix B entries in parentheses;
2. "Cited at" Appendix B items, again in boldface, for works used in cross-references in the Appendix; and
3. Citations within the remainder of the book, normally via Section and note number, in regular print. When a note is thus

cited, it is to be understood that the related discussion within the body of my text should also be consulted. I cite Section and *page* number when the source reference does not appear in a note. Since the Introduction and Appendix A are not divided into Sections, these are referenced respectively as "Int." and as "App.A Att." (for Attic and Salaminian texts) or "App.A Ext." (for Extra-Attic texts), with note numbers as for citations by Section. Appendix A's extended discussion of each inscription is cited by page(s), in addition to referencing associated notes.

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6.35-38: Source for (**829**), **948**.
6.38.1f, 103.4: Source for (**773**), **1171A**.
6.39.2, 41.2: Source for **590A**, (**1055A**).
6.41: Source for **939A**.
6.136-140: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
7.183: Source for **1074**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.2.
8.11.3, 82: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.15.
8.11.3: Source for **102**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.1, 3.13 n.5.
8.95: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.8.
9.34.1: Cited at App.A Att. n.24.
9.106.3: Cited at Sec.2.2 n.11.
9.114-121: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.23.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 132: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.30.

Hyp. 1.16-18: Source for **866**; cited at Sec.3.3 n.24.
1.17: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.17, 2.2 n.3.
1.18: Cited at Sec.3.6 n.14, 3.8 n.7.
1.20: Cited at **673**, **866**.

Isaios 6.13, 25, 64f: Cited at Sec.2.5 n.38.
6.13: Source for **520**, **741**, (**1096**).
Lost Or. 4, frag.3: Source for **231**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.39.
Fr. 29: Cited at **906**.

Isok. 4.107: Cited at Sec.3.2 n.13.
5.2-6: Cited at Int. n.16.
5.6: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.12, 2.1 n.20.
8 *hyp.*: Cited at Int. n.16.
12.164-167, 190: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.2.
15.108, 111-113: Cited at Sec.1.6 n.1.
15.108, 111: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.5.
15.108, 112: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.1.
15.108, 113: Cited at Int n.17, Sec.2.2 n.15.

Justinus 17.1: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.40.

Krateros, *FGrH* 342 F 21: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.20, 3.2 n.5.

Lewis, *Historia* 32 (1983) 245: Cited at **551**, **990** and at Sec.2.4 n.23.

Lys. 12.6: Cited at **663**.
12.52; 13.44: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.3.
19: Cited at **189**, **719**.
31.16: Cited at **390**.

Marcellinus, *Vita Thucydidis* 11: Source for **590A**, (**1055A**).
12: Source for **939A**.

M.Aurel. *Med.* 7.66: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.41.

Nep. *Cim.* 8: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.20.
Timoth. 1.2f: Cited at Int. n.17, Sec.1.7 n.2.
1.2: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.5.

1.3: Cited at Sec.2.4 n.16.
3: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.18.

P.Oxy. 3711: Source for **1069**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.20.

Paus. 1.9.8: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.40.
1.22.7: Cited at **1234**.
1.25.3: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.35, 1.8 n.13.
1.25.6: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.5.
1.28.2: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.16.
1.35.2: Source for **41**; cited at Sec.1.10 nn.44f, 2.9 n.52, 3.3 n.9.
1.35.3: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
3.3.7f: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.20.
4.26.2; 10.38.10: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.1.
6.3.15f: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.1.
6.19.6: Source for (**829**), **948**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.3.

Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 154: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.13, 2.1 n.7.
F 219: Cited at **541**.

Philostratos, *Heroikos* 8.11: Cited at **925**.

Pind. *Nem.* 2.19 and Sch.: Source for **1238**, (**1247**); cited at Sec.1.1 n.8, 2.9 n.35.

Plato, *Apol.* 32C-D: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.5, 2.9 n.41.
Lett. 7.324E: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.5, 2.9 n.41.

Pliny, *Natural History* 4.11.48: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.30.

Plut.
Alex. 3.4: Cited at Sec.1.6 n.5.
28.1: Cited at Sec.1.9a pp.41f.
Alkib. 32.2: Source for **403**, (**718**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.46.
Arist. 27.4: Source for **162**, **163**.
Demet. 8-14: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.33.
23: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.47.
23.1f: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.44.
30-46: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.49.
31.2: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.41.
35.3: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.51.
43.3: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.50.
Dem. 15.3: Source for **324**; cited at **600** and at Sec.2.8 n.11.
Kim. 4.1: Source for **590A**, (**1055A**).
4.8: Source for **251**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.37.
8.3-5: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.20.
9; 14.1: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.23.
Lys. 14.2: Cited at Sec.1.2 nn.5, 8.
[*Mor.*] (=*X Orat.*) 840EF, 850A: Cited at Int. n.13.
847C: Source for **600**; cited at **324** and at Sec.2.8 n.11.
Mor. 1138A (=*On Music* 21): Cited at **1231**.
Per. 11.5; 19.1: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.26.
11.5: Cited at Sec.3.2 nn.12, 15.
Phok. 18.4: Source for **37**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.4.
28.4: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.12.
33.2: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.13.
Pyrr. 12.4f: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.49.
Sol. 8-10: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.4.
10: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.7.
Thes. 36.1: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.20.

Polyain. 3.9.36: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.3.
3.10.7, 14: Cited at Int. n.17.
3.10.8: Cited at Int. n.16.
3.10.9f: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.5.
3.10.15: Cited at Int. n.17.
4.7.5: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
4.11.1f: Source for **41**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.52.
4.11.2: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.44.
5.21: Source for **37**.
6.2.1: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.11.

Polyb. 32.21: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.53.

[Skymnos] 707f: Cited at **1363**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.19.

Souda s.v. *klerouchoi* and *Skyrian diken*: Cited at Sec.3.9 n.7.

Str. 9.5.16: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.13, 1.10 n.1.
13.599f: Source for **1363**.
14.1.18: Source for **988**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.20, 2.1 n.9.

Thuc. 1.89.2: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.23.
1.98.2: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.20.
2.70: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.32.
3.5.1; 4.28.4; 5.8.2: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.15.
7.57: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.16.
8.21 and *passim*: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.30.
8.73.4: Cited at **39**.

Vita Aeschyli 5: Cited at Int. n.13.

Vita Euripidis 137.81: Cited at **541**.

Vitruvius 7.7.2: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.53.

Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.22: Cited at **525** and at Sec.2.8 n.6.
1.3.13: Cited at **637**.
1.7.2: Cited at **39**.
2.1.20, 26: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.2.
2.1.30, 32: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.3.
2.2.2, 9: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.33
2.2.9: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.2.
2.3.2: Cited at **637**, **663**.
2.3.6f: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.33, 1.5 n.1.
2.3.39: Source for **853**; cited at Sec.1.4 n.5, 2.9 n.41.
2.4.8-10: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.5.
3.2.9f: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.4.
4.2.6, 8: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.6.
4.8.5: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.7.
4.8.6: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.9.
4.8.12-15: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.15.
4.8.15: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.6.
4.8.23: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.1.
4.8.26-28, 31: Cited at Sec.1.2 nn.11f.
4.8.32-35, 39: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.13.
4.8.35: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.17, 2.2 n.3.
5.1.7: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.14.
5.1.25-29, 31: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.15.
5.1.31: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.7.
Mem. 2.8: Source for **491**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.2.
4.4.3: Source for **853**; cited at Sec.1.4 n.5, 2.9 n.41.

2. *Inscriptions in Collections*

Agora I 5212 (unpub.): See *Agora* XVI.68.
7495 (unpub.): Cited at **83**.
7557 (unpub.): See *SEG* 36.146.

Agora XV.13: Cited at **639**, **763**, **802**, **1107**.
14: Cited at **732**, **1295**.
17: Cited at **1038**, **1103**.
23: Cited at **639**.
32: Cited at **19**, **421**, **422**.
36: Cited at **1103**.
38: Cited at **1031**.
42: Cited at **114**, **509**, **648**, **675**, **869**, **1304**, **1312**.
43: Cited at **71**, **1058**.
44: Cited at **223**, **795**, **1375**, **1392**.
46: Cited at **825**.
47: Cited at **1250**.
52: Cited at **387**, **942**.
54: Cited at **1237**.
55: Cited at **392A**, **550A**.
59: Cited at **1075**.
61: Cited at **430**, **675**, **1075**, **1304**.
62: Cited at **74**, **101**, **383**, **521**, **630**, **631**, **1049**, **1198**.
68: Cited at **674**, **1271**.
72: Cited at **353**, **1032**.
78: Cited at **71**.
85: Cited at **753**.
88: Cited at **357**.
101: Cited at **1032**.
105: Cited at **146**.
125: Cited at **1334**.
127: Cited at **25**.
129: Cited at **639**, **1058**.
141: Cited at **1392**.
168: Cited at **922**.
186: Cited at **573**.
187: Cited at **351**.
190: Cited at **445**, **1169**.
194: Cited at **212**, **644**, **645**, **683**.
204: Cited at **1032**.
205: Cited at **1032**.
206: Cited at **482**, **609**, **998**.
225: Cited at **12**.
226: Cited at **1023**.
243: Cited at **212**, **683**.
267: Cited at **1181**.
275: Cited at **926**.
280: Cited at **327**.
323: Cited at **562**.
331: Cited at **36**.
352: Cited at **1317**.
375: Cited at **28**.
378: Cited at **1250**.
392: Cited at **335**.
430: Cited at **609**.
440: Cited at **28**.
444: Cited at **1169**.
447: Cited at **128**.
448: Cited at **1198**.

449: Cited at **1169**.
492: Cited at **414**, **1031**.
493: Cited at **66**, **787**, **802**.

Agora XVI.68: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.20; 2.1 n.27; 3.6 n.10; 3.7 n.30; App.A Att. pp.225f, n.69.

Agora XVII.1: Source for **733**, **1472**; cited at **426** and at Sec.2.4 n.33.
6: Cited at **413** and at Sec.2.9 n.46.
11: Cited at **232**.
19: Cited at **242**.
23: Cited at **390**, **449**, **494**, **518**, **573**, **670**, **875**, **876**, **1092**, **1226**, **1260**, **1388**.
52: Cited at **19**.
134: Cited at **728**.
216: Cited at **639**, **1513**.
273: Cited at **71**.
348: Cited at **1138**.
401: Cited at App.A Ext. n.19.
466: Cited at **281**.
632: See *IG* ii^2 9974.
653: See *IG* ii^2 10178.
654: Source for **293**, (**305**, **830**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.12.
655: Source for **310**, (**1369**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.12.
656: Source for **1063**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.12.
657: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.4.
709: Cited at **114**.
712: Cited at **129**.
815: Cited at **414**.
821: Cited at **525**.

Agora XIX.L3: Source for **634**, **1542**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.8; 1.3 nn.1, 8f; 1.4 n.1; 2.1 nn.3, 12, 21, 30; 2.5 n.42; 3.3 nn.7, 25f; 3.4 n.23; 3.5 n.13; 3.9 nn.4f; 3.12 n.27; 3.13 nn.2f, 8, 44.
L4a and b: Cited at Sec.1.1 nn.7, 10; 2.2 n.37.
L4a: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.13.
L6: Cited at **309**, **1309**.
L8: Cited at **1362**, **1422**.
LA2: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.4.
P2: Source for (**170**, **198**), **430**, **663**, **849**, (**904**), **912**, **1013**, **1208**; cited at Sec.1.4 n.4, 2.9 nn.42-44, 3.3 n.29, 3.4 n.2, 3.13 n.11.
P4: Source for (**348**), **672**, **717**, **720**, **906**, **1432**; cited at Sec.1.3 n.11; 2.5 n.42; 3.9 n.5; 3.13 n.10; App.A Att. p.226, n.70.
P5: Cited at **430**, **671**, **720** and at Sec.2.9 n.45, 3.12 n.16.
P9: Cited at **393**, **478**.
P13: Cited at **390**.
P20: Cited at **19**.
P27: Cited at **976**.
P33: Cited at **65**.
P38: Cited at **19**.

Agora XXV.663: Cited at **707**.

Agora XXVI var.159-161: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.10.
452: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.9.
454: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.10.
455, 455A: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.6.
456: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.10.
640-642: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.7.

ATL D 21: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.32.

Austin, *Hell. World* 23: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.12.
43: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
44: See Burstein, *Tr.Doc.* 3.55.

Burstein, *Tr.Doc.* 3.13: Cited at Sec. 1.10 n.48.
55: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.49.

CEG 79: See *IG* i^3 1507.
475: See *IG* ii^2 7180.
498: See *IG* ii^2 13093.
577: See *IG* ii^2 11974.
593: See *IG* ii^2 11169.
602: See *IG* ii^2 6475.
684: Source for **40**, (**325**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.23.
728: See *SEG* 24.655.
767: See *IG* ii^2 3830.
845: See *IG* xii(8) 67.

Fornara, *Tr.Doc.* 1.44B: See *IG* i^3 1.
154: See *IG* i^3 375.
166: See *IG* ii^2 1.

Fouilles de Delphes 3.2.2: Cited at **1152**.

GHD:5C p.42: See *IG* ii^2 1.

GHD:4C 31: See *SV* 268.
41: See Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926) #5.

Harding, *Tr.Doc.* 2.5: See *IG* ii^2 1.
8: Cited at **837**.
58: See *IG* ii^2 114.

64: See *IG* ii^{2} 126.
77: See Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F 154.
81: See *IG* xii(8) 4.
111: See *IG* ii^{2} 337.
115: See Harpokr. s.v. *Aristion.*
121: See *IG* ii^{2} 1629.
122: See *Syll.*^{3} 306.
123f: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.9.
125A and B: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.39.
127: See *Syll.*^{3} 312.
128: See Habicht, *AM* #1.
129: See *IG* ii^{2} 1201+.

Heraion Inv. J24: Source for (**86**), **90**, **209**, (**218**), **242**, **496**, **565**, **570**, **641**, (**919**), **1081**, **1191**, **1301**, **1426**, **1427**, **1443**, **1449**, **1458**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.19; 2.1 n.26; 2.8 nn.15, 31f; 3.3 n.17; 3.5 nn.13, 28; 3.6 p.161, n.23; 3.7 nn.5, 20, 41; 3.8 n.13; 3.13 n.24; App.A Ext. p.229, nn.4-6.
J212: See *SEG* 1.349.

Inschr.v.Priene 5: Source for **398**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.19, 2.8 n.15, 3.3 n.16.

Inscr. de Délos VII no.104-5: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.11.

IG i^{2} 1: See *IG* i^{3} 1.
241: Cited at **1161**.
640: See *IG* i^{3} 748.
681: Cited at **882**.
829: See *IG* i^{3} 1022.
929: Cited at **14**, **976**, **1385**.
943: Cited at **166**.
947: See *IG* i^{3} 1164.
948: See *IG* i^{3} 1165.
950: Cited at **1124**.
953: Cited at **976**.
1005: See *IG* i^{3} 1368.
1020: See *IG* i^{3} 1270.
1041: Cited at App.A Att. n.12.
1050: See *IG* ii^{2} 12579/81.
1054: See *IG* ii^{2} 10505.

IG i^{3} 1: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.5; 1.4 n.1; 3.13 nn.1f; App.A Att. pp.205f, nn.1-5.
41: Cited at Sec.3.9 n.6.
46: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.24, 3.3 n.8, 3.12 n.27.
61: Cited at **1023**.
127: See *IG* ii^{2} 1.
237: Cited at Int. n.3; App.A Att. pp.206f, nn.6-9.
339: Cited at Sec.3.7 n.35, App.A Att. n.11.
341: Cited at Sec.3.7 n.35; 3.8 n.4; App.A Att. pp.207f, nn.10-13, 61.
375: Cited at **105**, **728** and at Sec.2.8 n.6.
385-387, 389: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.15.
417: Source for **1267**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.24, App.A Att. n.12.
437: Cited at **429** and at Sec.2.9 n.15.
514: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.32.
518: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
522*bis*: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
748: Source for **1477**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.36.
1022: Source for **719**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.36, 3.13 n.44.
1032: Cited at App.A Att. n.12.
1162: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.26.
1164: Photo : Plate 1. Source for **2**, **64**, **87**, (**161**), **204**, **216**, **235**, **304**, **404**, **550**, **670**, **744**, **983**, **1060**, **1073**, **1092**, **1166**, **1258**, **1324**, **1360**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.16, 2.5 n.9, App.A Att. n.12.
1165: Source for **300**, **408**, **552**, **927**; cited at **832** and at Sec.1.1 n.16, 2.5 n.10.
1270: Source for **1130**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.32.
1301: Source for **610A**, (**971A**); cited at Sec.2.4 n.24.
1325: Photo : Plate 4. Source for **953**, (**1293**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.8.
1350: Source for **946**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.2.
1365-68: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.4.
1466: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
1472: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
1477: Source for **73**, **402**, **508**, **832**, **861**, (**899A**), **1043**, **1262**, **1279**, **1428**, **1429**, **1480**, **1499**, **1509**, **1514**, **1524**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.13, 2.5 n.11.
1492-99: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.29, 3.12 n.5.
1493-94: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.5
1500-01: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.1.
1506: Source for (**883**), **979**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.14.
1507: Source for **1233**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.1.
1510-14: Cited at Sec.2.4 nn.14f.
1510: Source for (**656**), **837**; cited at App.A Ext. n.1.
1511: Source for (**706**), **712**, **732**, (**1086**), **1206**; cited at App.A Ext. n.1.

1512: Source for (**616**), **1046**; cited at App.A Ext. p.227.
1513: Source for **557**, (**1256**); cited at App.A Ext. n.1.
1514: Source for **337**, (**556**); cited at App.A Ext. pp.227f.
1515: Source for (**910**), **1107**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.11.

IG ii 2692 (not in *IG* ii²): Cited at **957**.

IG ii² 1: Source for **525**, **1113**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.30; 1.5 n.8; 2.8 nn.6f; App.A Att. pp.208-210, nn.14-29.
2: Cited at App.A Att. n.15.
16: Cited at **282**.
30: See *Agora* XIX.L3.
43: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.19; 1.5 nn.6, 10; 1.7 n.10; 3.2 n.10.
47: Cited at **962**.
64+425+293: See *SEG* 37.70.
77: Cited at **1162**.
108: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.5.
110: Cited at **1408**.
114: Cited at Sec.1.6 nn.2, 4; 2.1 n.4; 2.2 n.13; 3.5 n.19; 3.6 p.162, n.9; 3.8 n.3; 3.13 n.44; App.A Att. pp.210f, nn.30f.
118: Source for (**621**), **1407**, **1494**; cited at **205** and at Sec.1.6 nn.2f; 1.7 n.7; 2.2 n.17; 3.3 n.10; 3.5 n.19; 3.6 p.162, n.9; 3.8 n.3.
126: Cited at Sec.1.2 n.20, 1.7 n.14, 2.2 n.27.
133: Source for (**865**), **1303**; cited at Sec.2.4 nn.26, 34; 3.3 n.3; 3.4 n.7.
143: Cited at **74**.
180: Cited at Sec.3.3 n.7.
207: Cited at **1103**.
212-214: Cited at **888**.
228: Source for (**677**), **1395**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.19, 2.2 n.29, 2.4 n.25, 3.3 n.11.
240: Cited at **114**.
280: Cited at **1204**.
330: Cited at **1387**.
337: Cited at Sec.2.2 n.12.
341: Cited at **1331**.
348: Cited at **1029**.
370: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.4.
410: Cited at **531**.
449: Cited at **353**.
450: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.23.
457: Cited at **1237**.
487: Cited at **565**.
489-491, 493-498, 734: Cited at **383**.
492: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.40, 2.2 n.4, 2.5 n.42.
498: Cited at **1331**.
505: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.8.
525: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.36.
547: Cited at **239**.
550: Source for **229**, **698**, **1281**, **1433**; cited at Sec.1.10 nn.25, 31; 2.1 n.22; 2.5 n.42; App.A Att. pp.211f, nn.32-34.
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672+: Source for **716**, **831**, (**1372**), **1552**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.52; 2.1 nn.23, 32; 2.5 n.37; 3.3 n.24; 3.5 nn.29, 34; 3.6 n.26; 3.8 nn.6, 8, 11f, 17f, 21.
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791d: Cited at **21**.
833, 838: Cited at **242**.
843: Cited at **630**, **631**.
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1006: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
1008: Source for (**602**), **1122**, **1311**; cited at **1195** and at Sec.1.10 n.48; 2.2 n.40; 2.9 n.63; 3.3 n.22; 3.4 n.6; 3.5 nn.11, 17, 32; 3.6 n.25; 3.7 nn.41, 47; 3.8 nn.5f, 8-11; 3.13 n.34.
1009: Cited at **554**, **641**, **762**, **957**, **1134**.
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1053+: Source for (**23**), **250**, **476**, **665**, **926**, **1149**, **1445**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.42; 3.5 n.21; App.A Att. pp.213f, nn.37-41.
1058: See *IG* ii² 1051+.
1132: Cited at **992** and at Sec.2.7 n.12.
1147: Cited at **1140**.
1156: Cited at **1006**.

1176: See *SEG* 33.143.
1191, 1194: Cited at **962**.
1201+: Cited at Sec.1.10 nn.9, 12.
1204: Cited at **590**.
1222: Source for **1109**, (**1280**), **1323**, **1422**, **1536**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.42; 2.1 n.26; 2.5 n.42; 3.5 nn.17, 19; 3.6 p.163, n.13; 3.7 n.41; 3.8 nn.3,6; App.A Att. pp.214-218, nn.42-54.
1223: Source for **236**, **445**, **750**, (**808**), **1354**, **1435**; cited at Sec.2.1 nn.32, 37; 2.5 n.42; 3.5 nn.17, 20; 3.7 nn.40, 47; 3.8 nn.5f, 8, 10-12, 15, 17-19; App.A Att. nn.44f, 50, pp.218f, nn.54-56.
1224: Source for (**72**), **119**, **319**, (**380**), **957**, **1225**, **1259**, **1288**, (**1302**), **1462**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.53; 2.1 n.32; 2.5 n.42; 3.3 n.24; 3.5 n.20; 3.6 n.26; 3.8 n.5; 3.13 n.43; App.A Att. nn.44, 46-48.
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1227: Source for **94**, **464**, (**548**), **639**, **645**, (**737**), **1309**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.48; 2.2 n.40; 2.9 n.63; 3.4 n.5; 3.5 nn.11, 17, 32, 34; 3.6 n.25; 3.7 nn.27, 41, 47; 3.8 nn.6, 8, 10f; 3.13 n.36; App.A Att. nn.45f, 48, 50.
1228: Source for **47**, **644**, **1134**, **1408**; cited at **464** and at Sec.1.10 n.48; 2.9 n.63; 3.4 n.5; 3.5 nn.11, 34; 3.7 n.47; 3.8 nn.6, 9, 11; 3.13 n.37; App.A Att. nn.45, 50.
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1378: Cited at **38**.
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1388: Cited at **691**, **1197**.
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1440+1438+1463: See *SEG* 36.208.
1443: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.16; 1.7 n.22; 2.1 n.27; 2.2 n.28; 3.6 n.10; 3.13 n.25; App.A Att. p.219, nn.57f; App.A Ext. n.7.
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1492B: Source for **1420**, **1441**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.37.
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1746+2412: See *Agora* XV.62.
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11854: Source for (**432**), **778**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.26.
11859: Source for **524**, **781**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.26.
11946: See *IG* xii(8) 30.
11960: Source for **608**, **841**, **852**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.6, 2.9 n.28.
11974: Source for **859**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.20.
11982: Source for **864**, (**868**).
12054: Cited at **1107**.
12084: Source for **920**; cited at Sec.2.9 nn. 18, 26.
12088: Source for **921**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.18.
12117: Source for **937**, (**968**).
12158: Source for **959**; cited at Sec.2.9 nn.21, 26.
12204: Cited at **744**.
12578: Cited at Sec.2.9 nn.11, 14.
12579/81: Source for (**1132**), **1350**; cited at Sec.2.9 nn.11, 14.
12587: Source for (**98**), **1066**, **1142**.
12797: Source for **1243**.
12798: Source for **1244**, (**1253**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.26.
12841: Source for (**682**), **1261**.
12849/50: Source for **794**, **1158**, **1263**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.26.
12957: Source for **1313**.
12987: Source for **1341**.
13072: Source for (**956**), **1423**.
13093: Cited at **1479** and at Sec.2.8 n.4.

IG iv 1: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.19.
72: See *IG* ii^2 6669.
86: See *IG* ii^2 10842.

IG iv^2 1: Cited at Sec.2.4 n.36.

IG vii 4250-51: See Tod 164A and B.

IG ix(2) 3: Cited at **1289**.

IG xii(1) 105: Source for **1476**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.36.

IG xii(2) 6: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.14.

IG xii(3) 43: Source for **1167**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.36.
762: Cited at Sec.2.4 n.9.

IG xii(5) 542: Cited at **597**.
543: Cited at **1006**.
882: Cited at Sec.2.4 n.9.
1085: Cited at **418**.

IG xii(8) 1: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.17.
2-4: Cited at Sec.3.4 n.24.
2: Source for (**1040**), **1104**; cited at Sec.1.3 nn.1, 4; 2.1 nn.33, 38, 43; 3.6 pp.158f, nn.4, 18; 3.7 nn.34, 43; 3.8 n.16.
3-6: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.4.
3: Source for (**1050**), **1095**, **1384**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.25; 2.5 n.13; 3.5 n.23; 3.6 p.158, nn.3, 23; 3.8 nn.7, 20.
4: Source for **673**, (**914**); cited at Sec.1.3 n.14; 2.1 n.26; 2.2 n.9; 2.5 n.12; 3.5 nn.6f; 3.6 p.162, n.8; 3.8 nn.7, 10; 3.13 n.5; App.A Ext. pp.233f, n.13.
5: Source for **44**, **495**, **1140**, **1402**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.26; 2.5 n.13; 3.4 n.24; 3.5 nn.5, 7, 23; 3.6 p.158, nn.2, 17; 3.7 nn.2, 42; App.A Ext. pp.234f, nn.14f.
6-9: Cited at Sec.3.4 n.24.
6: Source for **456**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.26; 2.5 n.13; 3.6 p.160; 3.8 nn.6f, 11.
7: Source for **886**; cited at Sec.1.3 n.4; 1.10 n.24; 2.1 nn.34f, 38; 2.5 n.13; 3.6 p.159, nn.5, 23; 3.7 nn.40, 44; 3.8 nn.7, 10, 15; App.A Ext. pp.235-237, nn.16f.
8+: Source for **810**; cited at Sec.3.5 n.34, 3.6 n.26, 3.8 n.6.
9: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 3.7 n.45, 3.8 n.11.
10: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32.
12: Source for (**70**), **494**.
13: Source for **1005**, **1068**.
14: Source for **1519**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.15.
15: Source for **1498**; cited at Sec.2.1 nn.32, 36f; 3.5 n.17; 3.8 nn.6, 9f.
18+: See *SLC* 104.
19: See *SLC* 107-108.
20: See *SLC* 110.
22: See *SLC* 115.
24: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.45.
25: Cited at Sec.3.5 n.34.
26: Source for **28**, **199**, **327**, (**539**, **607**), **822**, (**916**, **1111**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 2.5 n.33, 3.8 n.4.
27: Source for **465**, **941**, **1329A**; cited at Sec.3.4 n.38, 3.5 n.34, 3.6 n.24, 3.8 n.4.
28: 2.1 n.39, 3.6 n.26, 3.8 n.4.
30: Source for **747**, **834**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.31.
31: Source for **83**, (**222**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.37, 2.5 n.30.
32: Source for **942**, (**1102**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.30.
33: Source for **611**, (**1170**); cited at Sec.2.5 nn.30, 33.
35: Source for (**635**), **1513**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.30.
37: Source for **1131**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.30.
38: Source for (**571**, **571A**, **575**), **752**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.30, 3.8 n.4.
39: Source for (**913**), **1141**.
40: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.39.
41: Cited at Sec.3.5 nn.1, 34.
42: Source for **982**, (**1094**), **1358**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.30.
43: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32.
44: Cited at Sec.3.5 n.34.
46: Source for **104**, (**754**), **1265**, (**1269**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.26; 3.5 n.26; 3.6 p.160, n.20; 3.8 n.14.
47: Source for (**165**), **429**, **441**, **538**, (**679**), **690**, **699**, **740**, **869**, **929**, (**1368**); cited at Sec.1.10 n.26; 2.6 n.7; 3.4 nn.12f, 31; 3.5 nn.2, 27; 3.6 pp.159f, nn.6, 22; 3.7 nn.3, 15, 24; 3.8 nn.6f; 3.9 n.3.
48: Source for **34**, **117**, (**203**), **345**, **1000**, **1292**, **1547**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.27; 2.6 nn.4, 7; 3.4 n.13; 3.5 n.17; 3.6 p.160, n.19; 3.7 nn.4, 15, 24.
50: Cited at Sec.3.5 n.17; 3.7 n.37; 3.8 nn.11, 15, 19.
51: Source for **91**, (**113**, **490**), **509**, **633**, (**788**), **821**, **1503**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.41; 2.6 n.26; 3.4 n.15; 3.5 nn.17, 34; 3.8 n.22; 3.9 n.3; 3.13 n.46.
52: Source for **722**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26, 3.6 n.25, 3.7 n.27, 3.13 n.45.
53: Source for (**181**, **187**, **188**), **875**, **1229**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26; 3.5 n.30; 3.6 n.26; 3.7 n.40; 3.8 nn.6, 8, 10.
54: Cited at Sec.3.5 n.17.
55: Source for **42**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26, 3.8 nn.9f.
56: Cited at Sec.2.2 n.8.
57: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 3.13 n.29

58: Cited at Sec.2.6 n.31, 3.13 n.28.
59: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.29.
61: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.24.
62: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.25.
63: Source for **36**, **45**, **110**, **168**, **178**, (**179**), **185**, **328**, (**347**), **351**, **421**, **544**, **662**, **738**, **757**, **783**, **850**, **876**, (**905**), **909**, **1175**, **1181**, **1419**, **1421**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.5, 11-13; 3.4 n.14; 3.6 p.161; 3.7 nn.22, 26, 31; 3.8 nn.4, 7; 3.13 n.44.
64-66: Cited at Sec.3.8 n.4.
64: Source for **143**, (**695**, **858**), **1045**, **1110**, **1502**, **1537**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 2.6 n.26, 3.3 n.20, 3.5 n.17.
65: Source for **1135**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 2.6 n.26, 3.3 n.20.
66: Source for **1450**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
67: Source for **14**, **15**, (**16**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.9.
68: Source for (**623**), **1330**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.9.
69: Source for **1014**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.10.
70: Source for **1300**, (**1406**); cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26; 3.8 n.4.
71-74: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.46.
71: Source for (**588**), **871**, (**1114**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
72: Source for **259**, **350**, (**1394**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
73: Source for **460**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.6, 26; 3.13 n.27.
74: Cited at Sec.3.13 nn.30, 45.
75: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.29.
76: Source for **908**, (**1230**); cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 9.
77: Source for (**333**), **386**, (**1352**), **1393**, **1396**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.9.
78: Source for **208**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 2.6 n.26, 3.8 n.4.
79: Source for (**278**), **553**, (**700**), **993**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26; 3.13 nn.39, 45.
80: Source for (**55**), **125**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26; 3.13 n.45.
81+: Source for (**1039**), **1357**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26; 3.13 nn.40, 45.
82: Source for **244**, **838**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
83: Source for (**33**, **122**, **131**), **152**, (**153**), **177**, **226**, (**287**, **326**, **341**, **363**), **455**, (**484**), **502**, (**503**, **511**), **513**, (**533**, **543**, **591**, **599**), **612**, **619**, **647**, **657**, (**723**, **725**, **726**), **743**, **748**, (**771**, **820**), **843**, **844**, **845**, (**848**), **881**, (**986**, **1021**), **1025**, **1036**, (**1042**), **1072**, (**1115**), **1150**, **1177**, **1178**, (**1189**), **1211**, **1246**, **1376**, **1377**, **1378**, **1489**, **1528**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.28.
84: Source for (**85**), **286**, **359**, **381**, **519**, **606**, **713**, **824**, **900**, **1041**, **1136**, **1347**, **1481**, **1496**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.6; 2.6 nn.22, 25; 3.8 n.3.
85: Source for **32**, **46**, **77**, **82**, **99**, **100**, **111**, **118**, **145**, **157**, **202**, **267**, **268**, **285**, (**329**), **360**, **428**, **440**, **477**, **542**, **601**, **632**, **701**, **721**, **724**, **769**, **782**, **798**, **839**, **867**, **892**, **893**, **902**, **1004**, **1018**, **1020**, **1037**, (**1055**), **1078**, **1085**, **1108**, **1121**, **1123**, **1151**, **1155**, **1187**, **1188**, **1194**, **1207**, **1235**, **1236**, **1248**, **1264**, **1270**, **1274**, **1286**, **1294**, **1298**, **1299**, **1344**, **1348**, **1366**, **1506**, **1510**, **1512**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.6, 2.6 nn.23-25, 3.8 n.3.
86: Source for **167**, **1497**, **1518**, **1520**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.21.
87: Source for **431**, **487**, **1174**, **1329**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26, 3.3 n.20.
88: Source for **54**, (**62**), **799**, **934**, **994**, **1010**, **1128**, **1504**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
89: Source for **1**, **158**, **252A**, **280**, **288**, **297**, **308**, **331**, **406**, **469**, **470**, (**497**), **684**, **694**, **813**, (**1054**), **1165**, **1176**, **1239**, **1381**, (**1389**), **1487**, **1490**, **1491**, **1529**, **1530**, **1533**, **1534**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
90: See *IG* i^3 1507.
91: Source for **1488**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.18.
92: Source for **200**, **742**, **789**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26.
93: Source for **416**, **860**, **1002**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
94: Source for (**249**), **1212**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
95: Source for **1464**, **1465**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
96: Source for (**856**), **966**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.

97: Source for **335**, (**636**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
98: Source for **826**, **1125**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
99: Source for **422**, **930**, **1457**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.13.
100: Source for (**13**), **92**, (**352**, **815**, **1156**), **1250**, **1386**, **1387**, **1390**, **1531**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.14.
101: Source for **22**, (**535**), **1397**, (**1398**), **1401**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.15.
102: Source for **260**, (**458**); cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26; 3.13 n.41.
103: Source for **51**, (**135**, **805**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
104: Source for (**56**), **624**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
105: Source for **546**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
106: Source for (**545**, **903**), **1116**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
107: Source for **1215**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26, 3.8 n.4.
108+: Source for **417**, (**574**, **931**, **1190**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
109: Source for **166**, **1226**, (**1227**, **1364**), **1416**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
110: Source for **353**, (**1310**), **1343**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 17.
111: Source for (**653**), **654**, **1056**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26; App.A Ext. pp.232f.
112: Source for (**338**), **678**, (**846**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
113: Source for **461**, (**791**), **792**, (**816**), **996**, **1153**, **1242**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.29.
114: Source for **784**, **793**, (**967**, **997**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
115: Source for (**467**), **1339**; cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 18.
116: Source for **459**, (**488**), **522**, **827**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.20.
117: Source for **1210**, **1400**, (**1410**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.16.
118: Source for **344**, **1342**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.17.
119: Source for **1278**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
120: Source for **93**, **217**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
121: Source for **473**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
122: Source for **281**, (**613**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
123: Source for **253**, (**1338**, **1340**); cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26.
124: Source for **1183**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
125: Source for **739**, (**1144**); cited at Sec.2.6 nn.6, 26.
126+: Source for (**136**), **1469**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
127: Source for **1470**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
128: Source for **1254**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
130-132: Cited at Sec.2.6 n.27.
130: Source for **1467**.
131: Source for **9**; cited at Sec.3.13 n.42.
132: Source for **828**.
133+: Source for **1291**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
134: Source for (**137**), **667**, **1473**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
135: Source for (**290**), **1322**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
136: Source for **29**, (**370**); cited at Sec.2.6 n.19.
137-139: Cited at Sec.2.6 n.30.
137: Source for (**572**), **1373**.
138: Source for **527**, (**932**).
139: Source for **1475**.
140: Source for (**567**), **568**, **1319**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.32.
141: Source for **1468**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.30, 3.5 n.34, 3.13 n.29.
142: Source for **758**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
143: Source for **472**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
148: Source for **361**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.26.
149: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.45.
216: Source for **25**, **53**, (**216**, **227**), **247**, (**266**), **471**, **549**, **710**, **775**, (**938**), **1198**, **1218**, (**1316**), **1317**, **1337**, (**1424**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 2.4 n.7, 2.6 n.33, 3.3 n.20.
666+: Source for **31**, **214**, **215**, (**316**, **362**), **998**, (**1090**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.32; 2.7 n.17; 3.4 nn.11, 31; 3.5 nn.17, 31; 3.6 n.26; 3.7 nn.35, 41, 47; 3.8 nn.6, 9.
667: Source for **271**, **296**, **302**, **746**, **880**, **901**, **1146**, **1221**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.5.
668: Source for **884**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.26; 2.7 n.6; 3.6 p.161, nn.7, 23; 3.8 n.6.

669: Source for (**67**), **1044**, **1124**; cited at Sec.2.7 nn.7f.
670: Source for **240**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.8.
671: Source for **1526**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
672: Source for (**928**), **1371**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.20, 2.7 n.17.
673: Source for **709**, (**1436**); cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
674: Source for **128**, (**961**); cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
675: Source for (**529**), **626**, (**655**); cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
676: See *IG* ii² 10368.
677: Source for **1067**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17, 3.13 n.45.
678: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.2.
679: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.33.

IG xii Supp. 337 : See *IG* i³ 1477.
338: See *IG* i³ 1506.
339: Photo : Plate 6. Source for (**55A**, **583**), **896**; cited at Sec.1.1 n.17; 2.5 n.32; App.A Ext. pp.237-240, nn.18-21.
341: Source for **952**.
516: Source for **807**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17, 3.13 n.45.
517: Source for **680**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.4.
518: Source for **1148**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.3.
519: Source for **371A**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
520: Source for **627**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17, 3.13 nn.31, 45.
521: Source for (**133**), **1011**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
522: Source for (**208**), **985**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.8.
523: Source for **303**, (**536**), **537**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17, 3.13 n.32.
524: Source for **475**, **835**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
525: Source for **1252**, **1287**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.
526: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.8.
527: Cited at Sec.3.4 n.31.

IG xiv 1207: Source for **541**, (**954**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.38.

Kokula, *Marmorlut.* #O 49: See *IG* xii(8) 31.

Kraay, *Arch.& Cl.Gk.Coins* pl.32 #566-7: Cited at Sec.3.11 n.2.

Kroll, *ABAP* no.7, text *d*: Source for **205**; cited at Sec.2.4 nn.10, 15; 3.9 n.2.

LSAG #59: See *IG* i³ 1477.
#60: See *IG* i³ 1507.

Maier, *Mauerb.* #54: See *IG* ii² 550.

M&L 14: See *IG* i³ 1.
49: See *IG* i³ 46.
94: See *IG* ii² 1.

Michel 160: See *IG* xii(8) 4.
161: See *IG* xii(8) 5.
779: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.5.
780-781: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.4.
832: Source for **6**, **12**, **21**, **60**, **78**, **101**, **116**, **146**, **190**, **223**, (**230**), **262**, **275**, (**283**), **311**, **315**, **342**, **367**, **383**, **390**, **482**, **493**, **534**, **592**, **593**, **659**, **661**, **666**, **671**, **683**, **736**, **767**, **819**, **873**, **1077**, **1079**, **1091**, **1093**, **1129**, **1195**, **1205**, **1234**, **1266**, **1273**, **1312**, **1328**, **1331**, **1334**, **1345**, **1362**, **1382**, **1391**, **1404**, **1549**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.15; 2.8 nn.8, 33-43; 3.4 p.149, n.21; 3.5 nn.3, 13; 3.7 nn.6, 11, p.168, nn.18f; 3.10 n.3; 3.13 pp.199f.
1149: Cited at Sec.3.5 n.33, 3.8 n.4.
Michel Supp. 1510: See *IG* ii² 1223.

Myrina Mus.
Unpub. *horos*: Cited at Sec.3.10 n.7; 3.12 n.23; App.A Ext. pp.245f, nn.31-35.
Inv. p.50 ("Imbros no.64"): Cited at Sec.2.6 n.6.
Inv. 2070, 2154-7: Cited at Sec.2.6 n.6.
2189: See Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 170 n.24.

OGIS 2: See *IG* xii(2) 6.
41: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.45.

Osborne, *Nat.* D4-5: See *IG* ii² 1.
D86: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.

Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos* #17-19: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.39.

Peek, *Att.Gr.* II.19: See *IG* ii² 5529/30.
91: Source for **1173**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.

93: Source for **1478**; cited at Sec.2.9 nn.5, 13.
147: Source for **258**, (**436**, **576**), **1065**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.60.
155: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.14.

Peek, *GG* 67: See *CEG* 684.

Peek, *GVI* 916: See *IG* i³ 1507.

Pfohl 178: See *IG* i³ 1507.

Schwenk #5: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.15, 1.10 n.1.
#7: See *IG* ii² 240.
#74: See *IG* ii² 547.

SV 268: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.2; 3.2 n.2; App.A Att. pp.226f, n.71.
303: Cited at **1395** and at Sec.2.4 n.25.

SLC 10: Source for **4**, **751**, **915**, **1493**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.20, 2.5 n.27, 3.4 n.34, 3.12 n.22.
103: Source for (**24**), **272**, (**772**); cited at Sec.3.12 n.9.
104: Photo : Plate 7. Source for **1015**, **1083**, **1459**; cited at Sec.1.10 nn.18, 20; 2.5 n.27; 2.6 n.10; 3.4 n.29; 3.12 nn.11f; App.A Ext. pp.240f, nn.22f.
105: Photo: Plate 8. Source for (**346**), **478**, **1003**, **1437**, **1440**; cited at Sec.2.5 nn.6, 27; 3.12 n.9; App.A Ext. pp.241-243, nn.24f.
106: Source for **918**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.27, 3.12 n.19.
107-108: Cited at Sec.1.10 nn.18, 20; 2.5 n.27; 3.4 n.29; 3.12 n.12.
107: Source for **1015**; cited at Sec.2.6 n.10.
108: Source for **234**.
109: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.14.
110: Source for **1370**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.27, 3.12 n.13.
115: Photo: Plate 9. Source for **443**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.27, 3.12 n.15, App.A Ext. p.243.
126B: Cited at **504**.
190A: Source for **499**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.5; 3.12 n.10; App.A Ext. pp.243f, nn.26-28.

SEG 1.33: Cited at **864**.
35: Cited at **1066**.
349+*Heraion* J212: Source for **391**, (**1028**), **1532**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.24; 2.8 nn.28-31; 3.5 nn.19, 28; 3.6 p.161, n.21; 3.8 nn.6f, 10; App.A Ext. pp.228f, n.3.
377: Source for **414**, (**507**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.24.
2.51: Source for **121**, **1051**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.61.
414: Source for **615**, (**618**); cited at Sec.2.4 n.17.
3.1: See *IG* i³ 1.
117: Source for **498**, **847**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.38, 2.5 n.37, 3.10 n.7, App.A Ext. n.32.
10.1: See *IG* i³ 1.
100: See *IG* i³ 237.
143: See *IG* ii² 1.
200: See *IG* i³ 341.
319: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.44.
12.1: See *IG* i³ 1.
42: See *IG* ii² 1.
91: Cited at **383**.
13.53: Cited at **78**.
14.47: Cited at **447**.
189: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.2.
223: Cited at **293**.
15.22: Cited at **1362**.
125: Cited at Sec.1.8 n.5.
129: See *IG* ii² 1952+*c*.
16.172: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.44.
17.115: See *Agora* XVII.657.
122: Source for (**50**), **1154**, **1157**.
18.1: See *IG* i³ 1.
200-202: Cited at Sec.3.6 p.161; 3.8 n.4; App.A Ext. pp.229-233, nn.7-12.
200: Photo: Plate 3. Source for **988**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.17; 2.1 n.24; 2.8 n.17; 3.4 n.18; 3.13 n.26; App.A Ext. pp.230, 232, n.8.
201: Source for **1249**, (**1251**); cited at Sec.2.1 n.24; 2.8 n.18; 3.4 n.19; App.A Ext. pp.230-232, nn.9-12.
202: Source for (**106**, **506**, **851**), **1505**, **1507**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.24, 2.8 nn.19f, 3.4 n.20, 3.13 n.26, App.A Ext. pp.231, 232
19.59: See *IG* ii² 550.
118: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
133: See *Agora* XIX.P4.
149: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.5.
283: See *IG* i³ 1350.

21.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
839: Source for **888**, **1035**, **1038**, **1500**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.25.
849: Source for **1126**, **1127**, (**1163**).
852: Source for (**366**, **797**), **857**.
854: Source for (**442**), **1052**.
858: Source for (**939**), **969**.
885: Source for **1307**, (**1355**).
937: Source for **894**, **895**.
938: Source for **1101**, (**1365**).
939: Source for (**246**), **451**.
942: See *Agora* XVII.401.
988: See *Agora* XVII.655.
989: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.1.
990: See *Agora* XVII.656.
22.91: See *IG* ii^2 133.
188: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.4.
23.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
24.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
141: Cited at Sec.3.3 n.21, 3.5 n.21, App.A Att. n.36.
142: See *IG* ii^2 1053+.
143: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.48.
197: Cited at **1079**.
573: Source for (**604**), **642**, (**1089**); cited at Sec.2.4 n.9.
648-655: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.34.
655: Cited at Sec.2.4 n.35.
25.40: *IG* ii^2 1.
260: Source for **397**, (**448**).
286: Source for **377**, (**696**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.
287: Source for (**340**), **999**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.
1000: Cited at Int. n.14.
26.39: See *IG* i^3 1.
1022: Source for **981**, (**1326**); cited at Sec.1.9 n.7, 2.1 n.10, 2.4 n.29.
1025: See *IG* xii(8) 110.
1026: See *IG* xii(8) 115.
27.556: Source for **481**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.8.
28.93: See *IG* ii^2 1051+ and 1053+.
718: Source for **147**, (**273**), **693**, **925**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.39; 2.5 n.37; 3.4 n.36; 3.5 nn.10, 34; 3.6 n.24; 3.8 n.5.
719: Cited at **553** and at Sec.2.6 n.6.
29.141, 459: See *IG* ii^2 1443.
458: See *SEG* 18.200-202.
685: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.34.
30.98: Cited at **1507**.
114: Source for **1033**, **1277**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.19; 2.5 n.37; 2.8 n.14; 3.3 nn.14, 24.
292: Source for **1479**.
784: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.34.
31.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
77: See *IG* ii^2 240.
109A: Source for (**500**), **962**, (**1525**); cited at Sec.2.9 n.40.
271, 276: See *IG* ii^2 1.
32.136: See *IG* ii^2 1051+.
157: See *IG* ii^2 1443.
678: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.34.
834: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.3.
33.18, 213: See *IG* ii^2 1.
143: Cited at App.A Ext. n.30.
254: See *IG* ii^2 1051+.
693: Cited at Sec.1.9a p.40.
34.27, 268: See *IG* ii^2 1.
117, 1686: See *IG* ii^2 1443.
158: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.6.
882*bis*: See *SLC* 190A.
35.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
24: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
175: Cited at **509**.
206: Cited at **982**.
244: See *IG* xii(8) 31.
1731: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.15.
36.23: See *IG* ii^2 1.
43: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
120: Cited at Sec.1.3 n.15.
146: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.22, 2.2 n.2, 2.5 n.42, 3.3 p.144, 3.13 n.21.
185: Cited at **1161**.
208: Cited at Sec.1.5 n.14, 2.1 n.27, 3.6 n.10, 3.8 n.4, App.A Ext. n.7.
213: Cited at **357**, **639**.
219: See *Agora* XV.47.
239: Cited at **90**.
277: Cited at **418**.
1527: Cited at Sec.3.10 n.8.
37.1: See *IG* i^3 1.
9: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.24.
20: See *IG* ii^2 1.
48: See *IG* i^3 1022.
50: Cited at **408**, **1206**.
70: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.3.
86: Cited at **383**.
92: Cited at **1342**.
100: Cited at Int. n.15.
124: Cited at **962**.
142: Cited at **578**, **581**.
176: Source for **270**, **1290**.
184: Source for **897**.
201: Source for **1516**.
212: See *IG* ii^2 1443.
214: Source for **768**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.61.

233: Cited at **1308**.
725: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.20.
38.22: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.44.
25: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.12.
142: Cited at Sec.1.10 nn.25, 35; 2.1 n.34; 3.3 n.31; 3.6 n.10; 3.13 n.23.
143: Cited at Sec.1.10 nn.25, 35; 2.1 n.34; 3.6 n.10; 3.13 n.25.
145: Cited at Sec.1.10 n.35.
146: Cited at **1420**, **1441** and at Sec.1.10 n.37, 2.2 n.5, 3.3 n.31, 3.13 n.23.
149: Cited at Sec.1.4 n.4.
167: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.7.
280: Cited at Sec.2.7 n.5.
723: See *IG* ii[2] 126.
845: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.15.
39.61: See *IG* ii[2] 180.
69: See *SEG* 37.70.
70: See *IG* ii[2] 118.
71: Cited at **1407**.
88: Cited at Int. n.15.
95: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.10.
105: Cited at **383**.
112: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.3.
147: Cited at **962** and at Sec.2.9 n.40.
151: Cited at **1507**.
157: See *IG* ii[2] 1443.
169: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.15.
171: Cited at **426**.
173: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.10.
184: Cited at **1323**.
186: Cited at **1308**.
272: Cited at **29**.
278: Cited at **524**, **781**.
282: Cited at **1362**.
324: See *IG* ii[2] 1.
628: Source for **1022A**, (**1223A**); cited at Sec.2.4 n.18.
40.18: See *IG* i[3] 341.
23: Cited at **707**.
83: Cited at Sec.3.8 n.8.
105: Cited at **357**.
125: Cited at **1362**, **1422**.
130: Source for (**1034**), **1517**, **1521**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.57, 3.4 n.4.
134: Cited at **1226**.
145: Cited at Sec.2.2 n.32.
145G: Cited at **38**.
146: See *IG* i[3] 237.
156: Source for **630A**.
209: See *IG* ii[2] 1443.
217: Source for **205A**, **392A**, **550A**.
219: Source for **1018A**, (**1362A**).
224: Source for (**153A**), **1234A**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.30.
232: Source for **280A**, **723A**.
237: Source for **422A**, **661A**, **952A**.
248: Source for (**141A**), **260A**, **858A**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.30.
292: Cited at Sec.2.3 n.2.
728: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.20.
731: Cited at **446**.
745: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.1.
746 1st item: Source for **239A**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.34.
746 2nd item: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.26, 3.6 p.160.
746 3rd item: Source for **288A**.

Syll.[3] 276A: See *SEG* 18.200.
276B: See *SEG* 18.202.
306: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.14.
312: Cited at Sec.1.9a p.40.
1193: See *SLC* 115.

Tod 97: See *IG* ii[2] 1.
146: See *IG* ii[2] 114.
151: See *IG* ii[2] 126.
164A and B: Cited at App.A Ext. n.9.
181: See *IG* ii[2] 240.
182: Cited at App.A Ext. n.9.
189: See *IG* ii[2] 337.
190: Cited at App.A Att. n.34.
192: Cited at App.A Att. n.34.
200: See *IG* ii[2] 1629.
201: See *IG* xii(2) 6.

3. *Inscriptions by Journal Article ed.prin.*

Accame, *Ann.* #1: Source for **65**, **74**, **276**, (**318**), **463**, (**586**), **587**, (**660**), **935**, **984**, **1026**, (**1275**, **1318**, **1333**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.19, 3.4 n.26, 3.5 n.24, 3.7 n.46, 3.8 nn.6f, 3.10 n.5.
#2: Source for **107**, **151**, (**225**), **228**, **274**, **555**, **809**, **1001**, (**1022**), **1031**, **1075**, **1260**, **1332**, **1527**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.20; 3.4 n.30; 3.5 nn.14, 24; 3.7 nn.1, 11, 21; 3.8 n.7; 3.10 n.1.

#3: Source for **84**, **150**, **295**, **312**, (**323**), **1486**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.32; 2.5 n.23; 3.4 n.33; 3.5 n.29; 3.8 nn.6, 9; 3.10 n.6.
#4: Source for (**11**), **17**, **183**, **735**, **1138**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.23; 3.4 n.32; 3.5 nn.15, 29; 3.7 nn.10, 27.
#5: Source for **1460**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.24; 3.7 n.47; 3.8 nn.6, 9, 11.
#6: Cited at **672**, **1026** and at Sec.2.5 n.18, 3.13 n.38.
#7: Source for **628**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.21, 3.8 n.3.
#9: Source for **88**, (**560**).
#10: Source for **38**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.4.
#11: Source for (**156**), **1007**, **1474**; cited at Sec.2.2 n.7; 2.5 n.22; 3.4 nn.8, 27, 30; 3.8 nn.4, 7; 3.10 n.4; 3.13 n.46.
#12: Source for (**68**), **69**, **970**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.25, 3.13 n.45.
#13: Source for (**415**), **1434**, **1444**, **1483**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.24, 3.4 n.31, 3.8 n.4.
#14: Source for **52**, **124**, **486**, **708**, **745**, **785**, (**1112**, **1184**, **1349**); cited at Sec.2.5 nn.26, 33; App.A Ext. n.19.
#15: Source for **943**, **1451**, **1453**, **1495**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.26.
#16: Source for **27**, **922**, (**1061**), **1152**, **1272**, (**1383**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.26, 3.4 n.35, 3.13 n.38.
#17: Source for **301**, (**1070**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.25, 3.5 n.34, 3.13 n.46.
#19: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.46.
#20: See Follet, *Rev.de Phil.* 48 (1974) 32-34.
#25: Source for **1454**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.25.

Accame, *Lega* 230: See *SV* 268.

Accame, *RFIC* 69 (1941) 179f: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32, 3.13 n.45.

Ann. "Atti", *Annuario* 63 (1985) 342 fig.6 and 7: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.49.
fig.6d?: Source for **1511**.
fig.6e?: Source for **1508**.
fig.6f?: Source for **1482**.

Catling, *AR* (1983/4) 57: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.17.

Chamonard+, *BCH* 39 (1915) Obj. X.45: Source for **707**, (**877**); cited at Sec.2.4 n.22.

Clerc, *BCH* 7 (1883) #"3": Source for **291**, (**963**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.22.

Crosby, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) #7 and 8: Source for **1553**; cited at Sec.3.3 n.23.

Crosby, *Hesperia* 19 (1960) #18 and 30: Cited at **90**.

Fabricius, *AM* 9 (1884)
#4a: Source for (**332**), **598**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.24.
#4e: Source for (**585**), **610**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.22.

Follet, *Rev.de Phil.* 48 (1974) 32-34: Source for **1179**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.25.

Fredrich, *AM* 31 (1906) 71: Source for **369**; cited at Sec.1.10 n.16.

Girard, *BCH* 5 (1881)
#8: Cited at Sec.2.8 n.45.
#15: Source for (**127**), **898**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.21.
#16: Source for **780**, (**1367**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.21.
#17: Source for (**433**), **1213**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.21.
#18: Source for **1197**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.21.
#19: Source for (**603**), **776**; cited at Sec.2.8 n.21.

Habicht, *AM*
#1: Source for **1550**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.19, 1.9 n.7, 2.8 n.15, 3.3 n.18.
#2: See *SEG* 26.1022.
#11: Cited at **446**.
#18: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.15.
#19: Cited at Sec.1.9 n.15, 3.3 n.19.

Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl.492a: Photo: Plate 10. Source for **282**, **526**, (**932**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.27; 3.4 n.28; 3.12 n.20; App.A Ext. pp.244f, nn.29f.

Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5, 56f: Source for (**75**), **1048**, **1180**; cited at Sec.1.6 n.10, 2.2 n.19.

Hereward, *AJA* 67 (1963) 72: Cited at Sec.1.1 n.17.

Homolle, *BCH* 8 (1884) #7: Cited at Sec.3.7 n.9.

Keil, *JÖAH* 11 (1908) Beiblatt, col.164 #7: Source for **1214**, (**1232A**); cited at Sec.2.8 n.25.

Klaffenbach, *AM* 51 (1926)
#4: Source for **1541**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.20, 2.8 n.26, 3.4 n.22, 3.10 nn.9f, 3.13 n.25.
#5: Source for **1447**, **1484**; cited at Sec.1.5 n.20; 2.8 n.27; 3.4 n.22; 3.5 nn.9, 28; 3.10 n.8; App.A Ext. n.33.

Konstantinopoulos, *AD* 18 (1963) #41: Source for **1305**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.36.

Leonardos, *AE* (1918) #97: Cited at **1308** and at Sec.1.5 n.19.

Meritt, *Hesperia* 7 (1938) #18: See Burstein, *Tr.Doc.* 3.13.

Millet, *BCH* 29 (1905) 57: Source for **563**, **1283**; cited at Sec.2.1 n.39, 2.5 n.36.

Osborne, *AncSoc*
#4: Cited at **612**.
#8: See *SEG* 36.277.
#17: Cited at **818**.
#29: Cited at **671**, **672**.
#59: Cited at **864**.
#62: Cited at **1120**.
#82: Cited at **953**.
#83: Cited at **661A**.
#100: Cited at App.A Ext. n.19.
#135: Cited at **902**.
#145: Cited at **357**.
#152: Source for (**172**), **480**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.
#158: Source for **1535**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.
#165: Cited at **1110**.
#232: Cited at **475**.
#246: Source for **622**.
#258: Cited at **1141**.
#260: Cited at **971**.
#267: See *SEG* 35.206.

Pariente, *BCH* 114 (1990) 805: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.49.

Pariente, *BCH* 116 (1992) 923: Cited at Sec.3.12 n.1.

Pariente, *BCH* 117 (1993) 761: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.12.

Peek, *AM*
#9: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.17.
#193: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.2.
#195: Cited at App.A Ext. n.19.
#230: Source for (**279**), **1009**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.13.

Peppas-Delmousou, *AD* 33 (1978) B.6f: Cited at **509**.

Petrakos, *Praktika* (1989) 29: Source for **402A**; cited at Sec.2.9 n.62.

Platon, *AD* 42 (1987) B1.68 pl.40b: Cited at Sec.2.9 n.33.

Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 12 (1943) #8: Cited at **1312**.

Robinson, *TAPA* 69 (1938)
#10: See Kroll, *ABAP* no.7, text *d*.
#11: See *IG* i³ 1515.
#12: Source for (**109**), **457**; cited at Sec.2.4 n.11.
#14: See Hatzopoulos, *Meletemata* 5, 56f.
#21: See *SEG* 24.573.

Romiopoulou, *AAA* 7 (1974)
#1: See *IG* i³ 1510.
#2: See *IG* i³ 1511.
#3: See *IG* i³ 1512.
#4: See *IG* i³ 1513.
#5: See *IG* i³ 1514.
#6-8: Cited at Sec.2.4 nn.14f.
#6: Source for (**8**), **1030**; cited at App.A Ext. n.1.
#7: Source for (**388**), **911**; cited at App.A Ext. pp.227f, n.2.
#8: Source for **1306**; cited at App.A Ext. n.1.

Sapouna-Sakellaraki, *AD* 39 (1984) B.127: Source for **583A**; cited at Sec.2.7 n.17.

Schweigert, *Hesperia* 8 (1939) #4: Cited at Sec.1.7 n.16.

Segre, *Ann.*
#1: Source for **220**, **299**, **704**, **1171**, **1359**, **1471**.

#2: Source for **123**, **899**; cited at Sec.3.13 n.45.
#4: See *IG* i³ 1500.
#5: See *IG* i³ 1501.
#6: See *SLC* 10.
#7: See *IG* i³ 1506.
#9: Source for **1385**; cited at Sec.3.5 n.29, 3.6 n.26.
#10: Source for **19**, **115**, **206**, **233**, **339**, **343**, **439**, **444**, **523**, **842**, **1016**, **1120**, **1201**, **1297**, **1327**, **1418**; cited at Sec.2.5 nn.16f, 3.8 n.3.
#11: See *SLC* 103.
#12: See *SLC* 105.
#13: See *SLC* 106.
#14: Source for (**658**, **987**), **991**, **1219**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.29.
#15: Source for (**321**), **1353**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.33.
#16: See Susini, *Ann.* #5.
#18: Source for **649**.
#19: Source for **1485**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.7.

Stroud, *Hesperia* 40 (1971) #23: See *Agora* XIX.L3.

p.170 n.24: Source for **1540**; cited at Sec.3.4 n.25; 3.12 n.21; App.A Ext. n.31, p.246.

Susini, *Ann.*
#1: Cited at Sec.3.13 n.45.
#3: Source for (**89**), **237**.
#4: Source for **261**, (**940**); cited at Sec.2.5 n.28.
#5: Source for **330**, (**438**), **755**; cited at Sec.2.5 n.33.
#8: Cited at Sec.3.8 n.9.
#13: Cited at **261** and at Sec.2.5 n.28.
#19: Cited at Sec.2.1 n.32.
#22: Source for **1492**.

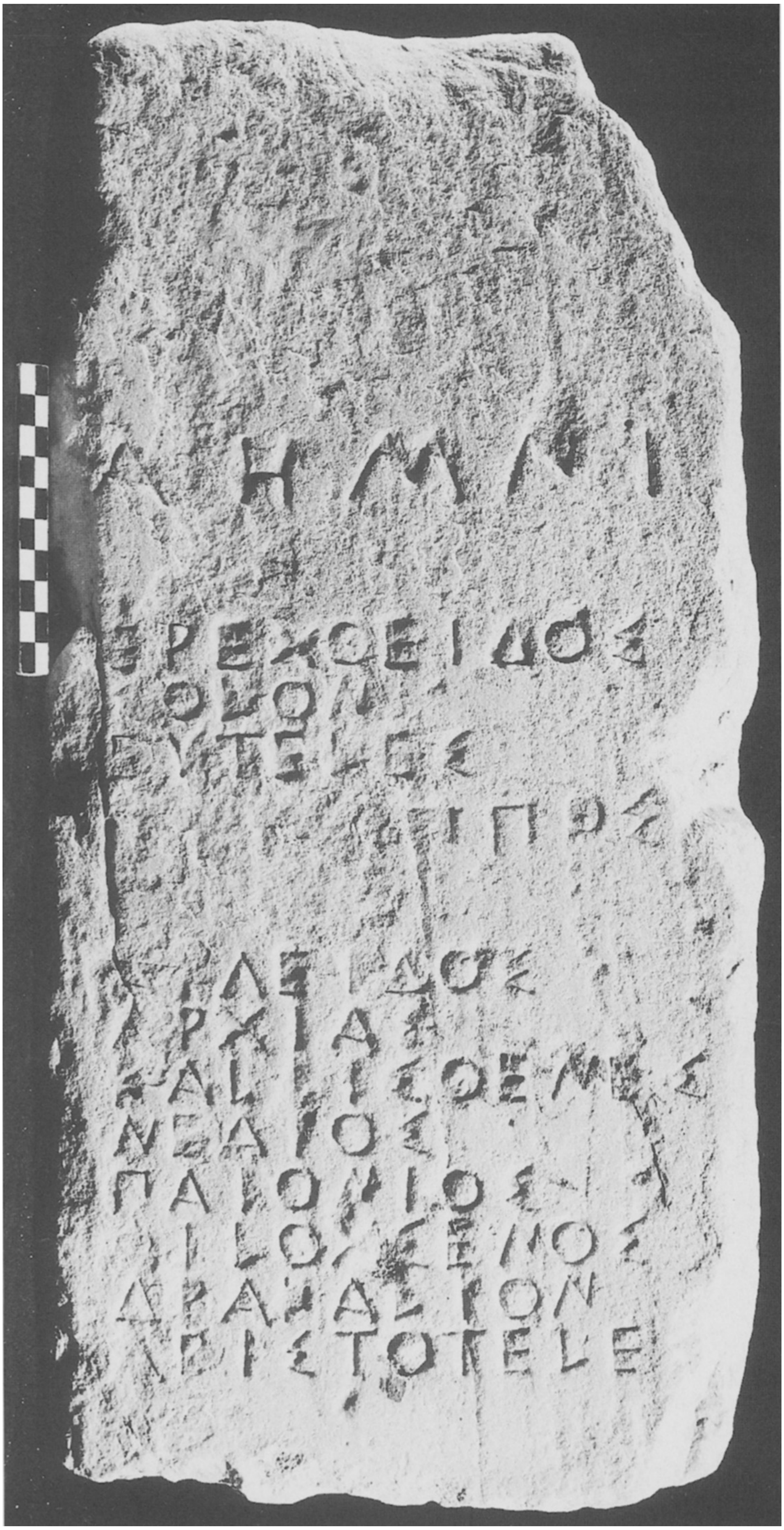
Theophaneides, *AD* 9 (1924/5) #1: Cited at Sec.1.9 nn.19f.

Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991)
p.188: Cited at **534**.
p.189: Cited at **445** and at App.A Att. n.56.

Vanderpool+, *AD* 18 (1963) #2: Cited at **637**.

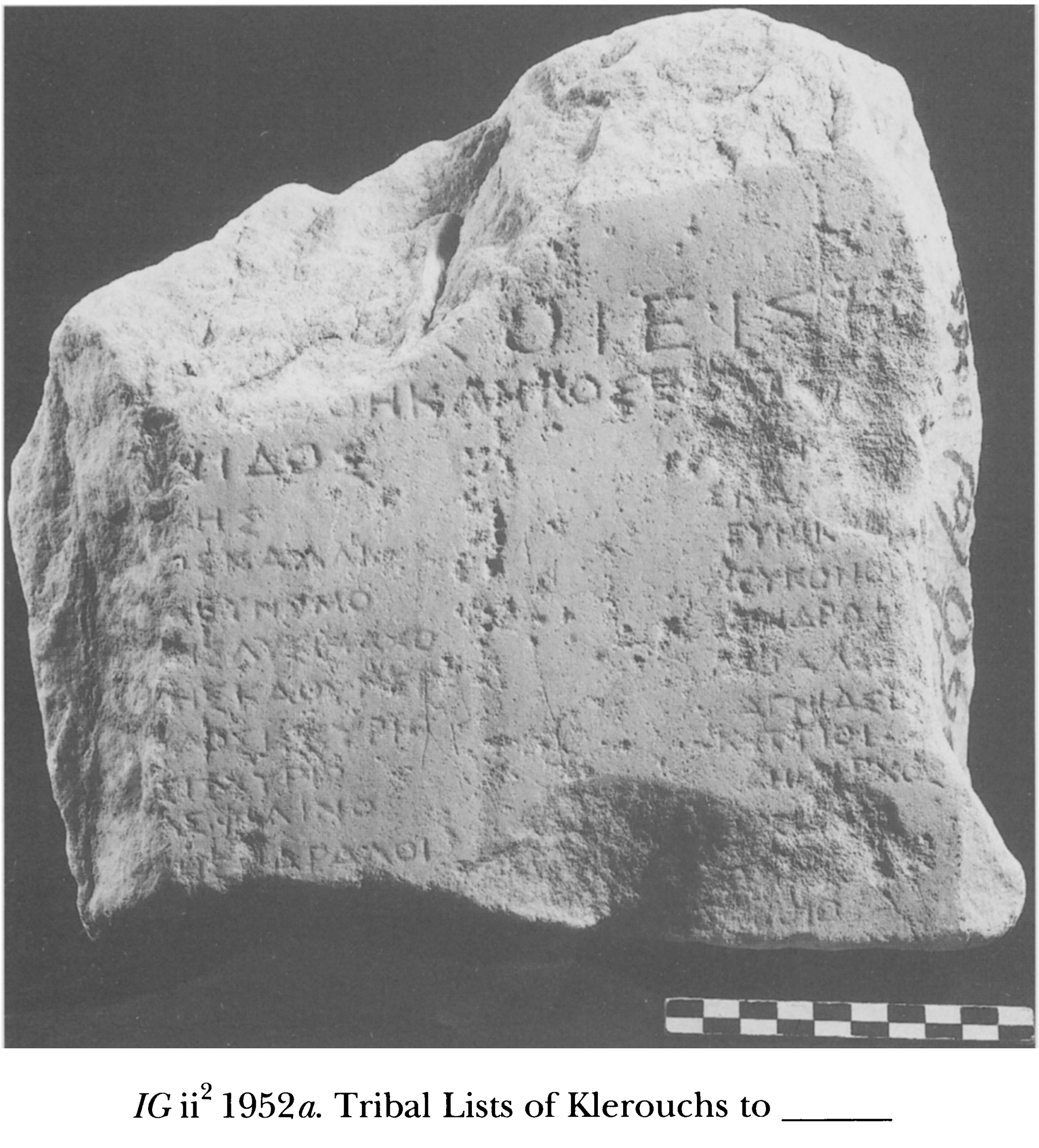
PLATES

1



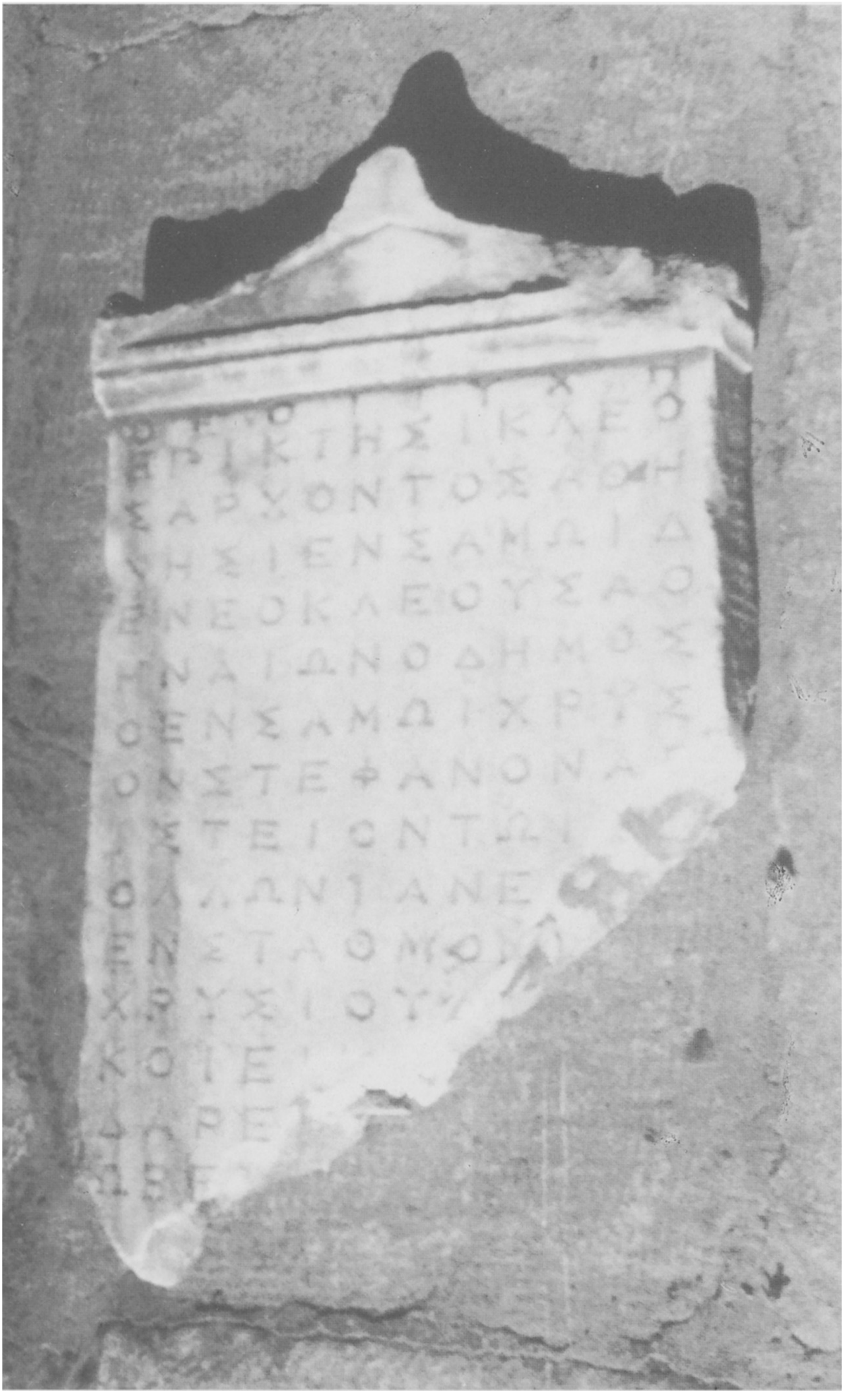
IG i[3] 1164. Lemnian Casualties

2



IG ii^2 1952*a*. Tribal Lists of Klerouchs to ______

3



SEG 18.200. Delphic Inscription from Athenians on Samos

4

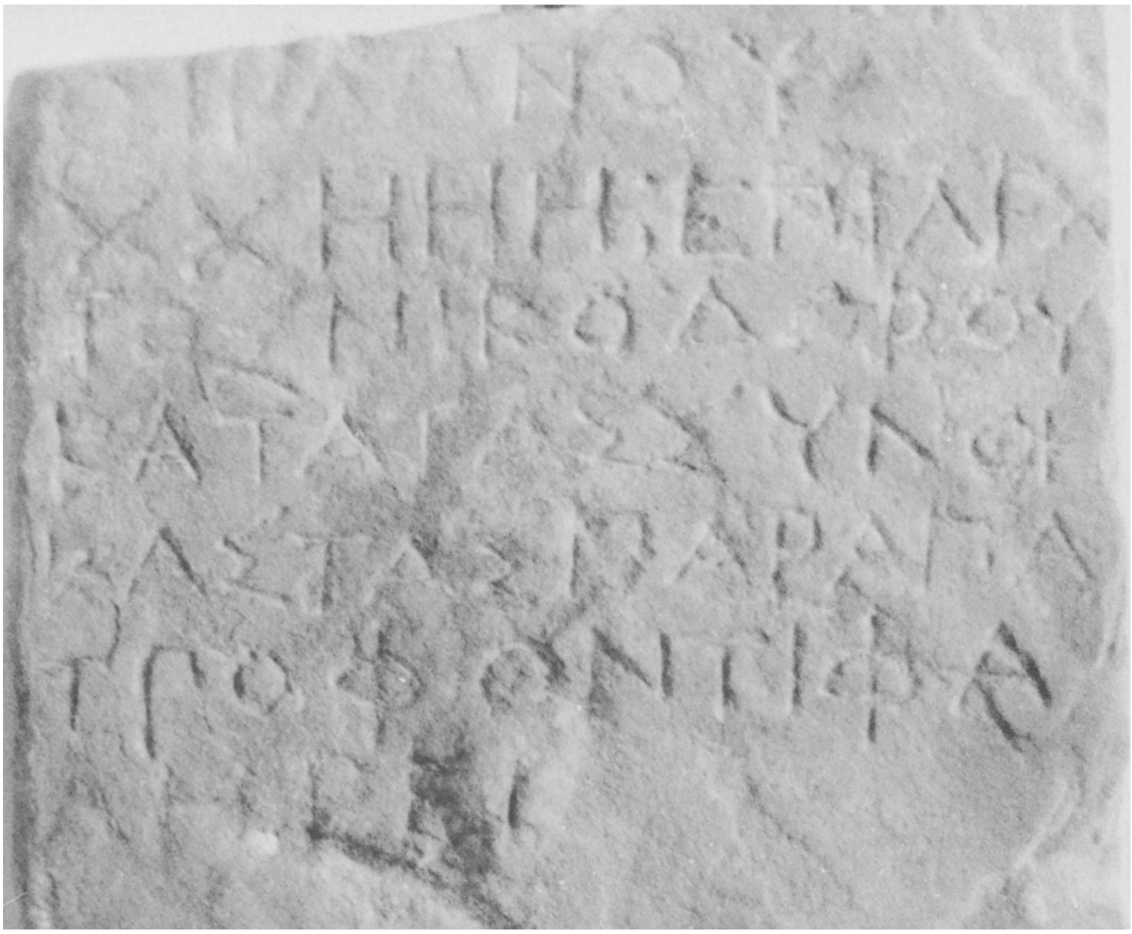
IG i^3 1325. Epitaph of Mnesarete

5

IG ii^2 11169. Monument of Dionysios Alphinou (Kollyteus)

IG xii Supp. 339. Magnesia's Gravestone

7

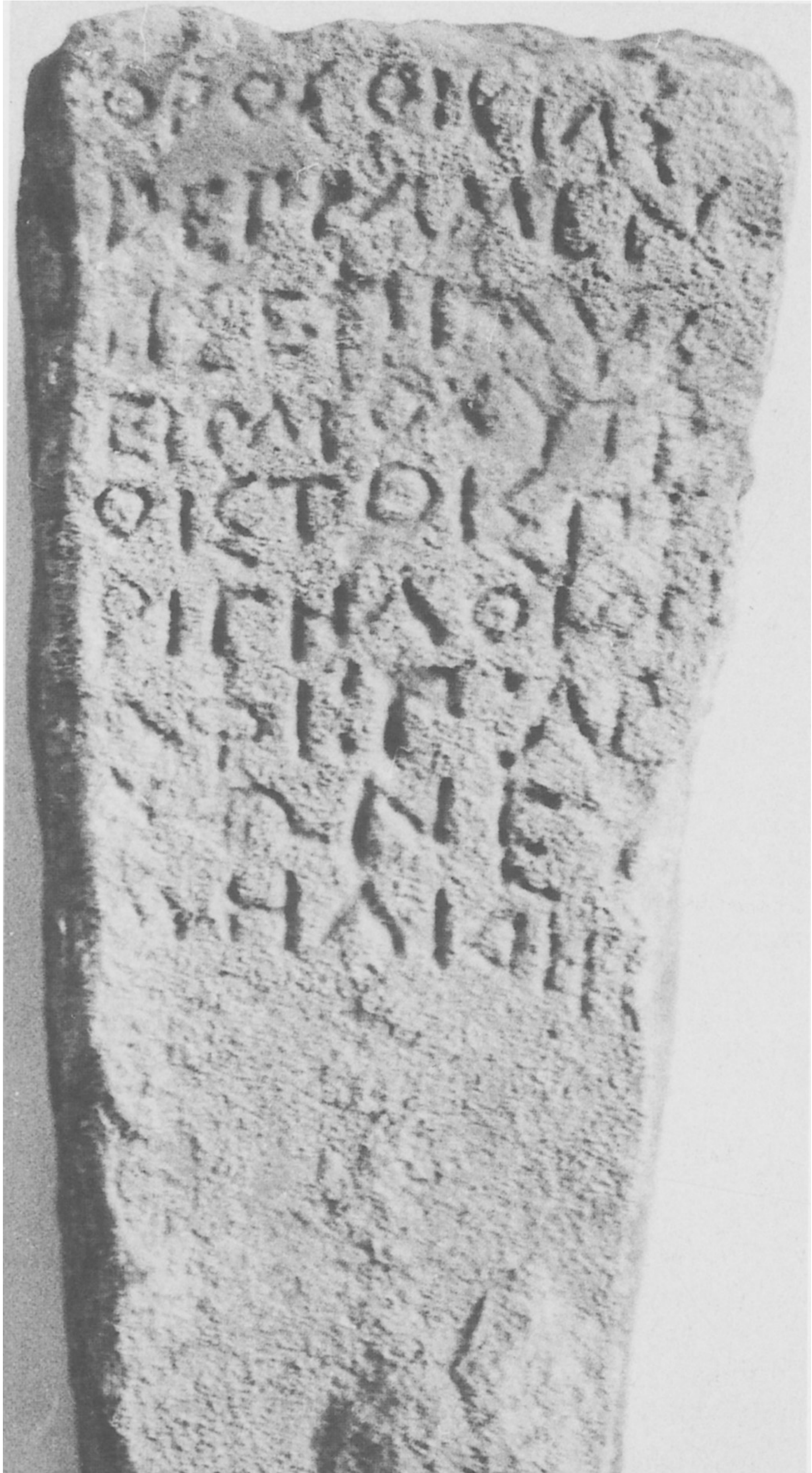


SLC 104. *Horos*: Nikodoros Archon, Patrophon Phalereus Holds Agreement (extant lines)

8

SLC 105. *Horos*: Nikias Debtor,
Euainetos *et al.* Creditors

SLC 115. *Horoṣ: Pepramenou Pantos*



Hatzis, *AD* 28 (1973) pl. 492a.
Horos: Archon Eumelides